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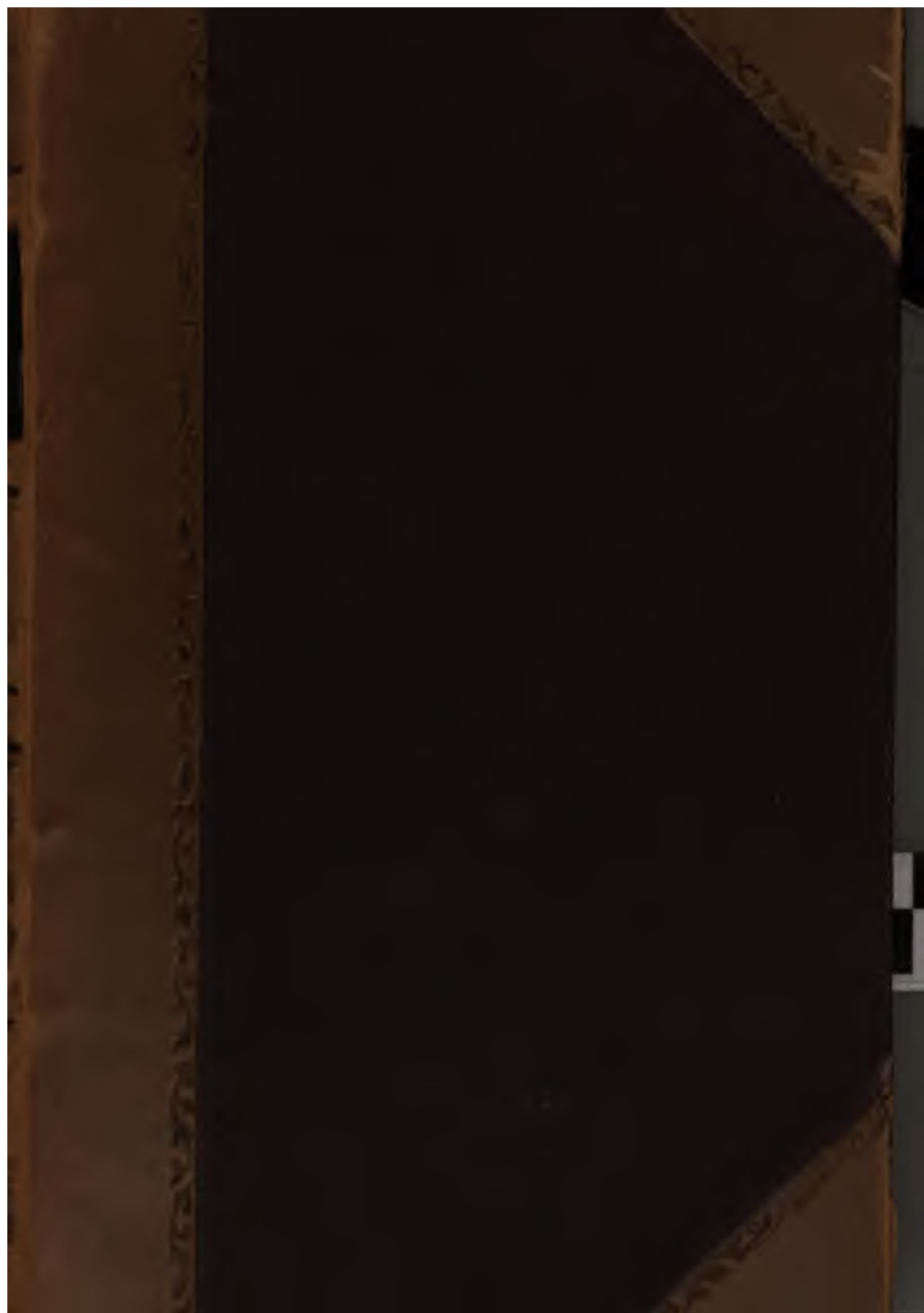
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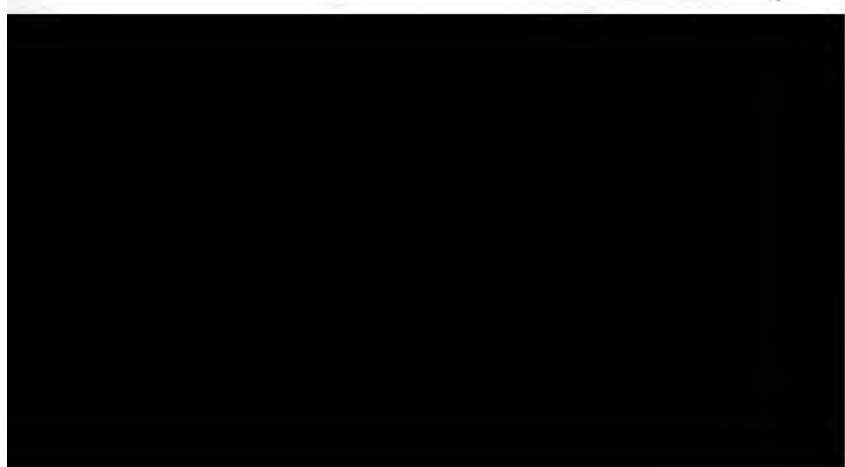
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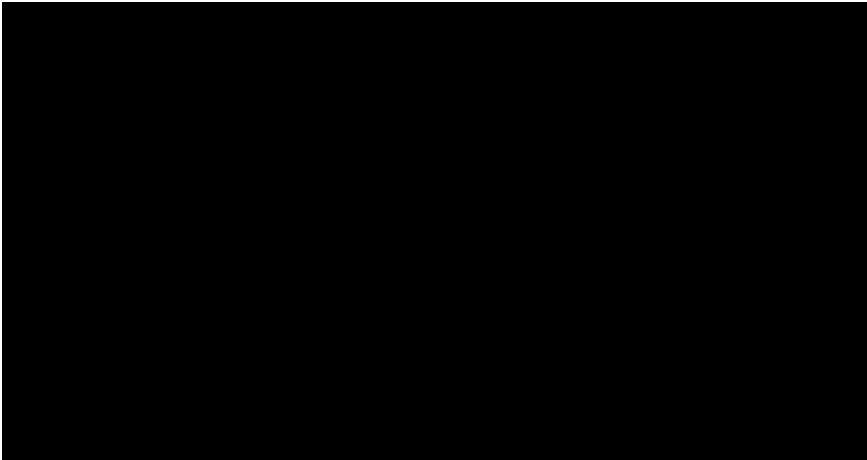
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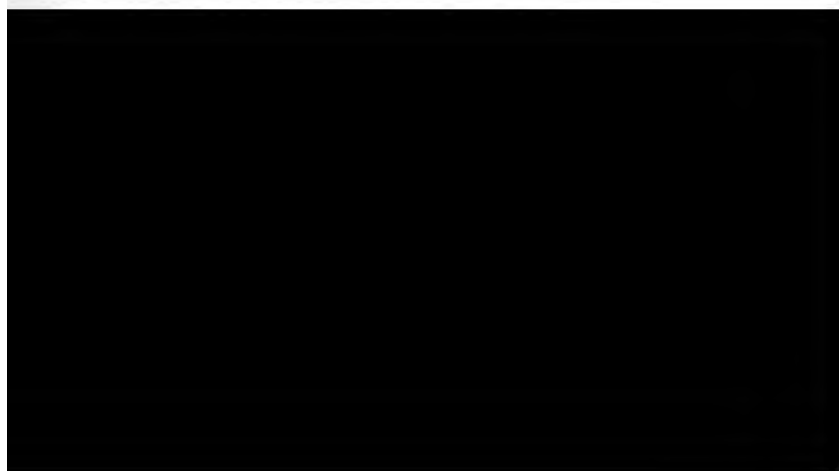
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PROCEEDINGS
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THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

POLITE LITERATURE AND ANTIQUITIES.

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE ACADEMY.

I.—ON A BLOCK BOOK IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.
By the REV. B. DICKSON, D. D., F. T. C. D. [Abstract.]

[Read January 10th 1870.]

THERE exists in the Library of Trinity College a fragment of an early printed block book, entitled “*Ars moriendi*.” It is bound up with a MS. on vellum of the Commentaries of Michael Ephesius upon some books of Aristotle’s Nichomachean Ethics; and although entered in the printed catalogue of MSS., published in 1688, yet escaped notice until lately. The only perfect copy of this scarce publication is stated to be in the Weigel collection in Leipsic; and a photographic fac-simile having been recently published, the portions of the Trinity College copy which remain can be proved to be parts of the same edition. The following description of the Leipsic copy, which is stated to be unique, has been given by T. O. Weigel:—

“The edition consists of 12 sheets sm. folio, printed upon one side only, thus making up 24 leaves; the paper is thick and stout, and has the watermark of the head of an ox, with staff and cross, and of an anchor. The printing was effected by rubbing; and the delineations are of a brownish colour, and in certain parts are somewhat pale. There are no signatures, but where the sheets are folded a dark perpendicular line shows that the leaves which face each other were taken off from a single block. The writing is in the so-called Monkish character, and is for the most part skilfully carved. There is no indication of the author, the place of printing, or the date. As regards the origin of this masterwork of xylographic printing, the idea seems

Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.

undoubtedly to have issued from Cologne. The schools of Cologne, it is true, retained their original characters up to the second quarter of the 15th century; but from this date the influence of Flemish art made itself felt, especially about the year 1438, and particularly distinguishes the works of art in which the Flemish and Cologne style are blended. Of this union the excellent copy of the 'Ars moriendi,' in my collection affords a proof. Moreover it was discovered in Cologne, and was obtained from a private owner."

The fragment in Trinity College consists of leaves 1-6 and 13-15, so that only nine remain out of twenty-four. On the reverse of the first, there is the following note in the handwriting of Archbishop Ussher, to whose collection it belongs.

"Scripserunt de arte moriendi Thomas Stubbes Anglus et Dominicanus qui claruisse fertur anno 1350. Ricardus Tracy de Todyngton in comitatu Glocestriæ Armiger in D. Augustini operibus a juventute excellenter versatus."

"The *Ars moriendi*" was translated into English, and printed by William Caxton.

II.—ACCOUNT OF TWO ANTIQUITIES PRESENTED TO THE ACADEMY. BY
W. F. DE VISMES KANE.

[Read February 14, 1870.]

I HAVE much pleasure in submitting to the Academy the following particulars relative to the two antiquities recently presented by Dr. Stokes, for me, to the Museum.

One is a Stone Celt of unusual size and interest; the other a curious Wooden Bowl, standing on five supports, all carved out of a single piece of wood.

Both were found in the county of Monaghan, and in a locality about three miles from Newbliss.

The Celt I procured from a farmer living on the townland of Carn, who found it some years since in the bog at the foot of his farm. A smaller Celt was dug up at the same time with this one, but has been lost since. The small bog in which these were found is nearly cut out, so that I was not able to determine the depth at which these were buried.

The townland of Carn is distinguished by its having a group of megalithic sepulchral chambers (called by the peasantry "Giants' graves") on its summit; but I have not been able to ascertain that these celts were found connected with any structure, but merely imbedded in the peat.

The one now presented to the Academy measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and is of a material unusually hard, so that it has preserved upon its surface traces of the method employed in its manufacture, in a number of small scratches running transversely to the length of the stone.

This would seem to indicate that grinding, or friction of some sort, was used to give it its present shape.

The material of which it is made seems to be a highly siliceous felstone; it is slightly brittle, and is fusible by the blowpipe.

The other curiosity which I have the pleasure of presenting is, I believe, unique as to its form and material in the Academy's Museum.

The chief interest, however, which attaches to it, is the extreme antiquity which the situation in which it was found seems to show.

I procured this curious wooden relic from the wife of the man who found it; and I visited the locality in person, and was pointed out the exact spot in which it was discovered by an eye witness of its discovery.

The bog of Lackleveragh (a corrupted form of Leckleavanat, "the flagstone of Leavanat") is situate not far from the townland of Carn, near Newbliss, county of Monaghan, and contains at about the depth of twelve feet from the surface a strata of tree roots and stumps which stand "in situ" as they once grew.

Beneath one of these tree roots the bowl in question was dug out by a labourer who was cutting turf.

The depth from the surface at which it was found was about fifteen feet, as far as I could judge.

The root under which it lay must have belonged to a very large tree, whose age, judging from the girth of the stump, cannot have been less than fifty years; which in its turn, as I have said before, was surmounted by twelve feet of peat.

The periphery of the bowl, when first discovered, was quite circular, and its surface, internal as well as external, quite free from cracks or scratches, so that it appeared to the finders to have been polished.

Its diameter from lip to lip must have been then about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its internal depth about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Unfortunately, having been placed for two or three years beside the fire of a cabin as a cradle for the cat, it became warped into its present shape and appearance.

It appears to have been carved with considerable skill out of a block of root oak or yew. Bowls made of oak have been at different times found in Great Britain buried at considerable depths. In the "Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute" (No. 100, p. 297, 1868) mention is made of oaken bowls found in a bog near Tavistock, in England.

There is a curious reference to vessels made of yew in an old Irish tract called "Suidiugad Tellaigh Temrach" (the establishment of the House of Tara), which speaks of utensils formed out of a yew tree which Fintan (the Irish Noah) had himself planted, and carved into vessels of which an interesting list is given.

III.—ON AN OGHAM INSCRIBED STONE, AT KILTERA, CO. WATERFORD.
By RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M. R. I. A.—(Plate I.)

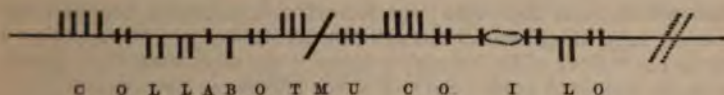
[Read February 14, 1870.]

THE inscribed stone which forms the subject of the present communication stands on the townland of Dromore, *Drom-mor*, i. e. the Great Ridge, in the parish of Aglish, and about one mile south of Villiarstown, county of Waterford. The locality will be found on sheet No. 29 of the Ordnance Survey of that county. A farm road leads southwards from the bridge of Aughaclaren, until it meets the Gooish stream, a tributary of the Blackwater, which the visitor crosses by stepping stones; about forty yards down the opposite bank is a stile over the fence, leading to a field on the farm of Mr. John Keating. In this field are the remains of a Cilleen, consisting of a portion of the circular fence, and a raised circular area, which gives some idea of the extent it originally occupied. Close to the existing portion of this ancient fence are three stones, two of them standing on edge, and nearly parallel, being deeply sunk in the ground; the third, which is inscribed on two corners of the same face, stands at right angles to the others, as shown on the ground plan, Plate I., fig. 2.

The parallel stones look as if they formed part of a Cistvaen: one of them is a slab of the old red sandstone, about seven inches thick; the other, of hard clay slate, six inches thick; an aged thorn tree overshadows the group. When I visited this spot, on June 17th, 1869, I found much difficulty in ascertaining the precise *locale* of the Ogham, owing to defective information. I have, therefore, been particular in placing on record its exact situation, so that future pilgrims will find no difficulty in visiting the site.

The inscribed stone (Plate I., figs. 1 and 2, *a*), is a slab of hard, close-grained clay slate, standing two feet eight inches above the present level of ground, and having some ogham scores on two angles of the same face; upon close examination, it appeared to me that the characters went below the present surface of the killeen; I therefore procured the assistance of a labourer, with a spade, and commenced clearing away the earth at the bottom of the stone. This we found a work of some difficulty, as the ground was firmly compacted, and all around the stone wedged with flat spawls, set on edge, and rammed down quite tight; it took us a full hour of hard work to get at the bottom of the monument. We were, however, encouraged to persevere by finding, as we went down, that we uncovered additional scores. When we had gotten about six inches below the surface, I found we had uncovered four letters, which, in their combination, appeared to me to be the termination of a proper name, "Collabot,"—which I had seen before—to which I shall refer by-and-by. I found the dimensions of the stone to be as follows:—

length, four feet ten inches; breadth at the centre, one foot nine inches; and average thickness, five inches. The inscription on the left angle commenced at eight inches from the bottom, and terminated close to the top; the angle is much worn and disintegrated, and requires much care in tracing. The characters which are below the surface are the best preserved. I went over the letters several times with great care, and fully satisfied myself as to the correctness of my copy, which is as follows:—

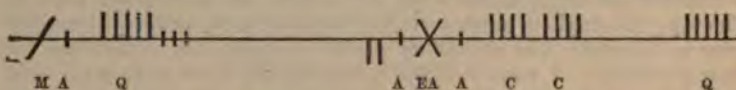


The above presents us with a name to be found on two other monuments, "Collabot." They were originally taken from the crypt of an erased rath on the townland of Laharan, and parish of Kilbonane, county of Kerry; and were used as lintels over a door and window ope, in a peasant's cabin on the same townland. They are now in the possession of Lord Dunraven, and may be seen in the grounds at Adare Manor. On one of these stones the form of the name is "Collabot;" in the inscription it occupies the place of the patronymic. On the other, it presents us with the name of the individual commemorated, in the form of Collabotas. On both of the above stones the name is perfectly distinct, as well as that at Kiltera, so that there can be no mistake about the forms of this name which I have given. The suffix *as*, in the last form, appears to be the genitive termination. I have met with it as such in several inscriptions.

Gaethelic names, with the prefix Colla and Col, are frequently met with as the "Three Collas:" Colla-uais, Colla-mean, Colla da Chrioch, A. D. 315 to 331; Colla Mac Barith, Lord of Limerick, A. D. 922; and Colla, Abbot of Scatterry, who died A. D. 994. We have also such names as Colcenn, Colbrenn, Colann, &c. Following the name of the deceased, we have the word *Muoi*, so frequently found in ogham inscriptions—in some instances forming a proper name, in others indicating an occupation. *Muoi* is evidently the ogham form of *Mucaidhe*, a swineherd.

The letter I in the word *Muoi* is injured, there being a small flake off the angle of the stone, which has carried away two of the vowel marks. I am not certain as to the values of the characters I have marked, I O, as, from the damaged state of the angle, both characters may have had originally a greater number of scores; after the fifteenth character there is a space with traces of letters, but nothing reliable; on the corner of the top angle is a half-defaced C, which I have shown by dots; it is, therefore, quite evident that we have here an imperfect inscription, a considerable portion of which is lost. The right-hand angle is much more damaged than the left, and the characters more illegible.

The legend commences at twelve inches from the bottom with the word *Magi* extended to the top, and partially on the head, as follows :—



The first, second, and third letters are quite distinct, excepting one score of the Q, which is faint; the I is also imperfect, owing to the damaged state of the angle; we have the X character between two vowels, suggesting some doubt as to the value assigned to this character in the "*Book of Ballymote*"—namely, the diphthong EA. The Q is on the top front angle; the rest of the letters are illegible.

There is no Christian symbol on this stone, neither is it held in any reverence by the peasantry, as far as I could ascertain. It had evidently been refixed at some remote period, as the scores on the concealed part were fresher and more legible than those exposed, which latter appeared to have suffered much more from violence than exposure to the weather. From this concealment of so considerable a portion of the inscription, it is also evident that it was placed in its present position by those unacquainted with the nature of the characters; it was also fixed with great care and labour, very probably as a memorial to some person, long subsequent to its original appropriation. Here there is no trace of a church, either in memory or tradition. Mr. Keating, Jun., informed me that he remembered the fence round the cilleen complete; and that there were a number of long stones standing about it, which were broken up, and built into the field walls, and otherwise disposed of; the fence had been levelled by his father. He informed me that it had been always called *Ciltera*, and that the farm is also named from the cilleen; also, that the stones I have been describing were there as long as the oldest inhabitant can remember, and that a man aged eighty years had informed his father, that they had been in the same place since he was a boy. The ogham marks on the upper part of the stone were first noticed by Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, of Youghal, in May, 1861. *Kiltera* was subsequently visited by Mr. Windele, of Cork. The only copy of the inscription I have seen was by the latter gentleman, and was very defective, consisting of only three letters of the left angle, and two of the right; this was owing principally, I believe, to his not having excavated at the bottom of the stone, and, therefore, not being cognizant of the concealed letters. As far as I have been able to ascertain, I believe that mine was the first complete copy ever taken; being convinced from the statements made by Mr. Keating, as well as from the difficulty I experienced in opening the ground, it had never been disturbed. Its interest consists in the confirmatory evidence it affords of the identification of two names found on other monuments, in a locality far remote; in its being found in close connexion with what was evidently a kistvaen, and within the fence of a cemetery of the pagan age. *Kiltera* is probably

from *Coal Teora*, "The burial ground of the boundary," from *Teor*, s. m., a land-mark, a boundary;" or "Teora, s. m., a border, limit boundary."

It is probable that in remote times the River Gooish formed a division of territories in this district; and the ancient cemetery, being close to its banks, may have been so named from its position.

IV.—THE MISSING BOOK OF CLONENAGH. By REV. JOHN O'HANLON, M. R. I. A.

[Read April 11, 1870.]

AMONG the missing or lost books of ancient Erin, the "Book of Cluain Eidhneach," in Leix, is specially enumerated.* According to a statement made by Professor Eugene O'Curry, undoubtedly the Book of Clonenagh, with many other missing and valuable Irish works, was extant in 1630. In his preface to the "General History of Ireland," by Dr. Jeffry Keating, this author states that the Book of *Fionntan a Laoghis* was among the records of first importance which survived to his time.† It is also one of the works which he has often quoted, and a copy of which probably had been in his possession.‡ At least, he appears to have had some extracts from it, for he alludes to it as, "*Leabap Chluana h-Eidneach Fionntan, i Laoighir*," "The Book of Clonenagh of Fintan in Leix."§ Clonenagh is situated near Mountrath, in the Queen's County. The inscription over Tybrud old church, which had been founded by the Priests, Eugenius Duhy and Jeffry Keating, D. D., bears date A. D. 1644. At that time its founders were dead, and had been buried in the adjoining churchyard.|| What became of Dr. Keating's own books or MSS. we have no means left for ascertaining.

The latest record I have been able to obtain regarding the existence of Clonenagh Monastery dates back to the eleventh century.¶ For several generations since that time it appears to have been deserted, and to have become a ruin. As in many similar instances, it may have happened, that various sacred relics and books belonging to its religious community passed into the hands of laics; especially "The Book of Clonenagh," one of its most prized literary treasures, pro-

* See Professor O'Curry's "*Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*," Lect. i., p. 21.

† See Dermot O'Connor's Translation, pp. 52, 53, Duffy's edition of 1841.

‡ Mr. O'Mahony, in his Edition of Keating's History of Ireland, bearing the Irish title, "*Fóras Fiosa ar Eirinn Do raib an Athar Seathrun Céiting Ollamh ré Diadhachta*," says, in a note to the preface, "'The Book of Cluain Aidnech Fintan,' i. e. 'the Book of Clonenagh,' a monastery near Mountrath, in the Queen's County, erected by St. Fintan. Keating elsewhere calls this the Annals of Cluain Eidhnech. This manuscript, which was one of great importance, is now unknown, p. lxiii. n (118)

§ See O'Donovan's Introduction to the "Book of Rights" and pp. xxv to xxvii, and note (n), *ibid*.

|| See "*Life of Jeffry Keating*," prefixed to his History.

¶ See Archdall's "*Monasticon Hibernicum*," p. 593.

bably became the property of some comorb or impropiator. From what shall be stated subsequently, it seems not unlikely that it had been kept by a family, living on the tribe lands of Leix, for several generations. It is probable this family resided in or near Clonenagh, and its members were known as the Crosbies, or Crossans. The family of Glandore sprang from this Leinster race of bards; for the Crossans, according to Dr. O'Donovan, were poets, whose principal office was to compose funeral dirges or chieftains' panegyrics. More frequently, however, they degenerated into satirists, like the modern *keeners*.*

Mao-an-Crossan was the bard or rhymer of the O'Moores during the sixteenth century. In a tract, contained in the State Paper Office, and which bears date July 3, 1600, we are told that one Patrick Crosby, or Crossan, a mere Irishman by birth, and unsound in body and mind, was the son of a bard, dependent on the Chiefs of Leix. This man had been an underling or a spy in the interests of Government officials at Dublin Castle,† and he often procured patents of pardon for such of the Irish as applied to him.‡ He was even in the habit of passing patents which were designedly defective. Having become a deputy to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the Surveyor-General, he surveyed forfeited estates in a corrupt and fraudulent manner, and at estimates considerably under their real value. On one occasion he made out a pretended title for the Queen to forty parcels of land, to a part of which he afterwards obtained a patent for himself. Sir George Carey, or Carew, wrote a letter of recommendation to Cecil in favour of Patrick Crosby. This letter, which bears date May 2, 1601, declares Crosby to have been greatly hated by the Irish, and owing to that reason, he was continually engaged in devising means for their overthrow. This unprincipled man was a chief agent for effecting the removal of the seven native septs of Leix to Kerry; and as a reward for these and such like services, he obtained large grants of land in

* See Rev. James Graves and John G. Augustus Prim's "*History Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny*," sect. 1., chap. i, n (b), p. 10.

† See a letter from Lord Deputy Fitz-William to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and dated Dublin, June 18th, 1591, in the P. S. to which these words occur: "Stand, good Lord, to Patrick Crosby, of whose service this Council have no little want." See p. 56, "*Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth*," 1589-1600. Edited by J. S. Brewer, M. A. and William Bullen, Esq. London: 1869. In a letter from the Court, written by Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, and dated September 24th, 1600, he says: "I have been a means to recommend the brother of Patrick Crosby to be Bishop of Kerry, who is one, you know that deserveth favour. They say he is another manner of man than Sir Walter Rawleigh's last silly priest." See p. 447, *ibid.* Again, we may readily infer on what secret service Patrick Crosby had been sent, in a letter from same to same, and endorsed: "Received 18 October, 1600."

‡ The nature of those secret services required from him is partially revealed in that excellent biographical work by Daniel Mac Carthy (Glas), "*The Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Reagh, Tunist of Carbury, Mac Carthy Mor*," &c. chap. xiv., pp. 317, 324, 327; chap. xv., pp. 339, 356, 357; chap. xvi., p. 387; chap. xix., pp. 494, 495.

Kerry and in other parts of the country. The aged Earl of Ormonde, in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, and which is dated December 2, 1601, remarks that Crosby's real surname was Mac-y-Crossane, and that his ancestor had been *chief rhymor* to the O'Moores and O'Connors. || This corrupt individual crept into rank and importance, like many of the renegade Irish, who were employed about that period in low official situations, as interpreters, spies, and informers. He received the title of Sir Patrick Crosby.*

Ballyfin originally formed a part of the demesne lands belonging to the O'Moores, Chieftains of Leix.† In Queen Elizabeth's time this estate is said to have been granted, for services rendered her, to Patrick Crosbie, Esq.‡ His great-grandson, Sir John Crosbie, Bart., espoused the Royal cause of Charles I., and he was attainted afterwards by Act of Parliament. Although King Charles II. became entitled to his great estate in 1663, this attainder was never reversed. Ballyfin was granted after the Restoration to Periam Pole, Esq., who was a brother to Sir John, and second son of Sir William Pole, of Shute, in Devonshire. The Castle of Ballyfin, erected by the Crosbies, had been pulled down by this grantee, who erected a more modern house on its site. This latter mansion was destroyed by fire, probably towards the close of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. His son afterwards rebuilt it. We are informed that John Crosbie, a bishop of Ardferf,§ well versed in the Irish language, was the first inhabitant of Ballyfin, and that he thus named the locality.||

The writer of this paper is strongly induced to believe, that the "Book of Clonenagh," and other relics belonging to its monastery, had been in the possession of the Crosbies, or Crossans. In any case it would appear, through some means, those objects subsequently passed into the keeping of the Pole family. The grounds on which such an opinion has been formed must now be related. It is probable, that the oldest extant copy of the "Book of Clonenagh," if not the original, was the MS. preserved at Ballyfin. For various reasons, it is not likely to have been the copy used by Dr. Keating while compiling his Irish History. But hitherto neither one nor the other has been recovered; and how important the "Book of Clonenagh" must prove for the elucidation of

* See Aenghus O'Daly's "*Tribes of Ireland*," edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D., M.R.I.A., Introduction to the Poem pp. 24, 25.

† In the "*Anthologia Hibernica*," for July 1794, vol. iv., there is a copperplate engraving and view of Ballyfin House, as it appeared at that date, and accompanying it follows, "A Description of Ballyfin, the seat of the Honourable William Wesley Pole, Esq." See pp. 1, 2.

‡ From an Inquisition taken at Maryborough in the reign of James I.; and on the 10th of August 1616, certain possessions were granted also to Patrick Crosbie and to his heirs. This grantee was probably identical with him named in the text. See "*Inquisitionum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Repertorium*," vol. i.; "*Lageniæ Com. Regiæ*," No. 5.

§ See notices of him in Harris's Ware, vol. i.; "*Bishops of Ardferf*," p. 523.

|| See "*Anthologia Hibernica*" for July, 1794, vol. iv., p. 2.

past events may be gleaned from Dr. Keating's quotations, and from what shall be mentioned in the sequel.

About the beginning of the year 1869, Mr. John B. Bray, then clerk in the Hibernian Bank, Castle-street, Dublin, and at present in the chief branch of that institution, Dame-street, called upon the writer, and stated he was in possession of traditional information, which should be communicated, he thought, through some agency to those who felt a special interest in rescuing the remains of our Irish literature from oblivion. He declared, that several years ago, while visiting the ruins of Clonenagh, near Mountrath, in company with his father, Mr. Martin Bray, of the latter town, their conversation having turned naturally on St. Fintan and the old ruined monastery, his father told him about a remarkable and curious old vellum MS., which was written in quaint ancient characters—supposed to have been Irish—but which no person knew how to read, although most of the leaves were perfectly legible. This was called "The Book of St. Fintan," and it formerly belonged to the Monks of Clonenagh. It was said to have been written by St. Fintan. Mr. Martin Bray's father—who also bore the name of Martin, and who died about 1844, at the age of ninety years—saw this ancient book in the library of Ballyfin House, not far from Clonenagh, some time about the commencement of the present century. At that period, the house and estates of Ballyfin belonged to the Right Hon. William Wellesley Pole, afterwards Lord Maryborough and Earl of Mornington, who was born at Dangan Castle, in the county of Meath, A. D. 1760; and who died at Grosvenor-square, London, on the 22nd of February, 1845.* Mr. John B. Bray heard his father state, likewise, that the crozier of St. Fintan, with many other relics, said to have belonged formerly to the old churches of Clonenagh and Cromogue—both within a mile of each other—had been kept subsequently at Ballyfin House; but these had perished in a fire which there broke out, and they are now irrecoverably lost.

Immediately after the foregoing communication had been made to the writer, he mentioned it to several members of the Academy, and, among others, to the late Rev. Dr. James Henthorne Todd, who advised him to communicate with General Dunne, of Brittas House, who lived not far from Ballyfin. I wrote also to the Rev. Dr. William Reeves on the subject; and in a reply, he observed that the disinterment of the "Book of Clonenagh" should be regarded as a memorable event, as we might be able to learn something more concerning "that mysterious council, the Synod of Rathbreasail, and its place of meeting."† Lieutenant-General Dunne stated, in reply to my first

* See a biographical sketch of this nobleman in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for April, 1845.

† The exact locality where this ancient synod had been held is not yet known. In the fourth series of "*Notes and Queries*," vol. iv., at the months of August and December, 1869, pp. 184, 523, references are made to the opinions of our Irish Antiquaries on this subject.

letter, that from his earliest days he had a perfect knowledge of the contents of Ballyfin library, to which he had constant access; nor did he ever recollect the late Sir Charles Henry Coote, Bart., with whom he had been intimate, make any mention of the old MS. in question. This, however, did not prevent his further searching inquiries; and he subsequently informed me, that he felt certain the ancient "Book of Clonenagh" had never been in the Coote library, the books of which had been purchased or procured by the late and present Baronet at various times.

Meantime the Rev. James Graves, to whom I had also written, entered into correspondence with General Dunne, and regularly communicated to me the results of local inquiries prosecuted. General Dunne, likewise, forwarded several letters to me on the matter; and in one of these, dated March 4th, 1869, an important fact was elicited, viz., that he was present at the only fire which took place in his own time at Ballyfin House, but that no book was then burned. The Rev. Mr. Graves thinks this fire occurred about twenty years back; and hence, we may reasonably infer, the "Book of Clonenagh" could not have been destroyed by it. The other relics of St. Fintan—traditionally said to have perished by fire—must have been lost in one already noticed, and which broke out there in the latter part of the seventeenth or in the beginning of the eighteenth century.


The late Baronet, Sir Charles Henry Coote, was purchaser of the extensive Ballyfin estates from the Earl of Mornington, who died in 1845. I wrote to his son and successor, the present Sir Charles Henry Coote; and in answer he stated, that he did not think the MS. sought for could then have been at Ballyfin, nor did he even recollect hearing of an old MS. called the "Book of Clonenagh" having been in its library. He kindly promised, furthermore, that search should be made for it; and if such a relic were discovered, he said I might rest assured he would not fail to forward information regarding it.

It seems not at all likely that Lord Mornington sold his books at Ballyfin to the late Sir Charles Coote, when parting with the estate. If he did, a bill of sale may possibly exist among the Coote family papers. At this distant time, although local inquiries have been prosecuted, the writer has not been able to ascertain if any former residents or servants are now living, and who might furnish information respecting a sale of Lord Mornington's effects by auction on the premises. The probability, however, is, that his books had been removed to the place of his subsequent residence, and that they remained in his possession to the time of his decease, in 1845. A London bookseller's or auctioneer's catalogue might furnish the most authentic clue, while prosecuting further inquiries, in the course of our search for the missing "Book of Clonenagh."

The third Lord Mornington was succeeded by his son, known as William Pole Tilney Long Wellesley, the fourth Earl of Mornington. If this nobleman were the inheritor of that valuable MS., "The Book of Clonenagh," it was almost certain to have been sold during his life-

time; for he died in Thayer-street, Manchester-square, London, on the 1st of July, 1857.* His only surviving son, the last Earl of Mornington, succeeded him, and died at Paris, on the 25th of July, 1863. He left an only sister, Lady Victoria Long Wellesley, to whom the remainder of her mother's—Miss Tilney Long's—property, once of great value, descended.† To His Grace the Duke of Wellington, as nearly related, and immediately representing the extinct branch of his family, the writer was induced, on recommendation of Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-at-Arms, to address a letter of inquiry about the "Book of Clonenagh." His Grace promptly replied, by stating he was not in possession of anything belonging to the former Lord Mornington; and he promised to inquire if Lord Cowley had any means for discovering what became of the books in the Pole Library. This promise His Grace courteously and obligingly fulfilled, by communicating in a note, dated from London, February 9th, 1870, that Lord Cowley knew nothing whatever about these books; but he gave it as his own opinion that, after the father's death, Lord Mornington, who married Miss Long, probably sold his library. It is therefore to be regretted that our search for the missing "Book of Clonenagh" should have hitherto proved so barren in results; but by placing the preceding facts before the members of the Academy, I venture to express a hope that inquiries may yet be earnestly prosecuted. It would be difficult indeed to suppose that such a remarkably curious MS. could have been wholly lost or destroyed.

From the foregoing statements the writer is of opinion that it may safely be assumed the "Book of Clonenagh" must have been in Ballyfin library about the beginning of this present century, and it is probable that it had been removed therefrom when the Pole family ceased to be proprietors of the house and estates. The catalogues of various public libraries have been examined for the discovery of the valuable MS. in question, yet in vain; however, it is still possible, some private collection may include this ancient codex. If, from the clue already afforded, some gentleman, having more time at his command, and better opportunities for the prosecution of this inquiry than the writer, be



V.—NOTE ON THE REV. JOHN O'HANLON'S PAPER—"ON THE MISSING BOOK OF CLONENAGH." By DANIEL F. DOWLING.

[Read June 27, 1870.]

DURING the latter part of the last century, and the beginning of the present, there resided at Ballyfin House, in the Queen's County, a member of the "Pole" family, popularly known by the title of Lord Maryborough. During this period, the now missing manuscript, called the "Book of Clonenagh," was seen in the library of Ballyfin House by a man named Martin Bray, of Mountrath, who died about the year 1844, aged 90 years.

Mr. Bray was a member of a corps of volunteers called the "Ballyfin Cavalry," raised and commanded, in 1782, by Lord Maryborough, and, therefore, could have had access to, and an opportunity of seeing, it in the library of Ballyfin House. Since Bray saw the manuscript it has been missing.

There is a story current amongst, and popularly believed in by, the parishioners of Clonenagh, and to the following effect, viz. :—That a clergyman of the Established Church, named Valentine Griffith, found the book whilst some of the old walls of Clonenagh monastery were being removed by and under his directions about sixty years ago; and that, at his death, which happened about 1825, the book passed into the hands of a medical doctor, named Robert Knaggs, of Mountrath, who was his son-in-law, and was appointed by him as his sole executor and legatee.

This story of the finding of the book cannot, however, be true, as Keating, in the preface to his History, written about 250 years ago, refers to the "Book of Clonenagh" as being then in existence, although he seems to have had no access to, or profited by, its contents. I believe, however, the book to have been in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Griffith, and to have afterwards passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Robert Knaggs, and adduce the following reasons in support of such belief.

Between the years 1782 and 1813 the above-named reverend gentleman officiated as chaplain to Lord Maryborough—through whose influence he appears to have been appointed perpetual curate of the parish—and during that time was on the most intimate terms with him. Such being the case, it is but reasonable to suppose that Lord Maryborough presented the manuscript to the reverend gentleman, solely on account of its being connected with the parish of Clonenagh.

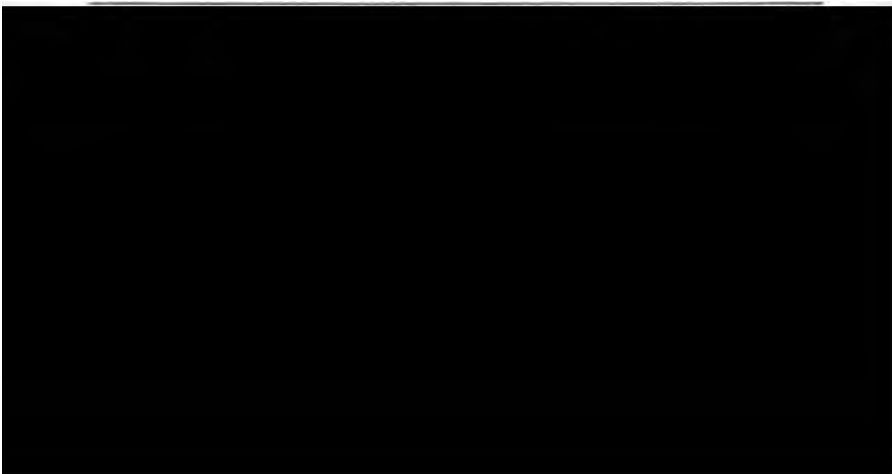
Again, about thirty years ago there lived, as servant, with the above-named Robert Knaggs, a woman named Margaret Russell, since deceased. I have had from an intimate friend of hers the following statement, as she gave it at that time to my informant :—"That she (Margaret Russell) often opened the 'Book of Clonenagh' but could not read it, as

'twas written in a strange language." This is strong evidence of the existence of some such book thirty years ago, and that it was in the possession of the before-mentioned Robert Knaggs. I make no hesitation in stating that it is still in the keeping of that gentleman, who is still alive, and resides near Melbourne, Australia, where, in conjunction with his son, James, he is extensively engaged in sheep farming, and whither he emigrated with his family in the year 1852.

I have made inquiries from upwards of twenty persons who reside in and around Ballyfin, some of whom have done duty as yeomen previous to, during, and after the year 1798, under Lord Maryborough. They one and all say that the book was in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Griffith, and afterwards in the possession of Robert Knaggs, his son-in-law and executor.

It may be supposed that the son of Lord Maryboro', named William Pole Wellesley Pole Long, disposed of the book; but, from all inquiries which I have made respecting it, such has not been the case, as it was Lord Maryborough in person who executed a deed of sale, to the late Sir Charles Coote, of Ballyfin House and demesne, and also handed over to him, at a private valuation, all goods and chattels appertaining thereto. Indeed, one old gentleman has stated to me that the book passed into the late Sir Charles Coote's hands on that occasion. There is an iron safe at Ballyfin House, said to contain old manuscripts. I believe that it contains the originals of the "Coote Survey," together with other and older documents. Could the "Book of Clonenagh" be among them? At all events, unless presented to the Rev. Mr. Griffith, as above suggested, the book, if ever at Ballyfin, was not sold away from it, as there was not, during the time of Lord Maryborough or in that of his son, any public auction or sale whatever holden at Ballyfin.

My chief reason for laying this note before the Academy is, that the party herein named may be corresponded with; for I believe that the manuscript, in which is said to be recorded so much appertaining to Irish history, although now missing, is not lost.



Glenmornan, and arrive at Moirlough. This lake is interesting, both physically and historically. The map of the Ordnance Survey shows that in 1834 it was a lake with two outlets—one current feeding the Glenmornan river, already mentioned, the other supplying the Burn-dennet, a larger stream, which, taking a more northerly sweep, enters the Foyle, a short distance beyond the former. For a considerable time Moirlough has only had one outlet, that supplying the Glenmornan river. About ten years ago, however, it developed again into a lake with two outlets, by practising a perforation in its gravelly shore. On inspecting this, I saw a considerable runnel disappearing into a subterranean channel; and, although this was apparently obliquely directed towards a little glen hard by, it could not be ascertained that the lost water came to the surface anywhere in the vicinity. The millowners on the Glenmornan river had this singular outlet banked up; it lay on the side of the lake opposite to the present outlet.

From near Moirlough begins a short range of mountains, which bounds Glenmornan along its southern border. The principal mountains are, Owenreagh, Evish, Holy Hill, and Knockavoe. The last-named historical height overlooks Strabane, and may be said to separate that town from the glen in question, which lies almost at its foot, towards the north-east. These things I mention, because I believe that this glen—altogether retired, and unknown to fame—is of historical interest, having been a main passage into the heart of Tyrone, from the north-west. It has become evident to my mind that the so-called Battle of Knock-a-voe was not fought upon that hill, but at the head of this Glenmornan, in the neighbourhood of Moirlough.

We find in the "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1522, the statement that "O'Neill pitched his camp at Cnoc Buidh, at Loch Monann." Dr. O'Donovan, in a note to this word, adds that this was the name of a lough near the foot of Knockavoe. He also says:—"In a memorandum in the 'Book of Ballymote' (fol. 180, col. *a*), which memorandum was evidently written immediately after this period, this battle is called *Maíom locha Monann*, i. e. the Breach of Lough Monann."

Now, there is no lough in the immediate neighbourhood of Knockavoe, that I can discover, except Moirlough; and this name may be taken as one of those common imperfect translations of Gaelic names. Not being aware of any meaning for Monann, the peasant linguist would render it as Loch Mona—the Lough of the Moor. In the name of the valley, Glen Mornan, we have the original word preserved almost unaltered—if, indeed, Mornan be not the correct form of it.

Considered from a strategist's point of view, this, and not the hill of Knockavoe, was the best place for O'Neill's encampment. O'Donnell had mustered his forces on the left, or Donegal side of the Foyle, at Drumlighean (now Drumleene), a townland in the parish of Clonleagh. This is a short distance north of the twin towns of Lifford and Strabane; whilst a glance at the Ordnance Map will show that it is almost opposite to where the Glenmornan river enters the Foyle. O'Don-

nell's forces might, consequently, ford the river here, and were more likely to do it here than at Strabane. If O'Neill were content to wait for them at the Strabane ford, they might have outflanked him and been into the heart of Tyrone, before he was aware of it. It is also expressly stated, that "O'Neill placed sentinels to guard every pass by which he thought the Kinel Connell might come to attack him, while he himself, with [the main body of] his army, remained on the watch at the rere, in his camp." Now, in the parish of Leckpatrick, on the rise of the Foyle valley side, and not far from Glenmornan, there is a great stone lios, called the White Fort. Around it, at some short distance, are three or four earthen forts, or duns. Standing within this spacious White Fort, I was greatly struck with the magnificent view it gave of the Foyle river, throughout its whole course, from above Strabane almost to Derry. Not a corrach could have crossed in the daytime without its being perceived by the sentinel outpost in this fort.

On crossing the River Foyle, at the Corkan Islands, O'Donell's forces, the Kinel Connell, going east should pass this fort, or its outlying duns, more or less nearly, to go next south into the heart of Tyrone, or north to Dungiven, in O'Cahan's Country. Glenmornan lay in their way, as, avoiding it, they should at all events pass between Moarlough and Lough Ash. Now, in this locality, one may see, on the Ordnance Map, no fewer than eight forts marked out as lying north, between Moarlough and Lough Ash—a distance, I think, of no more than one mile. South of Moarlough, such precautions were rendered unnecessary by the mountain line. The entrance to the heart of Tyrone lay that way, through the Gap of Douglas, which could be readily defended. I found, from the recollection of old people, that through Glenmornan and Douglas gap had been the main road of communication with the inner country, before modern improvements had diverted the traffic. When from Lifford, in 1600, Niall Garv O'Donnell, with his brothers and his English, made a hosting into Oireacht-Ui-Cathain, O'Kane's Country, about Dungiven, in quest of prey and booty, they did not halt until they arrived at the Dianait, i. e. the Burndennet, already mentioned. There they were met by a great number of O'Neill's people, who gave battle. This skirmish, also, it is evident, must have happened at no great distance from the former one, but in the territory lying to the north of Moarlough, bounded by Lough Ash and Burndennet.

Here, then, was one of the main passes into Tir-Eogan. The occurrence of the Breach of Loch Monann, in Glenmornan, would give a reason for the names of some of its townlands. Thus, one is called Lag-na-galloglach, the "hollow of the gallowglasses;" and here, if the heavy armed soldiers encamped, they would command the bifurcating roads that led east. Further up the glen, nearer to Moarlough, on the Knockavoe side (but three miles from the top of that hill), is the townland of Knockinarvoer. This signifies, if I render it aright, the "hill of the great slaughter;" and the Annals state that "of the greatest

slaughters of men made between the Connellians and Eoghanians, was this defeat of Cnoc Buidb." It seems probable that part, at least, of the so-called Battle of Knockavoe was fought upon this townland in Glenmornan.

Knockavoe, anciently called Knock-buiób, derives its name from Bodb dearg, pronounced Boov dearg, a celebrated chieftain and sovereign of the Tuatha-Dé-Dananns. He was the father-in-law of Lir, the fate of whose lovely daughters is one of the "Three Sorrows of Story."

Bodb dearg flourished about 3695 years ago, according to the *Annals*, and it is probable that these fragments of sepulchral urns are at least as ancient. This locality was already noted, therefore, before the Christian Era, and Pagan relics remain, as well as the name of the Dé Danann chief. In the parish of Leckpatrick, in which they were found, are to be observed some uninscribed monuments. Of the stone of Patrick, Leac Patraic, nothing is known, if it be not the raised stone near the chapel of Clough-coir—a name which describes the solitary stone. Another Clough-coir is found at Pomeroy, and a sketch of the stone is preserved amongst the antiquarian sketches in the *Academy*. In the same parish, in the townland of Killynaght, there is a very perfect "rocking stone," or "giant's grave." This sepulchral monument of some Pagan Chief—perhaps a contemporary of Bodb Dearg—remains undisturbed.

The kist, or grave, which yielded the sepulchral urns which I have presented to the *Academy*, was found in the townland of Gortacrom, which bounds the hollow of the galloglasses; adjacent to which is the townland of Gortaleck, which derives its name from another pillar stone.

The grave in Gortacrom was destroyed, the urns broken, and some of the bones removed before I arrived at the spot. But I saw the flagstones with which the grave had been enclosed and covered. They were still black with smoke on the inner surfaces, showing that a fire had been made in this stone box before it had been covered in—the upper flagstone serving probably as a back and screen for the fire. Two empty urns stood at one end of the grave; at the other end were a few white bones. The fragments of these which I saw were from the human skeleton. These urns are very unlike in form and ornamentation: whilst No. 3 (Plate II.), six inches high, is elegant in shape and elaborately ornamented, No. 2, six inches broad by seven inches high, is not of a particularly graceful form, and has received no adornment except the reiteration of the same square-pointed indentation. In one band there is, however, a curious zigzag scrawl, as if there were an attempt at writing. One fragment, No. 1, of a third vessel, was found, very much larger, and altogether plain, with the exception of some ridges running around it. This great urn lay in the gravel immediately outside the stone coffin, and had evidently been buried at the same period. Nothing could be found of it but a fragment of the rim, which I had disinterred from some clay which had been carted to the edge of the

field. We have thus three urns, altogether dissimilar in shape and ornamentation—indicating delusively different epochs of workmanlike skill, yet all the produce of one period. The fact of the urns being void of ashes is remarkable: evidently, in this case, the ashes of the dead were not collected to be placed in these vessels. The remains of the burned bones were at the other end of the stone coffin; and part of one had got a blue tint. It came of its great antiquity, for an analysis showed that no copper nor iron was present; as there was a dark stain on the interior of the urns, and a trace on the outside of one as if the contents had overflowed, it is possible that soft parts—the heart or “brain-ball”—might have been placed in them, and the urns then set in the funeral fire.

Although I could not find that any mound or cairn surmounted this grave, yet there may have been one, for the Ordnance Surveyors appear to have chosen this very spot for one of their stations. It is 435 feet above the sea level, and the place of their figures on the map marks where the grave was. However, it was also the highest part of the field, and commands a fine view.

Proceeding up the glen eastwards, we cross the stream on a wooden footbridge to the south bank, nearly opposite a chapel. This is the townland of Knocknahorna, or the barley hill, an appellation on which some additional light is thrown by the frequent reference in the Ordnance Map “to ruins of ancient potteen stills.” Ascending the side of the glen in the direction of Owenreagh mountain, I came with my guide to a large circle of flagstones raised on end. Towards the east-south-east was an entrance passage, with flagstones on either hand, and one laid across, whose edge just appeared above the soil. What is peculiarly remarkable about this (which is not set down on any maps) is, that it had been disinterred in the process of turf cutting. My guide had himself been cutting turf over it some fifty years ago. There were two feet of bog above the top of the flagstones, which are three feet high. When they dug down upon it the circle was perfect, all the stones standing and in good order. When we saw it last January, it had suffered some injury; several of the stones had been removed or broken, and a fence had been run through it.

It occurred to me, on inspecting it, that this circle might have been the Chieftain’s Pound.

Not far from it, in one direction, was a clay dun, and in another direction a cairn of stones. A vast number of these stones had been removed to make a fence, and thus I was enabled to perceive some upright and horizontal flagstones which they had covered. But there was still a great quantity left, partially covering this monument. James Ward, my guide, had been wheeling turf over this buried monument in the year 1812. The dun, also, had been covered over with bog.

Be it remarked that the circle of flagstones was situated on a gentle knoll or eminence, so that there could have been no formation of marsh or flue bog.

We went from this south-east up Owenreagh, where turf-cutting was going on. On the ground from which the bog had been taken, the line of a stone causeway was visible, and at a little distance we came upon what they called the "Giant's stepping stones." For about 150 feet this line of stepping stones ran towards the bank of turf—I was told that at least as much more had been bared, but they now lay covered with bog *debris*. This line of stepping stones ran under the turf bank, which was here some five feet high, as well as I could judge, at the time.

The question of the antiquity of these monuments of ancient civilization is bound up with the question of the rapidity of the growth of bogs, concerning which nothing definite, I believe, is known.

Stakes are occasionally found imbedded in the clay and gravel beneath the bogs; and it was remarked that they must have had good cutting implements in those days, as the cut by which the stake was fashioned was clean and sharp, and showed no hacking.

Here then, buried under an accumulation of bog, slowly growing for many centuries, we discover the manifest traces of the habitation of man. Three thousand years ago, that earthen fort was the abode of a chieftain's family, who, upon this once grassy eminence, a clearing among the forest, overlooked the wooded vales. Stepping-stones were laid over the splashing hollow for his wife and children. Stockades of stakes were driven into the soil, and interwoven with branches, to protect, at night, the herds and flocks from the hunger of the ravening wolf. The Pound was erected on the "chieftain's green," to which the cattle of those who had committed injustice could be driven, and where they remained in safety until satisfaction was made. And, finally, here was the Chieftain's grave, and the monumental tomb of stones which his tribe built for him, in accordance with laws and customs, ere they, too, passed away. Such are the monuments that for hundreds of years have lain concealed under a slowly-thickening zone of bog, and which by accident we have discovered.

VII.—DESCRIPTION OF COINS PRESENTED TO THE ACADEMY BY W. H. HARDINGE, *Treasurer*.

[Read May 23, 1870.]

I ~~am~~ to present to the Academy a silver coin of the reign of Athelstan, another of the reign of his son Edmond, both minted between the years 924 and 946, and a third of Philip and Mary, having the Irish harp impressed on it, and the date 1557.

These coins, with several silver pieces of the reign of William and Mary, were found in the townland and parish of Fennor, and County of Meath, half a mile south of the River Boyne, on a part of the estate of the Marquis of Conyngham, in the occupancy of Mr. Elliott.

In one of this gentleman's fields there are some large rude stones,

which, being in the way of improvement, he determined to have removed. The first stone being raised, human remains, reduced to dust, were exposed to view; and in the dust all the coins were found, together with a brass pin, a finger in length.

The labourers appropriated the pin, and also the coins of William and Mary, as they were bright and like our half-crown pieces. The three coins now presented to the Academy, being broken and dim-looking, were considered as valueless, and left where they had so long lain concealed; and this circumstance secured them for Mr. Elliott, the occupier of the land. From him they passed to his niece, Mrs. William Chambré, who very generously gave them to the writer.

The labourers were most anxious to remove the other rude stones, in expectation, no doubt, of finding more treasure; but Mr. Elliott would not permit them to do so; and they now remain just as they were six-and-thirty years ago, when he first came into possession of the land.

Feeling much interested in the discovery, and having some confidence that under these as yet undisturbed sepulchral monuments other antiquarian coins and treasures may be concealed, I asked my friend, Mrs. William Chambré, if she thought her uncle would allow an examination of the place to be conducted under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy; and she replied that he would, and added, that in another of Mr. Elliott's fields there is a very picturesque terraced mound, about thirty feet high at its apex and about thirty yards in diameter. She further stated, that there is no reason to suppose, from immediately surrounding objects, that this terrace formed any portion of a garden or pleasure ground. It is commonly called the mount of Fennor, and lies about three miles south of the historic Hill of Dowth; and of this terrace also the Academy may have an examination made.

I should certainly recommend a reference to Council of the propriety of such a work. The cost need not be much; and, if conducted by antiquarians who have had experience in such matters—Sir William Wilde, and others—a satisfactory result can scarcely be doubted.

Mr. Elliott's lands were certainly encamped upon by the army of King James II.; and the rude stones referred to, in all probability mark the spots of interment of some of his officers and soldiers. Nor is it at all unlikely that the terraced mound of Fennor may have been then raised by the surviving soldiery over the bodies of the fallen slain.

I also beg to present to the Academy an Ecclesiastical Seal of the diocese of Ossory; it bears the inscription, "The Seal of the Consistorial Court of Ossory. Paul Helsham, V. G." He was made Archdeacon of the Ecclesiastical Diocese of Ossory on 28th of April, 1805, and died in 1822; consequently, the seal presented was 'the court seal' during that period.

VIII.—A LIST OF THE EXISTING NATIONAL MONUMENTS OF IRELAND, IN THE COUNTY OF KERRY, FURNISHED IN REPLY TO THE CIRCULAR LETTER OF THE COMMITTEE OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY. By HENRY STOKES, C. S., &c.

[Read 9th January, 1871.]

1. *Round Tower at Rattoo, Barony of Clanmaurice (Ordnance Map, sheet 9. 1st Rattoo Church. See No. 8.)*—This tower is in good preservation, and is now the only one left in Kerry. It is ninety-four feet high, and only a few stones off the top of the conical roof have fallen down. It is in the demesne of Rattoo, with a small graveyard walled in around it; the present proprietor, Mr. Wilson Gun, takes very good care that no injury shall be done to it.

2. *Ardfert Abbey Ruins, same Barony (Sheet 20)*.—This is one of our most interesting monastic ruins, and being in the demesne of Ardfert, and well guarded by its present proprietor, Mr. William T. Crosbie, its preservation is secure.

3. *Ardfert Church, called the Cathedral and Chapel, same Barony, (Sheet 20)*.—Here is in one group the remains of the ecclesiastical architecture of four centuries before the Reformation. There is an eastern church window of singular beauty in a gable of about 35 feet high, which is in danger of being lost from decay and the increasing departure of its side-walls. There is a church of about 100 feet long, with long narrow windows in the south wall, which overhangs 7 or 8 inches in its height of about 22 feet, and which I offered to draw back by alternating shrinking iron bars, for a small sum to cover expenses, but nobody would pay.

It is the intention of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry to purchase the old parish church (now condemned) and the ruins attached to it, from the Commissioners of the Irish Church Temporalities, and to "restore" the ancient Cathedral. [See Lord Dunraven's photograph.] The remains of the round tower, which fell about ninety-five years ago, are all gone from sinking graves, and from tombs being built with the stones of it.

4. *Lisloughtin Abbey, Barony of Iraghticonnor (Ordnance Map, Sheet 3)*.—This appears to have been a monastery of the same kind as Ardfert, but of a poorer and coarser kind. It is situated near the Lower Shannon, within a mile of Ballylongford. There was a fine square tower in the middle of the ruins which fell last year from being undermined by people rooting for treasure, which tradition and dreamers made certain of finding there. I believe the whole of the buildings will be levelled in due time by this practice, as the present proprietor, Major James Crosbie, of Ballyheigue Castle, who is tenant to Trinity College, Dublin, does not care to prevent it, and stones are scarce thereabouts.

5. *Killahan Cross, Barony of Clanmaurice (Sheet 15)*.—This is one of the only two large old stone crosses I know in Kerry. The second is

at Killiney (No. 10). It stands about 100 yards away from a small graveyard in the parish of Killahan. It is about 10 feet high, and made of sandstone. It is a Greek cross, one arm broken off. There is a small one at Killiney churchyard, in Corkaguiny Barony, quite rectangular.

6. *Kilmalchedor Church and Hermitage, Barony of Corkaguiny.*—This is the ruin of the largest stone-roofed church to be found, I believe. The roof is all gone. The architecture is of the earliest Christian period. Within a mile of the church is the hermitage, with a most perfect stone roof, the largest remaining in Kerry: It is perfectly dry inside. The art of building such roofs with stones laid on the flat appears to be either forgotten or abandoned, for no good reason. See my model of the hermitage presented through Dr. Petrie to the Royal Irish Academy, in 1852. Both these monuments are unprotected from being damaged, and the churchyard of Kilmalchedor is not enclosed. The hermitage is used as a sheep-fold.

7. *Glenfahan Crypts and Monumental Stones called Cloghauns, Barony of Corkaguiny* (see *Ordnance Map of Kerry, Sheet 52*).—Here are a great many small buildings like the Kilmalchedor hermitage, of various shapes and sizes, and in every stage of decay and destruction. A great number of monumental stones, with and without marks, are to be seen over a distance of two miles along the coast—all of great interest to the antiquarian, and protected only by the reverence of the people for them: they make sheep-folds of them, nevertheless.*

8. *Stradbally Church, Barony of Corkaguiny* (*Ordnance Sheet 35*).—This church always excites some surprise from having its east window built to one side of the gable. It is in a small churchyard which is safe from desecration, but, like many of the old churches, it is liable to destruction from being overgrown with ivy. This plant sends its roots through the strongest walls, and bursts them asunder. From what I have seen of its powers in that way I can easily believe that the round towers at Ardfert and Aghadoe were destroyed by it.† There is a large plant of it on Rattoo Tower, and I have asked Mr. Gun to get it cut away, but he fears to incur the popular odium by

9. *Garry William Hermitage, and Kilshannig Church, same Barony (Ordnance Sheet 27).*—These remains consist of a very old church [see Lord Dunraven's photograph], and round crypts or cells built of stone. The sand will soon smother them all, I am told. I have not seen them for twenty years.

10. *Killiney Church, same Barony (Ord. Sh. 36).*—There is a peculiarity in this ruin which I think remarkable. The church stands attached to an old castle, or a building of exactly the character of the ruined castles, evidently taken down from a greater height. It is in an enclosed churchyard, with the modern parish church in it, and so is safe enough. Here is one of the old Irish stone crosses. It is about 9 ft. high.

11. *Ballinskelligs Abbey, Barony of Iveragh (Ord. Sh. 97).*—This is a very old, and was apparently a very poor abbey. It had a very massive stone window, of a very singular pattern, in the east gable of the church adjoining the sea, which gradually undermined the building, and demolished the window. It is over eighteen years since I warned the late proprietor of the adjoining lands that that very singular monument would be destroyed by the sea. He laughed at me. The encroachment went on to within 3 ft. of the gable, when I again represented the danger to the present proprietor, offering to secure the buildings if he would pay a few pounds, but "he would not." About the same time the Board of Guardians refused to enclose and protect the churchyard, under the powers conferred upon them by the Burial Act. About six years ago I went there after a storm, and found the gable and window were a heap of stones and shingle in the sea. I did not hear of it until I saw it—nobody cared. Here is a striking instance of the utter carelessness of all classes for the preservation of such monuments in Ireland, even of those which it would be supposed are held most sacred.

12. *Skelligs Island, Hermitages, Barony of Iveragh (Ord. Sh. 104).*—Lord Dunraven's photographs will fully show the character of these stone-roofed buildings, which are of great monumental value. The late James Butler, of Waterville, who sold the island to the Ballast Board of Ireland for the purpose of erecting lighthouses on it, stipulated as one of the conditions of sale that the old ruins should be carefully preserved. I believe, from what I saw and heard since, that that bargain has not been fulfilled. Mr. Butler, a short time before his death, told me of that clause in his deed of sale, and deplored the destruction that had occurred to several of the buildings. I presume that by representation of the matter to the proper authority the further injury to the ruins might be stopped.

13. *Templecashel Oratory, &c., same Barony (Ord. Sh. 96).*—On the headland next Skellig Island there are several of those stone-roofed hermitages, on one of which I saw a few years ago the greater part of the roof still standing. They are on the estate of Mr. Charles O'Connell, at Moyrisk and Ballinablown. They are uncared for, Mr. O'Connell being an absentee; Dr. Barry, of Cahirciveen, is his agent.


14. *Ballycarberry Fort, same Barony (Ord. Sh. 79).*—Is one of the stone-built forts, called Danish forts, with alternating flights of steps inside to reach the top rampart. I saw it first about thirty-four years ago, when there was a rectangular building of about 5 ft. square in the centre, with two flights of steps up to it, like a rostrum; this is now a small heap of loose stones. The fort walls are in good preservation, and quite enough of the inner building is left to show the plan and structure, but it is every year being more and more dilapidated by the cattle. It is on the estate of the Marquis of Lansdowne; and I think a simple request from the Committee, to Mr. W. S. Trench, or his son, Mr. J. T. Trench, the local agent, asking for an enclosing fence for the preservation of the building, would be at once attended to.

15. *Church Island in Lough Currane, same Barony (Ord. Sh. 98).*—A very ancient church, of the smallest size, I think, I ever saw; it is held to be a most sacred spot. The island, on which this ancient church is situated, contains only $3\frac{1}{4}$ acres, and has some ruins which are not ecclesiastical. Except from trespass of cattle, there is no fear of injury. No Roman Catholic in the barony would carry a stone out of it.

16. *Derrynane Abbey, Barony of South Dunkerren (Ord. Sh. 105).*—One of the earliest Christian churches, with a small, poorly-built monastery. Except for the ivy, it is quite safe, and is carefully preserved by Mr. Daniel O'Connell, of Derrynane, whose family burial place it is.

17. *Staigue Fort, same Barony (Ord. Sh. 99).*—This is the largest and most remarkable of all the stone built Danish forts in Ireland, except two, I am told. It is carefully preserved by Mr. F. C. Bland. There is no trace in the centre of the amphitheatre, or flights of steps, or of such a rectangular building as that which stood in the fort at Ballycarberry (No. 14). There is a model of this Fort in the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society, which is quite a misrepresentation. I think a model, correctly made to scale, was presented to the Royal Irish Academy after the Dublin Exhibition of 1852.

18. *Druidical Circle, Barony of Glenarought (Ord. Sh. 108).*—The only remains of anything like a Stonehenge to be found in Kerry is



charge of the Killarney Board of Guardians for enclosure and protection.

There are twenty-five ruined castles in the County Kerry, and one of the old castles only is inhabited, viz. Dunloe, the estate of Mr. Daniel Mahony.

I give the following list of the ruined ones, indicating by an asterisk those best worth preserving:—

		Or. Sh.	OWNERS.
20a	Ardea,	100	Marquis of Lansdowne.
21	*Ballymackawhin,	15	Trinity College, Dublin.
22	*Ballycarbery,	79	James O'Connell.
23	Bally McAdam,	40	R. J. Marshall.
24	*Ballinskelligs,	97	Richard Mahony.
25	*Ballymalis,	57	Oliver D. Stokes,
26	Ballyplymouth,	40	John Blennerhasset.
27	Ballybunion,	4	H. B. Harem.
28	Ballymullen,	29	James O'Connell.
29	Ballybeggan,	29	Do.
30	Bally McElligot,	39	A. Blennerhasset.
31	*Carrigafoyle,	2	Trinity College, Dublin.
32	Castleisland,	40	
33	Castlecove,	107	E. B. Hartopp.
34	*Dromalahane,	65	Sir Rowland Blennerhasset.
35	*Dunkerron,	92	Henry Herbert.
36	*Fenit,	28	John Hurley.
37	Listowel,	10	Lord Listowel.
38	*Minnard,	54	Lord Cork.
39	Malahiffe,	47	Lord Kenmare.
40	*Killaha,	75	R. J. Marshall.
41	*Ross Island,	66	Lord Kenmare.
42	Tralee,	29	Reps. C. Bateman.
43	Cappanacush,	92	Richard Mahony.
44	Beale,	2	Lord Listowel.

Those not marked * are but partial remains, sometimes not more than a side wall being left standing.

As National Monuments the rest ought to be preserved. So much must also be said of the old ruined churches of apparently little interest to be found in every graveyard. The foregoing only include the most remarkable.

IX.—ON AN ANCIENT BRONZE IMPLEMENT, FOUND NEAR THE HILL OF TARA. By A. G. MORE, F. L. S.

[Read January 23, 1871.]

THE implement to which I wish to invite attention was found by Mr. John Dillon (of Lismullen, County Meath), while engaged in ferretting rabbits on some lands close to the well-known Hill of Tara.

It is made of bronze, and in shape resembles somewhat the steel peg of a boy's peg-top. It weighs 16·8 grammes, and is nearly three inches

in length. The head (see annexed figure) is quite round, gradually tapering to a point, and is about one-half the whole length, or one and a



half inches. To the head is joined a square tongue, or tang, nearly as long as the head itself, and which was evidently intended to be inserted into a wooden shaft. From its general appearance, and judging from the holes which are pitted in its surface, there can be no doubt of its antiquity. When Mr. Dillon first placed it in my hands I expected to find no difficulty in matching it in the Museum of the Academy, so rich in various bronze implements. In this, however, I was disappointed, for there is nothing in our collection at all similar to it, nor have I succeeded in finding any figure of a bronze instrument of the same shape and construction; and I may add that Mr. Franks, of the British Museum, tells me that he has never seen any bronze implement like the present.

As an arrow-head it is heavier than any which I have seen ascribed to the bronze period, and quite different in shape. It is also to be remembered that most of the bronze arrow-heads are furnished with a socket to receive the shaft instead of a tongue to be inserted into the wood; they are also much broader, with the head flattened at the sides into a sharp edge; there is, therefore, considerable difficulty in looking upon the object under consideration as an arrow-head; though, from its weight and construction, it seems very well suited to serve as the head of an arrow, or javelin, to be used in warfare. Certainly, it could not have been the head of a cross-bow bolt, for these were not invented until many centuries later. It is also much too small for the head of a spear to be used in thrusting, and quite different from the bronze spear-heads which are very well known.

The square tongue seems to have been intended both to fix it more

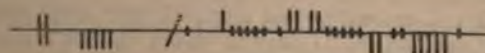
X. — ON AN OGHAM-INSCRIBED STONE, AT KILBONANE, COUNTY OF KERRY. By R. R. BRASH, Esq., M. R. I. A. (With Plate III., Pol. Lit. and Antiq.)

[Read January 23, 1871.]

THE ancient church of Kilbonane stands on the townland and in the parish of the same name, county of Kerry, and about one hundred yards off the right-hand side of the road leading from Killarney to Kilerghlin, being distant seven miles from the former place; the exact site will be found on sheet No. 57 of the Ordnance Map of the county. Within the walls of this church the late Mr. Richard Hitchcock, so well known for his labours in this branch of our national archæology, discovered a very remarkable and unique Ogham-inscribed stone; it was subsequently visited by the late Mr. Windele; neither of those gentlemen, however, published any description of it, so that the only information I could procure respecting it was a vague idea of its whereabouts. In August, 1869, I visited that part of Kerry, and had the satisfaction of a personal inspection of this remarkable monument. The church is a plain, mediæval structure, consisting of a simple nave, built of rude rubble masonry, the only noticeable feature indicating its age being a couplet window of red sandstone in the east gable; it was probably erected in the fourteenth century. The walls are, at present, entire, and its internal area, as well as the cemetery around it, are literally choked with interments. I found the inscribed stone lying horizontally, covering a vault immediately under the east window, and within the church; it is in length six feet three inches, and of variable breadth and thickness, being one foot four inches, by seven inches at the centre. (See Pl. III., Pol. Lit. and Antiq.)

The material is the hard, close-grained clay slate, so generally used for these memorials; it is, unfortunately, broken across in an irregular fracture at two feet six inches from the lower end. It bears a line of Ogham characters on each angle, and two lines on the flat surface, all being on the same face, a portion of one of the latter exhibiting traces of an incised stem-line.

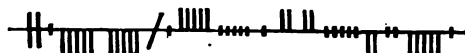
The inscriptions on the angles are much damaged, and it is probable that several of the characters are missing, as is evident by the vacant spaces. The legend on the left-hand angle commences at one foot four inches from the bottom; it is true there is one score, six inches from the bottom; but as there are no traces of such for the ten inches following, and no indications of injury, I am disposed to consider that it was an accidental, or trial score. The inscription is as follows:—



There is a space between the G and N which was probably filled by a vowel, the angle being worn; between the N and M there is a space of seven inches, much abraded, with traces of scores, but nothing

definite; the upper half of the M is also damaged; between the A and the score following is also a space of six inches, with marks of scores above the worn angle; the rest of the characters are quite distinct.

Filling up the injured parts by such letters as are indicated by the inscription itself, and the size of the spaces vacant, I propose the following restoration:—

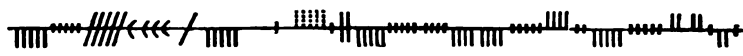

 GANNMAQIADDILONI

To bear out my restoration of the first name, I would mention that about six miles from Kilbonane, in a Rath-cave on the townland of Tinnehally, an inscribed stone was discovered which bears the name Gann; we have here certainly the initials of the name, and spaces which will just contain the missing letters, only one of which, the vowel, is indeed essential to its completion.

The same reasoning applies to the word MAQI. The last name, the patronymic, ADDILON, is one we can recognise as historic: thus, we find that Adhlan, son of Eighneach, died A.D. 950. (Ann. 4 Mas.); names of a similar type are to be found in our indices, as Adamair, son of Fearcorb, A. M. 4783. Adamnan, A. D. 684 (*Ibid.*)

INSCRIPTION No. 2.

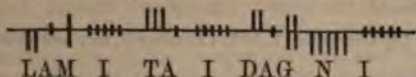
This is, in point of length, the most important line of characters on the stone; it is incised lengthways, nearly on the centre of the face, from bottom to top; such examples are rare; as yet I am aware of only three other instances where the legend is cut on the face of the monument; these are Kilcoleman, Lomanagh, and Callan mountain. The characters commence at ten inches from the bottom, and continue to the top, as follows:—


 NIR M N AGNTESSICONIDDALA

The first three groups of scores are distinct and legible, the fourth

INSCRIPTION No. 3.

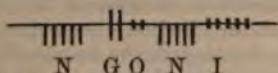
This is also on the face of the stone to the right of that last described, of which it is probably a continuation; it occupies a space of two feet in length, finishing within ten inches of the top, as follows:



These characters are well cut, evenly spaced, and perfectly preserved and legible.

INSCRIPTION No. 4.

The following characters are on the right-hand angle of the monument, commencing at seven inches from the bottom. I had no facility for raising it, to ascertain, beyond doubt, whether there were characters additional to what I have here set forth, as the inscription to me looks incomplete; my sense of touch, however, could not detect any supplementary scores.



I have thus endeavoured to lay before the Academy a description of this monument, the most remarkable of its class hitherto made public. With the exception of the legend on the left-hand angle, the intention of which is obvious, I am unable to offer any conjecture as to the nature or object of the inscriptions. If we assume that this stone was the monument of one individual, whose name and patronymic are given on the left angle, we may presume that the other inscriptions contain some particulars as to the person commemorated; and this may afford some clue to its interpretation. The absence of divisional points, and the probably obsolete forms of language used on these monuments, are no doubt serious obstacles to the investigation. I would, however, especially commend the legends on this stone to the careful examination of our Gaelic scholars, believing that in competent hands this Megalithic record may be made to yield up those secrets hidden from us through past ages.

I would most earnestly press upon the Academy the necessity of taking instant measures for the protection of this valuable monument; it lies prostrate on the ground in a popular cemetery, trampled over at every interment by the iron-shod brogues of the peasantry, and liable to constant injury and defacement. It is already broken across and may at any time be mutilated beyond repair. I would suggest that application be made by the Academy in the proper quarter to insure the future preservation of this relic of the past.

I do not counsel its removal from its present locality, but it should certainly be raised from its prostrate position, and, its parts being united by copper cramps, it might be secured against one of the walls of the old church, which appear to be in a tolerably sound condition.

XI.—ON THE DIFFICULTIES ATTENDANT ON THE TRANSCRIPTION OF
OGHAM LEGENDS AND THE MEANS OF REMOVING THEM. By SAMUEL
FERGUSON, LL. D.

[Read November 14, December 12, 1870; January 9, 23; and February 13, 1871.]

THE theory of Ogham writing is so simple that its authors probably never contemplated any difficulties of mere transliteration, or even of word-division, save such as they may have expressly designed should accompany cryptic methods of arrangement. An alphabet consisting of twenty letters, in four series of five groups each, each group consisting of a definite number of digits not exceeding five, arranged in certain predicaments, over, under, across, and on a given stem-line, would at first sight appear as easy to be read as to be sculptured. I speak of the Ogham alphabet as consisting of letters of known phonetic value. We are familiar with the process by which, through the patient investigations of an illustrious member of this Academy, their agreement with the corresponding Roman characters has been established, and the original keys, existing in the manuscript books of our native antiquaries, have been verified and restored to their long-impeached but well-merited credit. In this demonstration an important part must be assigned to the bi-lingual and biliteral inscribed stones at St. Dogmaels, Llanfechan, and Trallong, in South Wales. The names Sagan, Cunotam, Trenacat, Cunocen, inscribed in Roman characters on the faces of those monuments, are respectively reproduced in corresponding Ogham groups arranged along their angles. The force of these evidences has hitherto been impaired by the consideration, that the traces of Ogham writing remaining on several other South Welsh and South British "biliterals," did not, judging from the published drawings of them, appear with equal clearness to reflect the associated Roman-inscribed names. In the spring of 1869, I examined three of these supposed "unconformables"—namely, the *Turpill* stone at Crickhowel, the *Elterni* stone at Clydai in Pembrokeshire, and the "*Dob*" (*doblaqeos*) stone at Tycoed, in the same neighbourhood; and I am now enabled in effect to double the number of attesting monuments of this class, by stating that what remains of the Ogham legend in each case is a substantially literal reflection of the accompanying Latin; and that the want of conformity noticeable in the published representations is the result in every instance of imperfect copying. Another cogent confirmation is found in the occurrence within my own observation, in three widely separated localities in Ireland—namely, at Killeen Cormaic, in Kildare; at Gortnagullenagh, in Kerry, now No. 6 in our Museum, and at Ballintaggart in the same county, of Ogham inscriptions variously expressing the legend, *magi decedda*; while at Penros in Anglesea, the same designation, *Hic iacit Maccudeceti*, is found inscribed on a monumental flagstone in Roman characters. To these evidences, personally verified, I believe I am safe

in adding, on the authority of Mr. Du Noyer, a fourth Ogham legend, *Magi deccodda*, at Ardgroom, on the Cork shore of the Kenmare River; and on that of the "Kilkenny Archæological Journal," a fifth example of the same formula—whether it be patronymical or titular—*Sarini Fili Macco Decketi*, in Roman characters, at Buckland Monachorum, in Devonshire.¹ In the face of these evidences of agreement, confirmatory as they are of the native records and traditions of this country, it would be an unreasoning pedantry that would hesitate to admit the substantial identification of the Ogham characters with their equivalents of the Roman alphabet.

How comes it, then, that characters so simple and so settled in phonetic value are found to offer such considerable difficulties in transcription?—for when we find the eminent palæographic skill employed in transcribing the Oghams on the Crickhowel and Clydai monuments at fault, we may well recognize the fact that such difficulties have a real existence. It may be considered that one of the causes of this obscurity consists in the very simplicity of the forms to be copied. If all the characters of the Roman alphabet were formed of a series of I's, arranged in groups up to five consecutively, not only would the eye miss that variety of form which in the case of ordinary letters engages and fixes the attention, but any accident occasioning the disappearance of a single digit would, in four cases out of five, leave the rest of the group of an altered value, and in the fifth case would reduce the value to *nil*. Where part of a character, composed of several lines, straight or curved, is erased in a Roman legend, there generally remains enough of indication for its reconstruction; but in Ogham writing, a digit lost is either a new reading or a dropped link in the chain of sound.

Further, when it is borne in mind that, generally speaking, there are no separations of words in an Ogham legend; that most of the names are new—not hitherto found,² either in history or hagiology—that the inflexional forms are seemingly unsettled—and that no form of a verb,³ except possibly in imported Latin formulas, has been detected; it will not be surprising that, in the midst of these obscurities, the most attentive eye should hardly escape fatigue in keeping an account of the changes in relative position—under, over, across, or on a stem-line, sometimes indicated and sometimes left to the imagination—concurrently with the internal changes in the digits constituting the groups themselves.

Such are the difficulties which the reader of any considerable number of Ogham characters has to encounter, even when working

¹ "Kilk. Arch. Journal," 2nd Series, Vol. II., p. 184.

² At least under their present aspect.

³ Perhaps I should except the *feto* of the Trallong legend, seemingly corresponding to the *le jacet* of the correlative Latin. But it seems more probably a siglum for *fexit opus*. If it = *hic jacet*, it would suggest the value of *j* for the Ogham *ff*, and help towards a solution of one of the difficulties presented by the Newton inscription.

within doors, and with the power of using artificial light, which is a very servicable aid in Museum study. The main difficulty, however, arises from the necessity of having to consult such objects in the open air. Where a legend, as is often the case, exists on more than one angle of an inscribed stone—as where it is carried round the head or down the opposite angle—the light which will bring the markings into relief in one aspect will leave them unilluminated in the other; so that when the characters are worn or shallow, repeated visits must be paid at different hours of the day before the eye can be assured of having noticed every indentation. Even then, what with disintegrations of the surface, discolorations, the presence of lichens, and the interruptions of the weather, many miles of travel may have to be encountered, many visits to be paid, and the true text still remain undeciphered.

I may illustrate these sources of error by two of my own experiences. In the spring of 1868, I copied the Callan Mountain inscription. For reasons which would be here out of place, I did not (nor do I) believe that legend to have been fabricated by the framers or for the purposes supposed; and considering it worth some exertion to see and transcribe it, I came from Lisdoonvarna, a distance of twenty miles, for the purpose. When I reached the spot the sun was low, and the light so favourably cast on the whole length of the legend that I made no doubt of being able to carry away a reliable transcript. I copied the legend first from west to east, and then from east to west. So confident was I that I had secured it exactly both ways, that I set out on my return journey without waiting for a comparison. On comparing my transcripts at home I found that the number of digits in one was 81 and in the other 76, while in O'Flanagan's text, it is 79. Having no certainty whether each or any was right, but conclusive evidence that either one or other of my own was wrong, I made the journey again to Mount Callan (but on this occasion from Ennis, a distance of ten miles), in April of the present year, with I hope better success, although I am still without such a cast as alone could give me assurance of being perfectly safe from error.

It is to the difficulty I have indicated, of keeping count of a long sequence of groups shifting in the double predicament of position and of component parts, that my miscarriage on the first occasion is to be ascribed; for the light was all that could be desired, and the level rays brought every digit into distinct intaglio. The other instance I shall adduce is referrible to the difficulty of distinguishing such marks on a rugged surface only partially illuminated. The Rev. John Shearman was good enough, in January, 1865, to confide to me the remarkable discovery he had made of the bilingual inscription at Killeen Cormaic.⁴ In company with him, and on several occa-

⁴ The Latin portion of this legend I take to be

IV VERE DRUIDES;

Quatuor vere Druides. If so, the associated Ogham may be expected to contain the elements of four names in genitives in *o*, to each of which the *safai anhhattos* may be

sions, I examined the stone with all the attention I could bestow; and for the reading which Mr. Shearman communicated to the Academy in May of that year I am jointly responsible. This reading (*Ufano Saei Sahattos*) offered in the word *saei* an apparent equivalent to the *Druides* of the accompanying Roman epigraph, there being, however, a noticeable space between the *a* and *e*. The publication of Mr. Shearman's Paper in our Proceedings naturally attracted much attention. It was the first instance of a "bilingual" found in Ireland. It was, as regards the use of the word *Druid* in its Latinized form, a unique example in the inscriptional records of the British islands. It was found associated with a burying-place of very great antiquity, partaking in its ground plan of the characteristics of Religinæree at Croghan, of the old cemetery at Usnach, and of other probably Pagan places of sepulture, and containing examples nowhere else to be found of the doorposts of passages to ancient sepulchral chambers, grooved for the reception of the enclosing stones, and still *in situ*. These attractions induced a party of gentlemen, of whom Dr. Robert Smith was one and I another, to visit Killeen Cormaic in the autumn of 1865. Dr. Smith, who owns the hand of a craftsman in other work besides surgery, brought with him the means of taking a cast of the "Druid" stone in plaster of Paris, and kindly offered to preserve the moulds until some fit occasion should arise for presenting a cast from them to the Academy. Time passed, and it was not until some three years afterwards that I found leisure and opportunity to get the moulds put into the hands of an artist in plaster work. They had suffered some injury in the meantime, so that the upper part of the

distributively applicable. The intercalated minuscules may thus have a part in the reading; and, in analogy to what Professor Stephens has called the "elegant" employment of a Rune branching to the right, instead of one branching to the left, and *vice versa*—a practice certainly in use by the more pretentious Rune-smiths—the *hh* of *sahhuttos* may be an antithetical *bb* = *sabbattos*. In this view we would have the equivalents of

(Unius)	} Sagi quies.
(Alterius)	
(Tertii)	
(Quarti)	

If the principle of antitheticals were carried unto the left hand groups, and the first minuscule held good for *d*—but this is assuming a great deal—the long sought *Duflac* would emerge as one of the four wise men of Killeen Cormaic, or, as I learn from further researches of Mr. Shearman, of Killeen O'Lugair, which appears to have been the name of the place down to the 13th century. Let not the minuscules be hastily disregarded. There are Ogham digits as slight on other pillar-stones in the same cemetery. Consult Mr. Atkinson's valuable note on different modes and degrees of incision in Mr. Brash's account of the *Coribiri* (query = *Coirbre*?) inscription at the Cork Institution, in "Historical and Archaeological Journal of Ireland," vol. i., 3rd series, p. 256. An arbitrary use of antitheticals would be destructive of any definite reading; and, so far, I am not aware of any clue to their use further than that, in Runes, they appear to be employed only in common formulas (Stephens' "Mon. Run.," 884, &c.), where the obvious meaning necessarily detects the inversion.

cast cannot be relied on; but in that region where the hiatus between the *a* and *e* had been observed the cast is perfect; and there, to my surprise, and I hope to my profit as a useful lesson and memento of fallibility, there appeared, on the cast being brought out of its envelopes, three digits distinctly standing for the letter *f*, and completing the mediæval *saei* in its still earlier and more suggestive form, *safei*. *Saei* being a form, in the original text of the Brehon Laws, signifying *sapiens*, or *sagus*, its appearance with the radical element assimilating it to *sophos* still unelided, seems to point to an even earlier origin for this remarkable inscription than for the compilation of those laws. I do not here attempt to enter on the analogies thus disclosed, and the subject having served its purpose of illustrating the uncertainty of out-of-door observation, is remitted to the consideration of the comparative philologist.

While profiting by those experiences of my own fallibility, extended observation had led me to the conclusion that others were as little exempt from such errors as myself. I here record one of these observations, as showing how widely diffused are the effects of a first oversight, and how great is the waste of learning occasioned by the heedlessness of learned men.

I had procured from the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh a duplicate, in plaster of Paris, of the cast presented to that distinguished body by Mr. Skene, of the Ogham legend on the Newton Stone. This Ogham, with its associated epigraph, in what seem to be debased Roman characters, has long served as an inscriptional bow of Ulysses. The principal legend has been rendered into six different languages. The subsidiary Ogham has been read in Erse and in Pali. Both are found figured in numerous engravings from drawings made by the hand and from images taken by the photograph. In these latter, the characters have been developed by being picked out in white before exposure to the camera. An examination of the cast shows that several groups of digits exist on the lower portion of the stone, in evident continuity with the rest of the Ogham text, which have hitherto altogether escaped observation. The effect of the introduction of these ingredients into the respective renderings of the rest of the text it would be difficult to predicate.

Strongly impressed with the fallibility of the eye even of trained archaeologists, I turned to the Royal Irish Academy as the body most interested in the accuracy of inscriptional texts, and best qualified, from its position and resources, to secure good examples; and the result of the representations which I ventured to make to the Committee of Polite Literature on the subject was the following Report to the Council dated 26th May, 1869:—

“The Committee of Polite Literature have had under their consideration the expediency of taking steps to encourage the systematic study of Ogham inscribed stones in the British Islands.

“In Ireland, there exist upwards of one hundred known Ogham legends; and, probably, a larger number remains to be brought to light.

Considerable numbers of these are probably older than any of the MS. glosses on which the text books of early Irish grammar have been constructed. To place these lapidary aids in an authentic form at the disposal of philological scholars would be a step in the promotion of learning worthy of the Royal Irish Academy.

"The published and MS. Ogham texts, as at present accessible to students, are in general unreliable. It might fairly be doubted whether two in three do not contain inaccuracies rendering them worse than useless for exact study. These inaccuracies arise from the difficulty of copying objects generally found in the open air, and which, to be fully seen, must be viewed in various lights: the same causes render photographs also unreliable.

"The Academy already possesses twelve Ogham inscribed stones and several casts in plaster of Paris; and other plaster casts are ready to be presented as donations. Means also are in preparation for taking casts by a less troublesome and expensive process than in plaster.

"The Committee of Polite Literature, therefore, report to the Council:—

"That, with a view to the formation of a more complete lapidary museum, means ought to be adopted for securing authentic casts of the chief Ogham inscriptions in the British Islands."

This Report was received and adopted, at a meeting of the Council, on the 7th of June, 1869.

The circumstances which prevented anything effectual being done in furtherance of the proposal during the past session, are stated in the letter which I subsequently addressed to the Council, inserted below. Various methods were meanwhile under consideration, by which the casts might, if possible, be obtained in some species of *papier maché*, capable of being easily handled and conveniently kept.

The methods I had in contemplation at this time involved the employment of paper in pulp and in macerated sheets for casts, combined with the use of a moulding material capable of being smoothed out after each operation, and applied in succession to a series of objects. I had used macerated paper with good effect in taking a mould, which I still preserve, of the Croghan Ogham in 1865; and I had employed like means, and also stereotypers' prepared sheets, with some measure of success, on the Ardmore and Castletimon inscriptions in this country, and on the Bridell legend in South Wales. But the elasticity of the material employed had deprived the moulds of their sharpness, and still left the process very far from perfection. In this state of discouragement and inaction, I communicated my object and its difficulties to Mr. Burchett, of the Art Training Schools at South Kensington, and from him I learned that a paper had been specially made by Messrs. De la Rue for that Department, in which moulds of decorative work had been successfully taken by Mr. George M. Atkinson, an Examiner in the same Department, and a gentleman already well known to me by reputation as a zealous Ogham inscrip-

tionist. Mr. Atkinson, on being applied to by Mr. Burchett, at once communicated the details of the process as practised by him. It has been found perfectly applicable to the moulding of lapidary inscriptions. His instructions are as follows:—

Paper.—A strong, pulpy, long-grained paper, like extra thick blotting paper—one layer of this is sufficient, if thick enough.

Dutch-toy paper has been used successfully. Japanese paper also, for small work.

Use.—Wet the paper well, and with a common clothes-brush kept well wet, beat the softened paper into the surface to be moulded. If any breakage occurs, repair by adding another piece of paper, and strengthen if necessary by rubbing some paste, taking especial care that it does not penetrate to the object, and then adding [with paste] another layer of paper to strengthen.

Draw.—When just moist enough to be elastic or rather pliant.

To cast from paper mould.—To prepare the mould, equal portions of naphtha and liquid glue, mixed and put on freely with a soft common sash-tool or similar brush. This will rapidly harden; it is then fit for casting from.

To prepare mould.—Give a thin coat of common raw linseed oil all over; pour on plaster in the ordinary way.

Having tested the method as communicated by Mr. Atkinson, by taking a mould in paper from the cast of the Newton Stone, I prepared at the close of July, 1870, to carry out my design on an extended scale in the country. I was accompanied by Mr. Burchett. The locality selected was the western division of Corkaguiny, in Kerry, of which Dingle is the most convenient centre. This region was chosen as being at once the richest and the most fully explored field for inscriptional pursuits. It was known to me that, in other districts almost equally rich, other inquirers have been, and are, successfully engaged in the discovery of similar monuments—notably, Mr. Brash, of Cork, and Mr. Williams, of Dungarvan—and it was deemed better to avoid any interference with their labours, one great reward of which is the right to claim priority of discovery.

In applying the process to the various classes of inscribed monuments occurring in the Dingle district, it was found necessary in all cases to be provided with apparatus for carrying away the moulds, so adapted to the shape of the objects as to preserve, as far as possible, their several contours and angularities.

For legends extending along a continuous angle or arriss, a light cradle, consisting of two boards, six feet long by six inches wide, hinged lengthwise, and adjusted to the angular opening by moveable cleats, was found sufficient. For more complicated forms, specially designed templets, made in card-board, were provided. On the care with which these were fitted to the salient and re-entrant forms of the surface, as also in some cases to convex and cylindrical outlines, rested much of the success attending on the operations. The paper em-

played was thick violet blotting, supplied by Messrs. Cowan, D'Olier-street.³

Having by these means secured moulds of many of the inscribed stones of the district, it was considered advisable, before offering the collection to the Academy, to test the feasibility of reproducing a mould in metal. With this view the mould first taken from the east of the Newton Stone was put into the hands of Mr. Carnegie, an ingenious workman of Messrs. Ross and Murray, who returned it with a perfect reproduction in white metal. Although the mould underwent no preliminary process of hardening, it yielded its metal duplicate without losing its sharpness, and quite satisfied me that the moulds taken in the country were strong enough, however slight in appearance, to be converted without risk into permanent matrixes.

Being so assured, I addressed to the Secretary of Council the following letter:—

"20, North Great George's-street,
Dublin, 28th October, 1870.

"DEAR SIR,—Referring to the Report of the Committee of Polite Literature of the 29th of May, 1869, and to the consequent resolution of Council, of the 7th June, 1869, as to the formation of a museum of casts from Ogham-inscribed monuments, I beg to state that being obliged to spend the vacation of that year out of Ireland, I was unable to take any step towards the object proposed during the session of 1869-70.

"Being free from the necessity of going abroad during the present year, and continuing to entertain the belief that, for the profitable study of at least Ogham legends, it is essential that a large number of examples should be brought together—while confirmed by extended observations in my conviction, that the authenticity of such examples cannot be secured by any means short of an exact reproduction of the originals—I have occupied myself during this autumn in procuring moulds of a considerable number of inscribed monuments, chiefly of the Ogham class.

"These moulds have been taken in paper, by a process which, as applied to such objects, is I believe substantially new. They are capable of being reproduced in plaster of Paris or in metal, from which an unlimited number of duplicates can be had; and will even yield a few impressions in paper, direct, but not without ultimate injury to themselves.

"The method of taking these paper moulds is in principle the same which was adopted in verifying the Croghan inscription in 1865,⁴ and is a modification of the 'less troublesome and expensive process' re-


³ The Academy is indebted to the liberality of one of its members, Andrew Armstrong, Esq., for a large donation of moulding paper, specially prepared since the process was first described.

⁴ Proceedings Royal Irish Academy, vol. ix. p. 161.

ferred to as in preparation in the Report of 1869. For carrying it out to its present measure of success, I am mainly indebted to Mr. Burchett, head master of the National Art Training Schools at South Kensington, and, through him, to Mr. George M. Atkinson, an Examiner of the same Department, who has been kind enough to furnish me with valuable suggestions both as to material and manipulation.

“For the purposes of study, as well as for facility of arrangement and economy of space, casts in paper, of adequate strength, are much preferable to reproductions in plaster or metal. To enable the student to give an undivided attention to such objects, it is necessary that they should be easily moved, so as to be placed in convenient lights and points of view. The difficulty of so dealing with heavy masses has greatly detracted from the value, for practical purposes, of the inscribed stones, which have, from time to time, been brought from their sites in the country, and placed in public and private museums. Any one undertaking the systematic study of such a collection, must be prepared to move considerable weights, must work under various inconveniences of posture, and submit to frequent interruptions dependent on changes of light and shade. The employment of paper duplicates, while affording entire freedom from these disadvantages, with the additional facility of a surface possessing uniformity of colour, will also, it is hoped, dispense with the temptation to further disturbance of the inscribed monuments still occupying their ancient sites.

“The possibility of obtaining any number of duplicates in paper, and of assembling, in one light and manageable collection, examples of all the legends extant, leads me to hope that the Council of the Royal Irish Academy will recommend the Academy to accept the donation which I propose to make of the original paper moulds of the inscriptions enumerated in the list annexed, as the nucleus of a paper-cast Inscriptional Museum, on the understanding that the reproduction of the moulds in plaster or metal, and the conservation of their casts for public study, shall be provided for by the Academy.



“LIST OF MOULDS OF INSCRIBED STONES FROM THE FOLLOWING LOCALITIES
IN THE BARONY OF CORKAGUINY, COUNTY OF KERRY.

[Following the topography of the Ordnance Survey Map, 1846.]

No.	Townland.	Parish.	No. of Sheet Ord. Sur.	Observations.
I.	Coomeenoola North,	Dunquin.	52	On Dunmore Head.
II.	Vicarstown, . . .	"	"	Otherwise Tyvorla.
III.	Ballywiheen, . . .	Marhin.	42	" Cahernagat.
IV.	Ballinrannig, . . .	"	"	} at Burnham House near Dingle.
V.	"	"	"	
VI.	"	"	"	
VII.	"	"	"	at Lough, near Dingle.
VIII.	Maumanorig, . . .	"	"	Otherwise Kilcoleman.
IX.	Gallarus, . . .	Kilmalkedar.	"	
X.	Kilmalkedar, . . .	"	"	
XI.	"	"	"	
XII.	Ballymoreareagh, .	Kildrum.	43	Otherwise St. Manchan's.
XIII.	"	"	"	" Kilfountain.
XIV.	Emlagh West, . . .	Dingle.	53	
XV.	Ballintaggart, . . .	Garfinny.	"	
XVI.	"	"	"	
XVII.	"	"	"	
XVIII.	"	"	"	
XIX.	"	"	"	
XX.	"	"	"	
XXI.	"	"	"	
XXII.	"	"	"	
XXIII.	"	"	"	
XXIV.	Emlagh East, . . .	Dingle.	"	Otherwise Trabeg.
XXV.	Kinard East, . . .	Kinard.	"	
XXVI.	"	"	"	
XXVII.	Aghacarrille, . . .	"	54	
XXVIII.	"	"	"	
XXIX.	Ballinesteenig, . . .	Cloghane.	43	
XXX.	Arraglen, . . .	"	25	Otherwise the Tyduff and Brandon Stone.
XXXI.	Camp,	Kilgobban.	36	

“I have the honour to be,

“Dear Sir,

“Your very faithful Servant,

“SAMUEL FERGUSON.

“To JOHN K. INGRAM, Esq., LL. D., &c. &c.,

“Secretary of Council of the

“Royal Irish Academy.”

The Council, at their meeting of the 7th November, 1870, having
resolved to recommend accordingly, I now have the pleasure to pre-

sent to the Academy the several moulds above enumerated, together with:

No. xxxii. Newton Stone, Aberdeenshire, Ogham legend in plaster of Paris.

No. xxxiii. "Druides" Stone, Killeen Cormac, (part of) do.

No. xxxiv. Paper mould of Stone No. 1, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

No. xxxv. Ditto, No. 5, in do.

No. xxxvi. Ditto. of the Non-Oghamic legend on the Newton Stone, from the plaster cast in the possession of the Academy.

No. xxxvii. Ditto. of the Ogham inscribed stone from Fortwilliam in the County of Kerry, in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin.

In the enumeration of these legends, and in the references to them, I have employed Roman numerals to distinguish them from the stones in the Lapidary Museum of the Academy, which are referred to by Arabic figures.

The district around Dingle which has supplied the bulk of the examples, while extremely rich in such memorials, is very sparingly alluded to in our annals, civil or ecclesiastical. The names decypherable are, with few exceptions, quite unknown¹ to the student of our written annals, martyrologies, and acta. In drawing these unwonted sounds and syllabic combinations from the obscurity in which their Ogham equivalents have involved them, we seem to be introduced to new communities and conditions of life apart from the historic current. That these were, in the main, Christian communities, is the conclusion to which most minds will probably be led, even from the little known of them; but to what epoch referrible, and under what relations to other bodies and communities, are conclusions for which, as yet, we can only provide the material of induction. Enough, however, is historically on record respecting the intimate relations subsisting in post-Roman and ante-Patrician times, between South Britain and South Ireland, to make it at least an allowable conjecture that traces of those relations, in other instances besides the common use of a peculiar alphabet, may appear among some of the older forms of these memorials. Such results would not be without an historic value, and are at least worthy of being sought for with diligence and exactness.

With respect to the sites from which the Kerry moulds have been derived, the collection includes—with the exception of the Roman-inscribed stones at Reask and near Ballyferriter—one Ogham legend buried in the sand at Ballinrannig, on the shore of Smerwick harbour—and two in the Cave at Aghacarrille, which, from their position, could

¹ It will be seen from the letter of the Bishop of Limerick (*post*) that these obscurities are regarded by Bishop Graves as incident to certain laws of construction observed in the formation of "Ogham names," and that, substantially, all are recognisable through their disguises.

not be had entire—everything in this class known to exist from the western extremity of Corkaguiny at Dunmore Head, to a line drawn from Brandon mountain on the north to Lispolie Bridge and the sea on the south. Many other and valuable memorials of the same class exist to the east of this line, onward to Camp, in the neighbourhood of Tralee; but these (save that at Camp, which, having turned out to be both “bi-lingual,” and “bi-literal,” was of too great novelty and value not to be included) have been left to some future occasion, and possibly for some other and more workman-like hands to make available for use in the Inscriptional Museum.

The collection may be distinguished as regards the method of writing into—first, those angular pillars, the corners or arrises of which constitute the stem line; secondly, those rounded blocks, on the smooth convex sides and ends of which the digits are arranged at successive relative levels without any stem line; and, thirdly, one example in which the stem line is insculpted together with the digits on the face of the monument.

As to the first class, most persons who have given a careful inspection to our Museum will be familiar with their appearance; and some, no doubt, will have observed that their shape has rendered them peculiarly liable to damage by fracture. So much is this the case that, of the twelve already in our Museum, it is questionable if any one can be considered complete; while of the number now added in paper of this class, three only can be referred to as presenting complete and perfect legends. Not so the second and third classes. Their comparatively smooth surfaces have preserved almost all in substantially complete preservation. Of these some are inscribed in characters having their ordinary alphabetic force; others, or at least one, in such characters, with the introduction apparently of certain intercalated successions of consonants, the vocalization of which would appear to be effected by a process of coalescing the antithetical groups, and converting them into stem-crossing digits having vocalic values.*

Of these ordinarily-conceived epigraphs, some, such for example as *Moinena magi olacon—Curcitti—Tria maga mailagni—Dofeti maggi cattini—inissimon*—are easily decipherable; others are more, and some very much more, difficult; but all, I believe, can now be read with reasonable certainty.

* Such might seem to be the key to the Ring Ogham on the stone at Logie in Aberdeenshire. This legend, as we find it in the “Sculptured Stones in Scotland,” in whatever direction read, yields *prima facie*, nothing but consonants—*grftqbh*, or *grftqhb*. Two pairs of these, *bh* and *ft*, are antitheticals in the above sense. Coalescing them, by M'Curtin's second rule, they become *a* and *u* respectively, and there results, in what seems the most obvious course of combination, the name *Gruga*. The temptation to compare *Grugach*, daughter of Boede, once queen of that region, named in the Chatulary of St. Andrew's, but better known in a more imaginative field of literature, would be irresistible, if a paper mould of the legend, obligingly forwarded to me by Colonel Forbes Leslie, while this paper is going through the press, did not relegate Lady Macbeth to the region of shadows by disclosing new digits differently disposed.

How little this was the case, while the legends had to be studied in the open air, in the disused burying-ground at Ballintaggart, may be judged of by a reference to Volume I. of Mr. Du Noyer's drawings in our library, where five of the Ballintaggart group are figured. It will be seen that in no one case has this accomplished artist succeeded in transferring the characters in their textual integrity to his portfolio. The difficulty in dealing with this class of legends *sub diò* has, indeed, been insurmountable; and I am not aware that any, even of the most experienced draftsmen of such objects, has hitherto attempted to decipher more than certain portions of some of them.

As an example of this rounded stemless class, as well as of the difficulty of securing exact copies of such objects, even by the most learned and conscientious, I adduce a mould taken by the paper process from another Kerry Ogham, now preserved in the Hall of Trinity College Museum. This is the Fort William inscription, which was figured by our late dear and revered academic brother, Dr. Todd, in vol. ii., p. 411, of our "Proceedings." It is, I believe, the first illustration of a monument of this class to be found in our publications after the revival of Oghamic inquiry amongst us, and has evidently been drawn with scrupulous attention to accuracy.

Even at this early stage of the inquiry, Dr. Todd saw the paramount importance of exact texts, and, in his paper, presses earnestly on the Academy to secure "the most accurate and best authenticated collection of copies, or *fac similes* of the inscriptions themselves," in preference to even "the best essays or theories for the explanation of the Ogham character." It is instructive to read the assurance that the accompanying woodcut is "an exact copy," coming from one so competent to judge, and so strongly impressed with the necessity of judging rightly, and to compare with that statement the paper-mould lately taken from the original, exhibiting as it does, amongst other less prominent discrepancies, the transposition from the under to the upper-line series of the penultimate digit-group.

Even where, as in the case of Dr. Petrie, learning and conscientiousness have had high artistic skill for their exponent, the pencil in the open-air has been unequal to a less difficult series of Ogham groups. In his essay on "Irish Church Architecture" (p. 135), Petrie has given a drawing of the pillar at St. Manchan's, near Kildrum, on the road from Dingle to Kilmalkedar. As represented, the legend yields no pronounceable combination of sounds, the transliteration being

Qen [] feihaqemgcumaainiamu[.

This inarticulateness results from errors mostly of omission, and all of a minute kind. The moulded paper-duplicate supplies the overlooked and retrenches the superfluous digits, yielding, not indeed the name Manchan in any of its forms, but the name (apparently in the genitive) QENILOCI, followed by formulas familiar to the eyes of Ogham students, but which I do not here attempt to explain. This *Qeniloe*

(corresponding to the *Quniloegni* of the stone No. 7 in the Museum of the Academy, and seemingly to the *Cunalegea* of No. 7 of the Drumleghon group) may possibly have borne the agnomen *Manchan*; as the Latin *Monachus*, in its various forms, was a favourite one among the adoptival names customarily assumed by persons in religion; and the conspicuous position of the pillar, flanking a kind of raised avenue to the doorway of the stone-roofed oratory, universally called St. Manachan's, makes it unlikely that it should have been erected to any but the founder.

In justice to the illustrious scholar, to whose inaccuracies I have shown no more tenderness than I have extended to my own, it must be mentioned that, twenty-five years ago, when Petrie published this deservedly renowned essay, the evidence of the Welsh biliterals was unknown; and the pretensions of this class of lapidary letters rested on the traditionary method of transliteration, which, true though it was to the key as since established, had in its results at that time little to recommend it to the acceptance of scholars acquainted with formulas of monumental writing.

A better test of Petrie's accuracy is found in his drawing of the inscription "in Græco-Roman or Byzantine letters," as he considers, at Gallarus (page 133), which records the name of Colum, and once recorded the name of Colum's father and grandfather. Petrie must have had this stone raised from its bed and subjected to a most careful study in various lights, for his reading is (having regard to the abrasions and *bisarreries* presented by the legend) a surprising approximation to complete and exact accuracy. Nevertheless he has failed to observe, what the paper-mould reveals on a careful inspection and in favorable light, that what he took for *mel*, the last syllable of the lost name of the father, is, in fact, *mec*, the introductory predicate to the name of the grandfather; and that what follows, although no longer fully legible, includes the remains of what probably was a monogram of the name of Maria or some of its derivatives.*

So also, notwithstanding the general success with which he has copied the alphabet stone at Kilmalkedar, engraved on the same page, down to the letter P, a comparison with the cast discloses imperfections more or less noticeable in most of the remaining characters. But here, again, one cannot but admire the skill which extracted so much from a surface so worn, and which from the weight and position of the stone could only be studied under a light unfavourable to the disclosure of some of the inscribed traces.

An interesting consideration suggested by this mould is to be noticed as regards the letter K. In Petrie's essay, this letter presents the form of F; and, so far as the top stroke is concerned, the inscription *primâ facie* would seem to warrant it; but the projecting limb is somewhat retrenched of its upper member in his

* Other Marian combinations exist in this locality. Compare No. vi. (3rd of the Ballinrannig group), and the Tyvorra and Kinard examples, *post*.

drawing. Now, no instance has been found of the letter K in any inscribed monument having the form here given to it; whereas, if the top stroke be ascribed to the adjoining L, with which it equally associates itself, and if the upper member of the projection be extended to its real proportions, the result will correspond with a well-known but perplexing character, which, in Romano-British inscriptions, has the force of N, but is found in Franco-Norman legends with the power of K; and this may have a bearing of some consequence in determining the force to be ascribed to this same character, where it occurs in a hitherto undeciphered connexion in the last line of the principal epigraph on the Newton Stone. Pointing in the same direction, it may be observed that some of the concluding characters have the appearance of *runes*; and that the Z seems to have been crossed by a horizontal stroke, which would appear to detract from the high antiquity hitherto ascribed to this legend.

This Kilmalkedar alphabet-stone affords an instructive illustration of the deceptiveness of worn inscriptional characters, and of the illusory nature of those semblances of truth, which sometimes spring directly from error, and may be reckoned amongst the most pernicious of her progeny. When Mr. Pelham occupied himself in making drawings of the inscribed stones in the neighbourhood of Dingle, for the *Collectanea* of Vallancey, he included this alphabet-stone, which then stood in the open, amongst his studies; but mistaking the perpendicular lines of the Roman characters for Ogham digits, he introduced into the middle of the alphabet a supposititious Ogham legend; and (so delusive is untruth) these figments and nonentities actually array themselves without any volition of their author, in an order capable, with an almost allowable degree of adjustment, of yielding an intelligible and not inappropriate meaning,

Laba hui cabba.

"The bed of the grandson of Cabba," would be a welcome addition to the limited Oghamic vocabulary, and would not, so much as most other versions of Ogham texts, offend the proprieties of inscriptional language: but the answer to all such speculation is, that the subject-matter is a mere phantasm and creation of a misconceiving apprehension.

Even where opportunities exist for indoor study and the use of varied lights, error cannot in all cases be entirely excluded. The artist who has illustrated that well-digested and useful section of Sir William Wilde's "*Catalogue*," devoted to our collection of Ogham-inscribed stones, while successful in the transfer to his pages of one of the examples given, has fallen, in the case of the other, into certain mistakes of omission. The instance I refer to is the woodcut of the stone, stone No. 1. in our collection, at p. 136 of the first volume of the "*Catalogue*" of our Museum. Here the paper-mould, besides converting the initial *a* into *m*, discloses two crosses of that peculiar kind called in heraldry the Filfet, in which the ends of the several arms of a Greek

cross are reverted at right angles, from left to right. It is a form of cross frequent on the bracteates and early inscriptional monuments of Scandinavia. Its presence on the Newton Stone inscription has led to many confident assertions of the Pagan character of that monument. The force of this argument will be much diminished by finding it here subordinated to an undoubted Christian cross, and associated with an Ogham legend which appears to be of a Christian character.¹⁰

Without direct examples, it is difficult to conceive to what an extent of illusory speculation errors, such as I have exemplified, are capable of seducing the unwary inquirer. The mischiefs so occasioned in misapplied energy and time spent in visionary speculation, where no step is taken to verify the copies by actual inspection of the originals, are incalculable. Pushed to their legitimate end, however, of trial by actual inspection, they cure themselves; for no illusion is dispelled without the revelation of some reality. The cast from the Newton inscription, now upon the table, will illustrate what I desire to convey. The Newton legend, one of the longest as it is the most difficult of all known Ogham inscriptions, offers, among various possible combinations of those groups forming the *plexus*, or loop, which seems to have been introduced into it in analogy to the Runic knot, a reading yielding the result "*Fostacortiqgerni*." Regarding this provisionally as a real result for purposes of comparison, the phrase upon the monument at Llanpabo in Anglesea (2 Camd., p. 572), "*Hic jacet Pabo, Post Prydhain*," "the pillar of Britain," is what naturally occurs as the *primâ facie* analogue, hinting at the commemoration here of some one who in his day had been the (*fosta*) supporting prop of the region, or person designated under the combination *cortiqgerni*. On the other hand, these vocables, by a different grouping, might yield the phrase *Fostacor tiqgerni*, having a sufficient resemblance to the Irish *Foisteachoir Tigearna*, "hireling of the Lord," (a designation not necessarily to be rejected as repugnant to sepulchral language) to make it worthy, at least, of consideration and comparison with analogous texts, should such at any time present themselves.

Now, among Mr. Du Noyer's transcripts, there is one of the Ogham-inscribed pillar at Ballyquin, in the county of Waterford, where portion of the legend yields the combination *Festagar*, and the similarity appeared at least sufficiently remarkable to give the Ballyquin pillar a well marked place in my contemplation as a beacon and possible finger-post to further exploration of the Newton mystery. I had an opportunity of making a careful inspection of the Ballyquin pillar in July of the present year, and found the legend to be

Catabar moco firigorb.

The *Festagar* of my speculations flew

"far off
Into that Limbo long and large, still called
The Paradise of Fools;"

¹⁰ *Apostoli*, as explained *post*.

but left in its stead a substitute which will, I hope, well compensate the student of Irish case-endings in the examples it affords of external inflections of the ingredient words becoming internal inflections of their compounds, in this commemoration of *Cathbar son of Feruorb*.

Another *ignis fatuus*, exhaled from the same source, which it was my lot to follow for some considerable time through the etymological quagmire, arose on a comparison of another of these drawings with a notice of certain Cornish inscribed stones, mentioned by Borlase, and re-illustrated in the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*." Among other Romano-British legends remaining in the neighbourhood of Penzance, is one which seems to read *Rialobron*. This legend certainly has a questionable aspect: but considering that among Mr. Du Noyer's transcripts there was one—that of apparently one of the best preserved examples at Ballintaggart—which yielded the vocables *Riamastami*, it seemed at least prudent to await an opportunity of comparison.

I therefore, on my first visit to Ballintaggart, approached the original with a curiosity sharpened by the expectation of finding this additional link in the chain of South British and South Irish resemblances. The Ballintaggart legend, however, seen by a favourable light, after some study declared itself in the form *Tris maga mailagni*. Here, while the illusory show of a near resemblance between British and Irish formulas in lapidary writing was dispelled on the one hand, an additional and real evidence of the analogies of early British and Irish names was revealed on the other. The patronymic Mailagni, to which may be added the various forms of Talagni, Dillagni, Corbagui, Tasigagni, all found in Irish Ogham texts, has its analogue in the Roman-lettered *Maglagni* of the Llanfechan monument.

Trenacatus hic jacet filius Maglagni.

Let me ask the consideration of our Irish scholars to a question which here seems legitimately to present itself: is the broad *dn* which occurs as the termination of many of our Irish names—Brocàn, Cronàn, Bìllàn, &c.—a softening of this kind of inspissation in older forms; and would the Oghamic names I have enumerated be recognizable as



magi in the plural; the form *maga*, however, being, in any case, a novel addition to the Oghamic vocabulary.

A similar disillusion awaited me on the adjoining strand at Trabeg. Here, on the margin of highwater, lies the often-illustrated block bearing the name of *Brusccos*, and of the father of *Brusccos*, whose name, whether it was *Calic*, or *Caluoc*, or *Caliac* (for there is some obscurity in the penultimate group), may, in its inflected form, certainly be regarded as a genitive dependent on the preceding *Magi*. Now, in the bi-lingual of Killeen Cormaic, a grammatical dependence seems to exist between the last word of the epigraph terminating in *os*, and the commencing proper name or names, terminating in *o*; and at an early period of my acquaintance with Mr. Shearman's discovery, it occurred to me that here were indications, if supported by the results of any considerable induction, of an old Irish nominative in *os*, having a genitive in *o*, which might possibly furnish a new paradigm to the declensional forms of the *Grammatica Celtica*.

This stone of *Brusccos* appeared to supply at least one example towards corroborating the inference; for it had been carefully examined by a learned member of the Academy, who had made it the subject of recent communications to this and other antiquarian societies. He read the legend,

Brusccos maggi Calu oco,

and conceived he had detected in the terminal syllables an exclamation of sorrow for the fate of *Brusce* the son of *Calu*. I was not prepared to accept this part of the legend in that sense; but regarded the name as a legitimate analogue of the British *Bodvoe*, and visited the monument in the full confidence that it would confirm my impression of the declensional forms suggested by the Killeen Cormaic bilingual. I confess I was, at the moment, disagreeably undeceived. The object pursued may be delusive, but the pleasure of the pursuit is real; and such is the imperfection of the inquiring faculty, that one parts with some regret from an idea, however chimerical, which has for any length of time been the companion of his thoughts. The expected *o* turned out to be an *i*, and I turned from the disappointing indentations with a sense of the vanity of human wishes.

"*Caliacus*,"²¹ however, which seems to be the true name so revealed, is an acceptable addition to the Hiberno-Britannic names of post-Roman date: for it is to this period the name *Brusccos* seems most probably referrible. Mr. Brash has pointed out the Roman inscription at Lincoln commemorating *Nominius Sacer* son of *Bruscos*, "*Civis Senonii*;" and the name again occurs on pottery of the same period—*Bruc F.*—from Duntocher on the line of Agricola's Wall, where the siglum *F.* obviously stands for *Fecit*.

²¹ See observation of Bishop Graves (*post*).

This siglum, and its meaning, induce another example of a like nature with the last. Several pieces of fictile ware from the same locality present the maker's marks, accompanied by the contraction OF. (possibly *officina* or *opus fecit*), as OF. Savetri; Patirati OF. (Castlecary); OF. Valo.; OF. Iucun; (Cramond).¹² This OF. appears to have its reflexion on some Ogham inscriptions, which are obviously, in part, at least, conceived on Roman models; as at Bridell, where the concluding groups appear to read plainly, *oudoco effeci*;¹³ at Drumloghan where, on the roof stone No. 7, the characters, as I conceive, express the legend *cunalegea maqi c* — *ar celuufiq feci*, as recording the erection of a monument for Kelufic; and (not to go outside my own opportunities of verification by inspection) at Ardmore, where the "Lugudeccas" legend ends with what seems an independent OF.¹⁴ Now, amongst Mr. Du Noyer's drawings is one of the Ogham inscribed pillar on Brandon mountain, which possessed the double attraction of presenting the word *Qrimiter* coupled with the syllable AF., wanting only a single notch to form another example of the same combination. This word *Qrimiter*, or *Cruimther*, had a peculiar interest from the

¹² Wilson, Prehist. Ann. Scot., p. 102.

¹³ The transliteration of the entire legend appears to run thus, *nettasagrohocoudoco-effeci*, or *nettasagromoc*, &c. Here, whether *netta* be deemed part of the ensuing legend or separable from it, it is noticeable as reflected in the *netacarinetacagi* of the Castle-timon legend (correcting Du Noyer in the *c's*), and in the *nettalaminaqca*, &c., of one of the Ballintaggart group (No. xvi). If separable, compare with *nit* or *nita* in *mort tricet oc e petuar nitanam atterunc*, of the Towyn inscription, equivalent possibly to *mortuus trigesimo* (?) *centesimo quarto (anno Christi) nita anamat mater hunc*, &c., and with *nethi* on the "Sieur Eloy," or Brunswick Casket (Kilk. Arch. Soc. v., 4 N. S., 267, and Stephens's Runic Monuments, 378); giving rise to the conjecture that *netta* = *opus*, or, possibly, *signum*. If so, the verbatum of the Bridell stone would seemingly run, *Netta sagro hoc* (or *sagrom oc*) *oudoco effeci*. There was an Oudoc, Bishop of Llandaff in the 7th century. If *moc*, the reading might be *moci doco*, &c., and *Docus*, a more eminent personage, be the one intended.

¹⁴ Assuming the pedigree preserved in this legend to be that of Declan's great grandfather Lugdech, it would show the existence of Christian orders in the South of Ireland four generations before Declan's period, whatever that may have been. There can be little, if any, doubt of the verbatum of the first two lines, *Lugudeccas maqi Dolati bigoesgobi*. *Dolatus* may be a play on the *Anac* and *Miach* of the pedigree which again appear corroborated, though not with entire certainty, owing to a fracture of the stone, in the *anaci* legend from the adjoining Cathedral (Mus. Lap. R. I. A., No. 4); and *bigoesgobi* can hardly be taken for anything but chore-bishop, in its Latinized form *vico-episcopus*. Whether *Cagomageca*, in the third line, be a name of humiliation of Declan himself (*dae glan per antithesin, in villiori sensu*), is worthy of inquiry. See le Blant *sur nommes bizarres adoptés par les premiers Chrétiens* (Revue Arch., N. S., vol. x, p. 5); see also *Cagosi Ceccudoros*? of one of the Ballintaggart group (No. xxii), a retroverse reading, but supported by the direct examples, *Gosocti Smosacma* (Mus. Lap. R. I. A., No. 10); *Saffiggi Tiocattac* (Mus. Kilk. Arch. Soc.); *Carrttacagagi Mucagna* [but this is possibly *mmaqi*] (Mus. Cork Instit.); *Qrittalegi gritumah*? (R. I. A., No. 5); *Curciti Findilora*? (No. xxv), which all appear formulated to one method of expression. In this connexion consider M^cCurtin's statement as to the practice of stigmatising the deceased under cryptic Ogham forms of vilification.

explanation given in the "*Sanas Cormaic*," which points to a British connexion.

"*Cruimther*, i. e. the Gaelic of *presbyter*. In Welsh (Cymric) it is *premyr*: *prem* in the Welsh is *cruim* in the Gaelic. The Britons then who were in attendance on Patrick when preaching, were they who made the change, and it is (to) *premyr* that they changed."

In other words the Britons brought the name in the Welsh form *Premyr*, and the Irish, using *c* hard for the Welsh *p*, adopted the word in the form *Cruimther*, in which form we find it ascribed in our oldest ecclesiastical documents to various eminent Presbyters, as distinguished from other orders and degrees, ecclesiastical and scholastic.

From Stokes's note to his translation of the Glossary, at the place cited, it would appear that this inscription had been submitted to Siegfried, who had transliterated it *Curimitirros*. Was then the *af* of Du Noyer's drawing correct, or was it a miscopying for *of*, and so a siglum having a separate meaning? or, as seemed probable from Siegfried's reading, was it a double miscopying for *os*, and part of the preceding groups? These considerations gave me an eager desire to visit the Brandon pillar. It is not marked on the Ordnance Survey Map; and the locality from which it is accessible, marked on the Ordnance Map as *Tyduff*, is not known by that name in the country at present, but by the name of Ballinahow, from whence an excessively rough and broken mountain road leads through a distance of about three miles to the site of a disused watch-tower on the northern shoulder of Brandon mountain. Here, at the summit of the pass, just where the mountain track terminates, at a height of more than 2000 feet above the sea, in a very wild and solitary scene, stands, half buried in the bog which has grown up around it, the *Cruimther* monument. As I had expected, the termination was in *os*, attesting the accuracy of the transcriber, whoever he was,¹⁵ on whose material Siegfried had worked. A cross *paté* of the same form (we would call it Maltese), as found on various other similar monuments of the district, is carved in shallow, almost unnoticeable indentations on the face and back of the pillar, which is grievously corroded and weatherworn. It faces east and west. The legend *Qrimtirros* is still clearly legible on the north-west angle. A second line of Ogham letters, doubtless expressing, or which once expressed, the name of the buried Presbyter, exists along the south-western angle. Whether from the disappearance of digits, or from some designed inversion of the parts of the name, it has not yet yielded any intelligible answer to my scrutiny;¹⁶ and a bruise received by the mould in descending the mountain, so far detracts from its perfection as to make this portion of it unreliable as an authority.

Here I would desire to say a few words in extenuation of my

¹⁵ I apprehend the Bishop of Limerick.

¹⁶ It will be seen (*post*) that the Bishop of Limerick reads it *Macu Comogann*.

other letter; and, alluring as the association with the renowned son of Daire may appear, we must not look for it in this part, at least, of the legend. The context has not yet yielded any reading agreeable to ordinary forms of sepulchral commemoration; but, even without the key furnished by the correlative Latin, the reason of this deficiency has been divined by a more penetrating sagacity than mine. A communication which I have received from the Bishop of Limerick enables me to present the true exposition of the Camp Ogham, in the language of its legitimate author. The subjoined letter has been elicited by an inspection of this paper, submitted, in one of the intervals of its reading, to Bishop Graves. Bishop Graves' letter contains not only an exposition of the Camp Ogham, with several disclosures of novel and valuable matter (partly in elucidation of things obscure to me, and partly in correction of errors into which I probably have fallen), but an announcement which will be received with lively interest in the world of learning, of the general conclusions at which he has arrived respecting the form and structure of Ogham proper names.

"LIMERICK," January 23, 1871.

"MY DEAR FERGUSON,

"You were rightly informed that I had succeeded in deciphering the Ogham inscription on the Camp Stone.

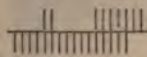
"In the year 1858, Archdeacon Rowan sent me a drawing of it, with a request that I would let him know how I proposed to read and explain it, but as I did not succeed in reading it offhand, I laid it aside. I had so often found my time wasted in attempts to decipher Ogham inscriptions which had been incorrectly copied, that I resolved to pronounce no opinion on this inscription until I had seen and felt it, or, at least, was in possession of a cast or good rubbing of it. Thus I remained silent while other more adventurous scholars amused themselves and our brother academicians with their attempts to solve the riddle. But happening, a year or two ago, to learn that this inscription had again attracted notice, and thinking that it was likely to be made an occasion of putting forward views on this subject calculated rather to retard than to promote the study of Ogham, I resumed the consideration of the inscription, having before me the woodcut in the seventh volume of our 'Proceedings.' After a little examination, I observed that this inscription, when the Ogham characters have been so set before the eye as to assume their proper alphabetic powers, must be read, not as is usual from left to right, but from right to left. Thus I obtained the reading:—

‘Conuneact Mlocui Conupi,’

And I did not hesitate to identify the two names with *connac* and *conpoi*. With respect to the former, I am now inclined to

speak less confidently; but about the latter there can be no doubt. A result so remarkable, considering that the stone was found very near Caher Conree, ought, perhaps, to have stimulated me to communicate it to the Academy, even though it had only been in a note of a few lines. But I desired to examine the stone myself before I ventured to publish any description of it. The peculiar labours and anxieties of these last two years have unfortunately left me unable to accomplish this design. Your discovery of the Latin legend on the stone is a most important one. To me, certainly, it is more satisfactory than it can be to those who still cherish the old-fashioned theory as to the primeval antiquity of the Ogham, and think to read in our inscriptions something a great deal more interesting than a few proper names.

"I have met with other Ogham inscriptions which must be read backwards. For instance, the Ogham in the Colophon at the end of the Stowe MS. Gospel of St. John [see "Proceedings of the R. I. A.," vol. vi., p. 398.]



I have not the slightest doubt that the Ogham word should be read Omop, not Somb; and I hazard the conjecture that Dinis is the 'Ogham name' of Dimma, the Scribe of the MS. Gospels, known as the "Book of Dimma," in the library of T. C. D. In coming to this conclusion, I am mainly guided by the similarity of the handwriting.

"There is another backward-written Ogham inscription on one of the monumental stones figured by Petrie at Clonmacnoise. I annex a woodcut of it:—Here the word bocht is written backwards. But the



instance which will have most interest for you is that which I draw from another monument by which you have been perplexed, the Tyduff stone on the side of Brandon Mountain. You have correctly read the in-

scription *up* one side as cupimittippor. But you did not perceive that the characters on the other edge if read *downwards*, and from right to left, give us macu comogann; Comogan being the Oghamic form of

Comhgan. In the Martyrology of Donegal we have a long



Saints with
title *Cru*
and three *Cor*
The fracture
top of the
deprives us
few strokes
would have
bled us to c
the two pa
the inscripti

"It may be
provoking to
see this fir
nouncement
by others t
Academy of
which have
known to r
years, and w
hold to be of
importance i
branch of ar
logical study
for this I ha
one to blam
myself. I s
have done
wisely if I h
forth, even i
briefest and
fragmentary
the leading r
which I ha
rived at. But

who know the pleasure of doing things completely, and the p
turning out imperfect work, will at least make some allowance f
In any case it is satisfactory to me to see you concurring in, or a
approximating towards, the general conclusions which I have r
edly stated in the Academy; and in which I differ from the
majority of those who have written about Oghams.

"One of the rules of deciphering which you have correctly ad
is the identification of the final *agnus* with the Irish *dn*. I
completely established this.

"I add woodcuts of two of the inscriptions which you have m
in your paper, to prove that I had not fallen into the errors
which your examination of the monuments has saved you. O

first of these, the stone at Emlagh East, near Dingle,* bearing the



inscription *Bausccos* *maqqi Callaci*, I have to observe that *Bruscus* appears in the Book of Armagh as the name of a Presbyter, ordained by St. Patrick. *Calliacus*, I feel sure, is neither more nor less than the Latinized form of *CEALLACH*, a very common name.

"I read the other inscription as you do,

TRIA MACUA MAILAGNI,

and translate it as the three sons of Maolán.

If I am right, perhaps we have here ancient plural forms. But the philologists must be on their guard against being misled by the pedantry or affectation of the Ogham writer.

This interpretation is confirmed by the appearance on the monument of a cross, each member of which is *trifid*. On the point of Latinizing I might say a good deal; and I am prepared to find you more inclined to agree with me than you were when you entered upon this investigation. I adhere to the views which I originally propounded on this subject.

"I. That the Ogham was not a primitive alphabet intended for common use, but an artificial and cryptic one, invented by persons certainly acquainted with the Latin, and probably with the Runic alphabet.

"II. That the Ogham inscriptions were not intended to be easily read and understood, even at the time when they were put upon the monuments. A man's Ogham name was not the name he commonly went by: but formed from it according to certain rules and methods.

" III. That these rules and methods had regard—(1) to the actual nature of the Ogham character ; (2), to the pronunciation of the names ; (3), to the partiality of the Ogham writers for Latin and Greek forms. (The final OS. is not an ancient case-ending as some have supposed.)

" IV. That some, possibly many, Ogham inscriptions will remain undecipherable.

" I hope when I go up to Dublin at Easter to be able to give some hours to the examination of your paper moulds and paper casts. The use of them will save the Ogham student much fruitless labour. At the same time I must check over my own drawings and woodcuts. I think I have all those enumerated in your list, and about 80 more.

" Believe me to be,

My dear Ferguson,

Yours very sincerely,

" CHARLES LIMERICK.

" P.S.—I ought, in honesty, to say that I cannot agree with you as to the general nature of the names on these Kerry Oghams. You say they are not like what we find in 'Annals, Martyrologies, and Acta.' I think, on the contrary, that I can account for nearly all of them. Take the following as a remarkable instance:—I mention it because you have noticed it on your paper.



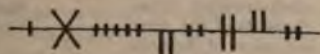
" Here we have *Momuna Macu Olacon*. The names can be identified without trouble, and we seem to find a footing in an early part of the field of Ecclesiastical history.

" *OLCHU* was grandfather of St. Brendan ; and *MAOINEANN* was the Bishop attached to St. Brendan's Monastery at Clonfert. He died in the year 571 (Tigh.) *OLACON* is plainly the genitive of *Olchu*."

I desire first to express my thanks to the Bishop of Limerick for allowing me to enrich this communication with so valuable a letter ; and next to confess that in opening the subject in the manner I have done, I left a great deal unsaid which I proposed to reserve for further communications, and my reticence in respect of which seems to have led to my appearing less acquainted with some of the topics thus introduced than I really am.

With the course of backward reading I have been long familiar ; and my failure to decipher the whole of the Brandon legend certainly did not arise from any neglect to test the combinations in their inverse order. I venture, in addition to the examples cited by Bishop Graves, to refer to a very singular instance of studied obscurity of this kind, found on an inscribed stone now in the

Museum of the Academy, which appears to have been contrived to exhibit a double inversion within the compass of one word. This is the legend on the Aglish stone, No. 1, already referred to as having, although associated with supposed Pagan crosses, a Christian signification. It is one of those on which much ingenuity and learning were exercised in the earlier stages of Ogham investigation, and to which we are indebted for the reference to the *Uraicept*, showing that the *iphin* (which is most probably the cross-like character *x*), sometimes has the force of *p*. Taking the legend to stand thus—



It was read accordingly, *apilogdo*. Before going further, let me corroborate the presumed identity of the *x* in this case with the *iphin* in its *p* power. I have mentioned the agreement of what remains of the Crickhowel Ogham with the correlative Latin *Turpilli triluni filii Dunocati ic jact*. The Ogham equivalents of the *t*, *u*, and *r* are distinct, and the place of *p* appears occupied by the *x*, with no trace of any sub-linear digit immediately following. We then discern the *l*; and after a space, where possibly the remains of *magi* will yet appear on a cast being taken—for the stone is so placed as to be hardly consultable otherwise—obtain the *d* and, at least, one *n* of the Latinized *Dunnecad*. Hence arises a persuasive argument that the *x* on the Crickhowel monument is the sometimes-*p*-sounding *iphin* of the *Uraicept*. To return to the Aglish stone, it appears, on moulding it, that the penultimate and ante-penultimate groups have originally constituted one. Three of the digits certainly cross, and a fracture accounts for the non-appearance of portion of the fourth. These digits, therefore, instead of *gd*, would sound *st*. This rectification, however, would only lead us from *apilogdo* to *apilosto*. But in investigating a curious branch of the inquiry, touching the employment of monograms in those legends,¹⁹ the introduction of a cardinal digit dividing the course of the reading, appears to have been one of the artifices of the engraver. In such cases the digit serving this purpose may be observed to be marked as

¹⁹ The occurrence of monograms, composed of bind-runes, or Runic *sigla*, in Norse inscriptions, prepares us to look for analogous forms in Ogham. I instance the names Odin and Olafur, figured (p. 47) in "Report for 1836 of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries," in the first of which the runes, besides being all of the nature of *sigla*, read backwards.

The monument which seems to give us a key to the existence of similar glyptical puzzles in Ogham writing, exists at Vicarstown, or Tyvorin, in the parish of Dunquin, in the extreme west of Kerry. The paper-cast is No. 11. in the presentation. Tyvorin signifies the House of Mauria, or Mary; and the grave of Mauria is pointed out near the village.

On the eastern face of a pillar-stone, now at the head of the grave, or little cairn, is sculptured a Latin cross, and on the western are two groups of carving, one over the other. The upper presents a peculiar arrangement of straight lines, and the lower a combination of Romanesque characters, in which are plainly recognizable the elements of the name Maria.

exceptional by some peculiarity of indication. Now the *iphin* is exceptionally only the equivalent of *p*, and if it be here taken as the turning point, and if the reading, resiling from that point, be conducted back again from the other end, we arrive at the expression of

In the upper figure we discern a vertical stem-line, associated with certain horizontal digits, three of which are carried continuously across it, and two of which are, at the point of crossing, discontinuous. Five digits crossing a stem-line contain, in Ogham, the five vowels and five stem-crossing consonants, and include all the elements of the name Maria; but, without some indication of the point at which the commencement of each letter is to be sought, there would be nothing to limit the sequence of combinations, or to prevent any reading being extracted, which could be made up of all these ten phonetic elements—obviously a range of selection too wide for any certain significance. In extracting the word Maria from the Romanesque group, we have to recur again and again—as is constantly the case in treating sigla—to one limb of a particular letter, as an element in the composition of the others. In this case it is the M which serves to complete the other elements of the R and A. Assuming the Ogham group to be a reflection of the monogram, we are led to adopt the first digit, as corresponding to M. The second will stand for A; but the remainder will be insufficient to make up R. What, then, is to be done? Let us act on the hint given by the monogram—return from the discontinuous digit, and commence anew from the left. Here spelling forward, the R will exhaust the group; the return back, giving I, will exhaust it a second time; and reading forward once more, the first discontinuous digit will complete the legend in A. But here are two discontinuous digits. The obvious suggestion to account for that arrangement is, that the monogram is meant to read from either end. Examples are not wanting of disguised Ogham names reading outward towards either end from the centre; and this would seem but a variety of the same trick of construction. The group commencing the Romanesque epigraph on the Newton stone appears to be an analogous example.

But, it may be said, these are very large results to infer from what looks like a mere piece of square pattern-work, because it is found associated with a Romanesque monogram, in which the letters M, A, and R are grotesquely indicated. If something analogous to the digit-figure were not found associated with other forms of the Marian monogram, this would be so; and no more could be claimed for the reading above suggested, than such credit or discredit as might properly attach to a problematical conjecture. But the carving of Tyvorin is, in all its main characteristics, found again associated with a form of the name Maria, at Kinard East, in the same neighbourhood. The associated name is, in this latter instance, written *Marianus*. It is one of the few Ogham texts which its paper-cast (No. xxv.) does not invalidate. An accurate woodcut of the inscription has been published by Bishop



the word *apostoli*; and this is the process on which I grounded the statement that the *filfots* on the Aglish stone are associated with an Ogham legend probably of a Christian character.

But while I had prosecuted this and other branches of the inquiry,

Graves in vol. ii. of the "Proceedings of the Academy," from which it is here reproduced.

Here, associated with the Ogham equivalents of *Marianus*, is a figure, which seems, at first sight, merely geometrical—a square divided into four squares—the upper pair of which are again subdivided into four squares respectively. Thus there results an arrangement, in the upper pair, of a medial line, crossed by five digits, of which the second and fourth are distinguished by not being carried below the lateral boundary, while the first, third, and fifth, extend to the limit of the containing square. Assuming these to be disguised Ogham digits, and that the shorter lines here, like the discontinuous digits of the Tyvorja example, are intended as the turning points of the transliteration, the same reading, with a capacity for expressing the additional power of *n*, is capable of being extracted, so as to produce all the elements of *Mariani*. If, then, the reflected light of the Kinard monument show the reading suggested for the Tyvorja design to be probable, and that both may reasonably be taken for monograms, it may be inferred that in monogrammatic Ogham combinations certain digits, distinguished from the rest by some peculiarity of formation, or otherwise, were used as turning points, so to speak, of the spelling. Assuming this to be so, it will not appear irrational, if, when we find a slender digit, for example, in the midst of a group of broadly-incised characters, which refuse to yield any pronounceable reading, we should try what will be the effect of reading up to the *cardo*, and then resuming from another point.

The stone No. 5, in the Academy's collection, illustrates this suggestion. It comes, I have been informed, from a rath-cave at Ballyhank, near Cork. The paper-mould has, I believe, rendered the inscription, so far as it is conceived in the usual way, legible for the first time, yielding the words *moco-forrtigurn*—a legend in itself sufficiently interesting, as pointing to south British and Welsh connexions. But what was the name of the son of Vortigern so commemorated it refuses, unless under the application of a further key, to disclose. The name begins with *a*. Then follows a group of five sub-linear digits, the centre one of which is very delicately incised, as compared with the pairs flanking it. The first and last of these pairs taken alone, would sound *l*; the middle digit *b*; and the whole group *n*; but the reading is obviously neither *albl* nor *an*. Let us try the effect of recognizing the central digit as a *cardo*, reading up to it, and recommencing from the left as was done in the Tyvorja example. The first step yields *alb*, the second *an*, = *Alban*, a name which will not seem strange in association with the "son of Vortigern."



with enough of success to make me familiar with the presence of various puzzling devices for obscuring the reading, I had, by no means, arrived at any knowledge of general laws governing the application of these artifices to particular proper names, as Bishop Graves appears to have done; and I accept the warning against adopting such forms as grammatical case-endings as a piece of new and valuable instruction.

Assuming, then, that we are rightly guided to a backward reading of the Camp Ogham, by its Latin context, as far as *Conuni*, it is obvious that the Ogham equivalent completes itself in the characters *tt*, and thus seems to become, in its turn, a key to the purposes of the inverted *t* [J] in the middle of the epigraph, which now looks as if intended to be read not only as a siglum furnishing the prostrate *t* of *fecit*, but distributively, as the final letter of both members of the phrase; in which point of view it will not fail to attract the attention of scholars outside the limited circle of those who interest themselves in Ogham lapidary writing.

Cununit, I may observe, may be compared with the *cunitti* of one of the Burnham group (No. iv.), the duplication of the syllable *un* being one of the same class of intentional obscurations, exemplified in numerous instances, notably in the Maumanorig legend, which appears to read *anmcólololnailiter*, seemingly an inversion and phonetic puzzle for *Colman ailiter*, i.e. Colman the Pilgrim.

It is the singular fate of this Camp legend that, expounded as it is now presented, it still associates itself with the name *Curi*, of which *Conuri* may be considered the genitive;—whether or not the son of Daíre will probably continue a subject of differing opinions.

The satisfaction I experience in being honoured with Bishop Graves' communication is mingled with the regret which a later and less able investigator must experience in finding that he has intruded on ground already pre-occupied and better explored. But it may possibly conduce to the letting in of still more acceptable additional light if I indicate the directions in which I have hitherto prosecuted my own inquiries. They have led to much comparison, and, as I have told the Academy, to the pursuit as well of many *ignes fatui* as of some substantial results. These results have for a considerable time been defined in my contemplation, as material for essays

1. On the occurrence of Latin Formulas (*see* Note 13, 14);
2. of Monograms and Polygrams (19);
3. of literal and syllabic Duplications (*supra*);
4. of Iterates, or characters serving as terminals and initials (13);

Several examples exist of such exceptional digits intercalated with others of the ordinary kind; sometimes in the form of minuscules, as at Killeen Cormaic; sometimes in the form of *tenuis*, as in the above example, on the "*Coribiri*" stone in the Cork Institution, and on one of the Roovesmore legends, deposited in the British Museum; and sometimes possibly, as would appear from the example in the text, in the form of *x* in one of its exceptional powers.

5. of Antitheticals, having the power of their opposites (4);
6. of Inversions and Dispartitions of proper names (*supra*);
7. of Names of humiliation (14); and
8. of the Vocalization of seemingly consonantal texts (8), in Ogham inscriptions.

I have appended to this paper, originally designed to deal only with technical details of transcription, but which now presents substantial additions to the theory of interpretation, some examples, in notes, of several of the branches of inquiry indicated. In these I have used none but such texts as I possess in the form of casts or have myself moulded or traced on the stone. I would have desired a larger field of observation, but finding the total number of texts for which I can answer from casts and personal inspection, to exceed eighty, I have thought it better to communicate such results and suggestions towards results, as my knowledge enables me to do.

I also annex a tabulated *précis* of readings from the moulds of Ogham texts presented. No. xvii. (third in the Ballintaggart group) is the only one which appears too obscure at present for admission into the list. This obscurity does not arise from any obliteration, the legend being quite distinct in all its parts (*axetrijfi*); but the results (whether it be read directly, retroversely, inversely, from either end to the *x*, or conversely to either end from it, and in whichever of its recognised forces *x* be taken) present no probable expression of sound. There seems some ground in xix. (No. 5 in the same group) for ascribing to *x*, besides its other forces, the power of *m* initial; and I have ventured, in transliterating that legend, so to suggest. Instances of one character subserving even a greater number of sounds are not wanting in other phonetic systems; and if *x* here were deemed *m* initial, and the apparent *f* taken distributively as *lb*, the name *Maelbritti* would emerge; but such a division of grouped digits seems inadmissible, and has nowhere been resorted to in these expositions. *Ap[ostoli] petri* might also be evolved, but in what seems an impracticable combination.

Carefully as the following transcripts have been made, I do not suppose that they will, in all cases, prove wholly exempt from error. With the accession of new texts, and a wider field of comparison, we may expect lost characters to be replaced, and doubtful constructions to be recast into future recognised forms. In the meantime, they will suffice to give a general view of the nature of the material available for this curious branch of palæographic study.

"8. Words formed by inserting *air*, *aur*, *ur* :

dairét, 'to thee,' Ir. *doit*.

duirib, 'to them,' Ir. *doib*.

daurub, 'to you,' Ir. *duib*.

daurun, 'a fort,' Ir. *dún*.

durunad, 'to close,' Ir. *dunad*.

anduire, 'yesterday,' Ir. *andé* (Old Ir. *indé*).

anduiriu, 'to-day,' Ir. *andiu* (Old Ir. *indiu*).

"Examples of words formed by substituting one letter for another are:—

s for *t* or *th* :

carosar, 'fringe,' Ir. *corrthair*.

brasach, 'buttermilk,' Ir. *blathach*.

muin(ro)sar, 'family,' Ir. *muinter*;

and others, perhaps, but I have only one example of each.

"A third species of this artificial production of new words is, perhaps, exemplified by

ferim, 'true,' Ir. *fír*.

tinim, 'fire,' Ir. *tene*.

loisi, 'with him,' Ir. *leis*.

"The manufacture of new words by the addition of a syllable was called *formolad*. Where a letter only was added (e. g. *tenn* 'fire,' from the Old Irish *ten*), the process was termed *doichned*. See the preface to the *Amra Choluimchille*, in the *Lebor-na-h-Uidre*, and H. 2. 16, where also *cennachros* is given as the name of the process of fabricating a word by substituting one letter for another, e. g. *fenchas* for *senchas*.

"The Chevalier Nigra, referring to the *Dúil Laithne*, writes as follows:—'Nous avons en Piémont, dans le Val-Soana, un jargon semblable fabriqué sur la base d'un patois qui a conservé beaucoup d'éléments celtiques.' It is highly desirable that some specimens of this jargon should be published, and that the circumstances under which it is used should be clearly ascertained."

XII.—ON A VISIT TO THE ANDAMANES "HOME," PORT BLAIR, ANDAMAN ISLANDS. By W. BALL, B. A., Geological Survey of India. (With Plate IV., Pol. Lit. & Antiq.)

[Read November 13, 1871.]

IN the following paper I do not intend entering into any general account or history of the Andaman Islanders, but shall simply confine myself to a description of a visit which I paid to the "Home" established by the Government of India, in connexion with the convict settlement at Port Blair, for the purpose of commencing the civilization and inspiring the confidence of the hitherto untamed aborigines of the Andaman Islands.

On the 8th of August, 1869, in company with Mr. Homfray, who is in charge of the Andamanese Home, and Assistant-Surgeon Curran, I started from Viper Island, in Port Blair, to visit Port Mouat and the Home at Mount Augusta.

Close to the landing-place at Homfray's Ghât there is an old kitchen midden, in which the valves of oysters, *Arcas* and *Cyrenas*, were abundant.

Mr. Homfray told me that the present race of Andamanese do not eat oysters—a rather singular fact, and suggesting the possibility of there having been different inhabitants of this part of the island at some former period.

The road to Port Mouat runs along by the side of a mangrove swamp, in which *Cyrenas* abound. These molluscs are eaten by the Andamanese, and the valves, in consequence of their sharp edges, are used as substitutes for knives.

Shortly after arriving at Port Mouat, we started in a boat for Mount Augusta. As we approached the shores near to which the Home is situated, a swarm of little woolly-headed Andamanese struck into the waves, and, swimming and diving under and about the boat, so accompanied us to the shore.

On reaching the Home, we found that out of the 200 individuals who were said to be availing themselves of the shelter and the ration of 2 lbs. of rice per head per diem which Government gives them, the greater portion of the men had gone out in their large canoes to another part of the island to hunt for pigs.

The sight presented to our eyes on entering the Home was a most singular one, and one not readily to be forgotten. At intervals along both sides there were a number of family groups, variously occupied.

Some were boiling rice; others were engaged in cooking pork, which they effect by placing small strips in a hollow bamboo, which is then laid on the fire, and the meat, when scarcely more than warmed, taken out and eaten.

Mr. Homfray assured me that the Andamanese, so far as he knows, never eat meat in an actually raw condition.

Of the men present in the Home, several were smoking—that being one of the few accomplishments they have learnt from their contact with civilization. *Calcutta poko*, which is the Andamanese name for tobacco, is in great demand with them now. After a little preliminary shyness had worn off, they did not hesitate to search our pockets to see if we carried any with us.

The simplicity of the clothing arrangements of the Andamanese is well known, the elaborate toilets of civilization being represented by a leaf, which is worn by the women suspended from a girdle of ratan or pandanus fibre. Sometimes this pandanus fibre is so beaten out as to form a bushy tail.

Of the various ornaments worn by the women, none seemed more extraordinary than the skulls of their defunct relatives, festooned with strings of shells, which some of them carried suspended from their necks. (See Plate IV., Pol. Lit. & Antiq.)

Those who had recently lost relatives were in mourning, which consisted in their being shaved, and covered from head to foot with a uniform coating of white clay. Non-mourners were more or less adorned with red clay.

Several of the men were amusing themselves manipulating, with pieces of string, the puzzles of the cat's cradle. Trivial a circumstance as this at first sight appears to be, it is really one of some importance, as it may be used as evidence in favour of a primitive connexion between the Andamanese and races inhabiting the Malayan Archipelago. Mr. Wallace found the Dyak boys in Borneo more skilful than himself in the mysteries of cat's cradle. He says, regarding this accomplishment—"We learn thereby that these people have passed beyond that first stage of savage life in which the struggle for existence absorbs the whole faculties, and in which every thought and idea is connected with war or hunting, or the provision for their immediate necessities." These remarks cannot be applied with the same force to the Andamanese, whose rank in the scale of civilization is lower than that of the Dyaks.

Mr. Homfray pointed out one old woman who, he said, possessed great influence over the tribe, and acted as arbitrator in all disputes. Until the rule was enforced in the Home of making those who came to it give up their bows while remaining there, quarrels not unfrequently led to two parties being formed, who discharged their arrows at one another even within the walls. A man on either side being struck was the signal for a cessation of hostilities.

Notwithstanding such outbursts, the Andamanese possess great affection for one another. Almost every one who has written about them has borne witness to this trait in their characters.

I had proposed for myself one subject upon which to make special inquiries on the spot: this was their method of making flakes of flint and glass, which they had been reported to make use of as lancets. My attention, however, was so taken up by other subjects of interest that I should have forgotten to investigate the point, had it not fortunately happened that on reaching one of the family groups I

observed a woman engaged in making flakes, which she skilfully chipped off a piece of dark bottle glass with a quartz pebble. Having struck off a flake of suitable character, she forthwith proceeded, with astonishing rapidity, to shave off the spiral twists of hair which covered the head of her son. [The hair so cut off, together with the flakes, were exhibited to the Academy.]

Mr. Homfray informed me that the Andamanese can still manufacture the flakes of flint, which they effect by first heating the stones in a fire, that being found to facilitate the breaking in the required directions.

Thus we have, at the present day, a race who practise an art, proofs of the wide-spread knowledge of which in prehistoric times are shown by frequent discoveries in all quarters of the globe.

The Andamanese are, however, advancing beyond their stone age. In one corner of the building, a woman was occupied in polishing and wearing down into shape an iron arrow head. It was a most formidable affair, heart-shaped, and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in diameter.

In the centre of the Home there was a trophy formed of the bones of pigs, dugong, and turtle, together with some bundles of human ribs, which latter had been deposited there after having been carried about by the relatives of the deceased. All these objects were covered with red clay.

Mr. Homfray said that he had encouraged the occupants of the Home in the formation of this collection, as it served to attach them to the place, and to make them really regard it as their home.

I made some selections, with Mr. Homfray's permission, from this trophy. The strings with which the objects were tied were severed by a cyrena valve; this shell, as I have above noted, furnishing the ordinary knives.

In hunting for dugong and turtle, the practice appears to be to run the canoe close to where the animal lies asleep, or basking on the surface of the water. The striker, grasping the spear or harpoon firmly in both hands, springs forward, the weight of his body serving to drive in the weapon further than could be done by mere hurling. A tussle in the water ensues, at which other men jumping from the canoe assist.

As to the reported cannibalism of the Andamanese, Mr. Homfray furnished me with the following evidence. He interrogated the natives themselves, and they manifested the greatest repugnance to the idea, and denied most emphatically that such a custom existed amongst them.

Further, some few years ago, thirteen men who landed from a ship on the Little Andaman, for the purpose of searching for water, were all murdered. An expedition was, on the arrival of the news, despatched from Port Blair, to visit the scene, and ascertain the circumstances. The members of this expedition, together with some of the Port Blair Andamanese, landed on the island. They were received with the most determined hostility, which the unruly and aggressive conduct of

the Port Blair natives—who, it was hoped, would act as go-betweens—served greatly to intensify. The bodies of the thirteen murdered men were discovered on the beach, slightly covered with sand, so that no cannibalism had taken place in this case.

It may be added with reference to this expedition, that the boats had to be regained through a heavy surf, and under cover of musketry, as the natives, for whom firearms had no terrors, and the effects of which they could not at first realise, closed round in great numbers, and discharged clouds of arrows.

The inhabitants of the Little Andaman seem to have some peculiarities which distinguished them from the inhabitants of the northern islands. Their houses are of a bee-hive shape, and of considerable size, being sufficient to accommodate 100 men; they are not elevated from the ground on posts, as are those of most Malayan races.

From the evidence given above, I am inclined to believe that the reputed cannibalism of the Andamanese is more than doubtful. That such a belief should be prevalent is no matter for surprise, considering their admitted hostility to all visitors to their coasts, and the general tendency there both was and is, on the part of travellers, to attribute such propensities to savage races about whom little is known.

As to the affinities of the Andamanese, there can be no question that they belong to the scattered race of Negritos, traces of which are to be found in many detached localities. Mr. Wallace, whose close acquaintance with and study of the various races of the Malayan Archipelago, has enabled him to draw distinctions not hitherto recognised, writes that the "Negritos and Semangs of the Malay peninsula agree very closely with each other, and with the Andamanese Islanders, while they differ in a marked manner from every Papuan race." Again—

"The Negritos are, no doubt, quite a distinct race from the Malay, but yet, as some of them inhabit a portion of the continent, and others the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, they must be considered to have had, in all probability, an Asiatic, rather than a Polynesian origin."*

Unfortunately, there is no reliable vocabulary of the Andamanese language yet published, and it is therefore impossible to institute any comparison with the known languages of the Malayan Archipelago.

It is not much to the credit of the officers who have been stationed in the Andamans for twelve years that no such vocabulary has been made available to philologists and ethnologists. Not only is the publication of a vocabulary and sketch of the language desirable, on scientific grounds, but on account of the means it would afford of opening up communication with the people throughout all the islands so that they may be civilized, at least to the extent of being taught to give a more hospitable reception than a shower of arrows to those who may have the misfortune to be shipwrecked on their shores.

* "Malay Archipelago," pp. 452-3.

XIII.—NEW (?) TYPE OF CLOCHAUN, AND A REMARKABLE CROSS, SOUTH-
WARD OF LOUISBURG, CO. MAYO. By G. H. KINAHAN, F. R. G. S. I.
(With Plate V., Pol. Lit. & Antiq.)

[Read 30th November, 1871.]

On the hill slope, five miles S. S. W. of Louisburg, and about half a mile south of Aille Lodge, is an ancient structure called on the Ordnance map a *Cromleac*. To this class of buildings, however, I believe it does not belong, as it evidently was erected as a human habitation, and appears to be a clochaun, or beehive-shaped house, but of a type with which I am unacquainted.

This building is about 13 feet long, and five feet in its widest part, lying nearly east and west with the entrance at the east end. It is now very much dilapidated, but its original form and structure will be apparent from the accompanying plan and restored elevation (Plate V., Pol. Lit. & Antiq.) Two sketches, one from the east and one from the west, showing its present condition, for which I am indebted to my colleague, Mr. A. M'Henry, assistant palæontologist, Irish branch of the Geological Survey, are also exhibited. In many clochauns, especially those that are round, the lowest stones were placed on edge, and over them the walls were built; in this structure, however, there is no building, but on the upright stones large flags were placed, leaning inwards, and over these other flags, the apex of the roof being formed by horizontal flags (see fig. 2). None of the upper part of the roof now remains, but I was informed by an old man who was present while I was measuring the upright stones, that he remembered it when quite perfect, and that the roof had been taken off by "some mischievous boys." He only stated the old tradition, connected with so many structures in Ireland, that it was built by Dermot and Grania, during their famous pleasure tour. The doorway is imperfect, but it appears to have been four feet high and three feet wide. The flags used in forming the sloping sides and roof are of large dimensions, but are not quite as regularly placed as represented in the restored elevation (fig. 2). The west view of the structure (one of the sketches above mentioned) shows the peculiar style of building, while the east view (the second of the sketches) marks the position of the doorway in the east end.

Gallaum, with Cross.—Three-quarters of a mile W. N. W. of the clochaun, in a graveyard that is situated on the inside of a liss (or fort with clay rampart), is a gallaum, about eight feet high, having cut on its south face a peculiar type of cross, made up altogether of segments of circles. A cross of this type I have not seen previously, and for the sketch of it exhibited I am also indebted to Mr. M'Henry.

XIV.—ON TWO FINDS OF SILVER COINS OF EDWARD 1ST AND 2ND, OBTAINED IN IRELAND, AND ALSO SOME FOREIGN STERLINGS. By WILLIAM FRAZER, M. D.

[Read 12th February, 1872.]

A SMALL parcel of about 100 silver pence of the First and Second Edwards was lately found in Ireland. I was permitted to take a list of these coins, but owing to the mischievous operation of the Treasure Trove regulations, could obtain no reliable information about the time or place of their discovery—nor, indeed, any clue further than the statement that they were obtained all together, some short time before I saw them.

The lot consisted of thirty-four pennies of Edward I., in tolerable condition, of the following places of mintage:—London, twenty-six; Canterbury, four; St. Edmund's and Bristol, each one; Durham (Bishop Beak's mint), one; and London (with rose on breast), one.

Sixty-four pennies were of the types usually referred to Edward II. Of those with the name "EDWA.," which were by far the most numerous, thirty-seven were minted at London, nineteen at Canterbury, two at Durham, one each at St. Edmund's, York, Berwick, and Newcastle. There were, in addition, single coins, lettered "EDWAR" and "EDWARD," both from the London mint.

Together with the above were found an Irish penny of Edward, with three points or dots on the breast; and one of Henry III.'s late mintage—"Henry on Cant" on the reverse.

So far this collection presented little interest, being simply a small collection of ordinary types of Edward I., and of early pence of Edward II.; but there was, in addition, four sterlings that I wish to describe more particularly.

Discoveries of foreign and counterfeit sterlings are not of frequent occurrence in Ireland. They are a class of coin that closely resemble in appearance the pennies of Edward I. and II.; and Mr. Hawkins calls attention to the fact, that they seem to have been issued by princes directly or indirectly connected, either by marriage or politics, with the Kings of England. Some, also, are likely to be pure forgeries, intended to circulate with English money, of which one of the four coins in this find is a good example.

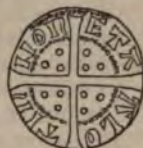
Mr. Hawkins, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1850, published a detailed account of ninety-two of these sterlings, found near Kircudbright, upon the property of the Earl of Selkirk, and has given full descriptions of the coins themselves, and the histories of their princes. With this lot was discovered a penny of Alexander III. of Scotland, a London penny of Henry III., four pennies of Edward I., and a barbarous imitation of an Irish penny.

Again, in 1855, Mr. Bergne exhibited to the London Numismatic Society thirty-two similar sterlings for Mr. Sainthill, of Cork, twenty-five of which had been bought by him a few years before from

a dealer in Cork, who had purchased them from a countryman. It appears there was no admixture of other coins whatever in this lot, and the circumstances under which they were discovered are unrecorded.

The types of the four sterlings I now mention are all previously described in one or other of the above communications.

Two of the sterlings are referred to Robert III., Count of Flanders; they differ only in the trivial point of the final E of Flandrie being varied. This prince was Robert de Bethune, son and successor to Guido, who governed from 1305 to 1322. In both his coins the imitation of the type of Edward I.'s coinage is very obvious. One coin of this prince is recorded in Mr. Sainthill's find like those described, and another resembling in type the pennies of Balliol and Bruce, with crowned bust in profile.



The next is a sterling of John II., Count of Hainault, struck at Maubeuge, one of the principal towns of that district. The Kircudbright find afforded three specimens of this sterling, all differing in minor matters in the reverse inscription.



John the Second, Count of Hainault, succeeded to his title in 1280, and in 1299 he also became Count of Holland, upon the death of another John, whose history is important as bearing upon the question of the striking for these sterlings, for he had married Adelheid, daughter of our Edward I. of England, and probably this connexion may, as Mr. Hawkins believes, account for the adoption of the English type on the coin of these Continental princes.

Guido of Namur and Flanders, father of Robert de Bethune already mentioned, was contemporary and half nephew to this John, Count of Hainault, which explains the appearance of an English type on the coins of his son.

The last of the four sterlings is strictly a counterfeit. It bears open evidence of being an imitation of Edward's coins, presenting a close copy of the usual obverse, though blundered, perhaps, through design. The reverse is inscribed "Locenbgensis," and does not correspond to any known town or district. Snelling considers pieces of this description are the counterfeits specially named "Lushburgs," in the Statute of Treasons (25 Edward III.) A specimen of this coin, corresponding in every particular with the one now mentioned, was in Mr. Sainthill's collection.



The second hoard of coins of the First and Second Edward is of trifling importance. They were found some time during the year 1868, in the old Franciscan Abbey of Drumlahan or Drumlane, county Cavan, but under what circumstances I cannot ascertain. There is reason to

believe they formed only a small portion of the coins discovered at that place.

In all, thirty-five fell under my notice of pennies of Edward I. or II.

Twelve were coins of Edward I., nine being well struck with ordinary large lettering—six being of London, two of Canterbury, and one of York; whilst of those with smaller-made lettering were one of Durham, and two of London.

Of those inscribed "EDWA" and referred to Edward II., nine were of London mint, six Canterbury, two St. Edmund's, two of Durham (one each being of Bishop Beak and of Bishop Kellowe's mints).

Of coins inscribed "EDWAR" and "EDWARD," were single specimens of the mints of London and Canterbury.

There was got, at the same time, a penny of John Balliol, in good condition, and a broken penny of Alexander III. of Scotland.

XV.—ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ANCIENT CEMETERY AT LOUGHCREW, CO. MEATH; AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE TOMB OF OLLAMH FODHLA. BY EUGENE ALFRED CONWELL, M. R. I. A., M. A. I., &c.; INSPECTOR OF IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

[Read 12th February, 1872.]

"That speechless past has begun to speak."—PALGRAVE.

ON Tuesday, the 9th of June, 1863, we paid our first accidental visit to the Loughcrew Hills, popularly and, indeed, geographically known as Sliabh-na-Caillighe; and finding the various summits of the range for two miles in extent studded with the remains of ancient cairns, or tombs, we were afterwards fortunate enough to interest the proprietor, the late James Lenox William Naper, Esq., D. L., and his agent, Charles William Hamilton, Esq., J. P., in the discovery we had made: and through them we were enabled to make a systematic examination of this great primeval cemetery, then nameless and unknown; but which, as we shall see presently, once had a name and history of no mean repute.

On the 23rd May and 14th November, 1864, and on 26th February, 1866, we had the honour of making communications to the Royal Irish Academy on the subject—an abstract account of the results of which is printed in Volume IX., p. 355, &c. of the *Proceedings R. I. A.*

During the month of July, 1867, we employed a first-rate professional artist to draw, under our own eye and correction, all the curious and remarkable devices on the numerous large stones forming the interior chambers in these cairns: and it has proved fortunate that we did so at a period when most of these were clear and unmistakable, after being recently exposed; for, at our latest visit to the place, we found instances, from the effects of subsequent weathering, where it would be now impossible to draw the original devices with accuracy and fidelity.

The wild legend that a witch had scattered these great heaps of stones out of her apron has been doing duty in this locality, from time immemorial, for the real name and history of the place; and probably would have continued for many a day longer to perpetuate the fanciful story, had not James Fergusson, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., on 16th of August, 1870, carefully gone over the hills under our guidance.

This practised explorer, acute observer, and clear-minded author has just published* a large volume, entitled "*Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries: their Age and Uses*"—in our opinion the most sensible, best written, and best arranged book ever published upon the subject of which it treats. In this profusely illustrated Work he has the honour of being the first to suggest, and he deserves the hearty thanks of every Irish Archaeologist for having done so, that these carns must be the remains of the cemetery of Taillten, thus affording the means of restoring a name and history to the great and forgotten "city of the dead" on the heights now called the Loughcrew Hills.

In a case such as this, we think it would be unfair to paraphrase the author's account of his original attempt to identify the place; and, therefore, we quote Mr. Fergusson's opinions in his own words.

After giving some account of the examination of these carns by us during the summer of 1865, and the various objects found there, he then proceeds:—

"It now only remains to try to ascertain who those were who were buried in these tumuli, and when they were laid there to their rest. So far as the evidence at present stands it hardly seems to me to admit of doubt but that this is the cemetery of Taltan, so celebrated in Irish legend and poetry:—

'The host of Great Meath are buried,
In the middle of the Lordly Brugh;
The Great Ultonians used to bury
At Taltan with pomp.

'The true Ultonians, before Conchobor,
Were ever buried at Taltan,
Until the death of that triumphant man,
Through which they lost their glory.'†

"The distance of the spot from Telldown, the modern representative of Taltan, is twelve miles, which to some might appear an objection; but it must be remembered that Brugh is ten miles from Tara, where all the kings resided, who were buried there; and as Dathi and others of them were buried at Rath Croghan, sixty-five miles off, distance seems hardly to be an objection. Indeed, among a people who, as evidenced by their monuments, paid so much attention to funeral rites and ceremonious honours to their dead, as the pagan Irish evidently did, it must have mattered little whether the last resting place of one of their kings was a few miles nearer or farther from his residence.

* John Murray, Albemarle-street, London, 1872.

† Petrie's "*Round Towers*," p. 105.

"It must not, however, be forgotten, that the proper residence of the Ultonians, who are said to have been buried at Taltén, was Emania or Armagh, forty-five miles distant as the crow flies. Why they should choose to be buried in Meath, so near the rival capital of Tara, if that famous city then existed, is a mystery which it is not easy to solve; but that it was so, there seems no doubt, if the traditions or books of the Irish are at all to be depended upon. If their real residence was so distant, it seems of trifling consequence whether it was ten or twelve miles from the place we now know as Telltown. There must have been some very strong reason for inducing the Ultonians to bury so far from their homes; but as that reason has not been recorded, it is idle to attempt to guess what form it took. What would appear a most reasonable suggestion to a civilized Saxon in the nineteenth century would, in all probability, be the direct antithesis of the motive that would guide an uncivilized Celt in the first century before Christ, and we may therefore as well give up the attempt. Some other reason than that of mere proximity to the place of residence governed the Irish in the choice of the situation of their cemeteries; what that was we may hereafter be able to find out; at present, so far as I know, the materials do not exist for forming an opinion. If, however, this is not Taltén, no graves have been found nearer Telltown which would at all answer to the description that remains to us of this celebrated cemetery; and, till they are found, these Loughcrew mounds seem certainly entitled to the distinction. I cannot see that the matter is doubtful."*

A little further on we hope to be able to help Mr. Fergusson to a solution of some of the doubts and difficulties which he feels in establishing his hypothesis; and, in the meantime, we must say that we entirely agree with him in thinking that he has truly identified the ancient royal cemetery of Taillten with the series of cairns on the Loughcrew Hills. So far as we can see there is no other way of accounting for the extensive remains of so large a necropolis at that place; and, if a better hypothesis can be established, no one will more sincerely rejoice at it than Mr. Fergusson and ourselves. If, however, this is not the site of the cemetery of Taillten, of the existence of which we have such positive documentary evidence, *where is it? or by what other name can this great cemetery be called?* for there are no indications of burial at, or nearer to, the place we now call Telltown.

That this latter place may have been the scene of the celebration of various games, aquatic sports, races, and, according to tradition, the far-famed "Telltown marriage" ceremony,† we see no reason to dispute.

* Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 219.

† The parish of Telltown is situate in the Barony of Upper Kells; and, according to the Ordnance Survey, has an area of 4266a. 0r. 34p. statute measure, containing a townland, also called Telltown, of 626 acres in extent. In this townland, about sixty perches north of the River Blackwater, and about twice that distance north of Telltown House, is a very remarkable Rath, called Rath Dubh (*Black Rath*),

We are, however, not disposed to concur in the hitherto popularly received opinion that the great Fair of Taillten was held at the modern Telltown, which lies in a remarkably low situation, on the banks of the Blackwater, nearly midway between Kells and Navan.

It is well known that an annual meeting of the people, called in Irish Oenach* (*Fair*),† was usually held at their Regal cemeteries: and we submit that the epithet applied to the cemetery of Taillten, in the following quotation, could not only not apply to the place now known as Telltown, singularly destitute of hills as it is, but will accurately describe the site of the cemetery at present under consideration.

Flannagan,‡ King of Bregia in Meath, a man of no small distinction in his time, and to whom the locality must have been well known, referring to the death of Ceo phinnliath (*Aedh Phinnliath*),§ Sovereign of Ireland, on 20th November, 876, after recounting his various peculiarities and admirable qualities, styles him in the following two lines of poetry:—

Ḡnaipniō Tailcen telglanne. "Master of the games of the fair-hilled Taillten,
Ri Ceapnaō cper co cearb. King of Teamhair (Tara) of an hundred conflicts."||

From this we can infer three facts: first, that the site of the cemetery of Taillten, though forgotten in the 19th, was well known in the

measuring 334 yards round its base, which will make it occupy an area of 1A. 3R. 13P.; while its circumference on top, measuring 307 yards, gives an area of 1A. 2R. 8P. statute measure. The slant height of this artificially raised table-land on the north is 17 ft. 4 in., north-west 17 ft., west 17 ft. 6 in., south-west 16 ft., south 21 ft. 3 in., south-east 18 ft., and on the east 12 ft. The north-east side of the rath has been levelled, for the purpose, evidently, of facilitating access to it: and on the south side an excavation has been made, 15 yards in breadth, extending 12 yards inwards; but at what period we are unable to state. There are MS. accounts of several royal residences being erected for Taillte by her husband, the Monarch Eochaidh Garbh, who is recorded to have made her presents of *Palaces, Grianans, Duns*, and lands: and we think it highly probable that this great rath was the site of one of the principal royal residences of Queen Taillte, and that to this fact both the townland and parish may owe their names.

Among the other remains of antiquity still to be seen at Telltown are traces of three artificial lakes; and, about forty perches north-west of the spot pointed out as "the vale of marriage," two earthen mounds, popularly known as "the knockans," but which tradition says constitutes "the hill of separation." The distance between the bases of the two mounds, which run parallel, is about ten feet; and the gradual slope at each end affords an easy mode of ascent and descent. The length of the southern mound is 235 feet; its greatest slant height on the northern side is 22½ feet, and on the southern side 33½ feet. The length of the northern mound is 240 feet, greatest slant height on northern side 34 feet, and on southern side 10 feet. It has been said that in pagan times those who had contracted a "Telltown marriage" might, "after a year and a day," cancel their contract, if so disposed, by simply marching up these mounds and turning their backs upon one another.

* Pronounced *Aynagh*.

† Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 107.

‡ "Four Masters," A. D. 876, 890, 891.

§ Pronounced *As Finlay*.

|| "Four Masters," A. D. 876, vol. i. p. 524.

9th century; second, that games, presided over by the Sovereign of Ireland, were celebrated at it; and last, but most important point of all for its present identification, that the cemetery was situated on some fair hills.

The fair of Tailtlen, with its attendant games and sports, we are informed by The Four Masters, was established by the celebrated King, Lugh Lamhfhada* (Lewy of the Long Hand), who, according to the same authority, died† a.c. 1829, i.e. thirty-seven centuries ago, in honour of his foster-mother, *Taillte*.

Although this fair, the greatest of all the annual gatherings of the Irish people, was usually held with great pomp, commencing on the first day of August, it was occasionally, from civil discords, or other causes, interrupted or prevented,‡ and at other times renewed,§ by different sovereigns.

From the account of its last celebration, under Roderic O'Conor, last Monarch of Ireland, who died at Cong, A.D. 1198, we make the following extract:—

Gonaó Tailtlen moppo do bé-
nain la pŕŕ Epeann ocup la ũet
Chuinn bon cup rŕm ocup no lŕpŕet
a n-ŕŕaŕne ocup a mŕpŕluŕŕ ŕ
Mullŕŕ Aidi ŕo Mullŕŕŕ Tailtlen.

"On this occasion the Fair of Tailtlen was celebrated by the King of Ireland and the people of Leath-Chuinn,|| and their horses and cavalry were spread out on the space extending from Mullach-Aidi to Mullach-Taiten (? Tailtlen)."

Four Masters, Vol. ii. A.D. 1168.

The Hill of Lloyd, 422 feet above the sea level, situated west of Kells, and in a direct line towards Sliabh-na-Caillighe, is still known by the Irish-speaking population as "Mullach Aidi," or Aide's Hill.¶ As to Mullach Tailtlen, or the summit of the cemetery of Tailtlen, Dr. O'Donovan, the editor and translator of the *Annals of Ireland* by the Four Masters, points out, in a note upon this passage, that there is an

* The Four Masters state:—"It was in the reign of this Lugh that the fair of Tailtlen was established, in commemoration and remembrance of his foster mother, *Taillte*, the daughter of Maghmor, King of Spain, and the wife of Eochaidh, son of Ere, the last King of the Firbolgs."

(See Dr. O'Donovan's "*Annals of Ireland*," by The Four Masters, vol. i., p. 22.)

† It ought to be observed that some persons doubt the great antiquity ascribed to some of our early Irish celebrities; but, we take the statements of the Annalists for what they are worth, and will be glad, in the interests of truth, to see them overturned, if such can be done, by better documentary evidence, whenever that can be produced.

‡ *Four Masters*, A.D. 806, 825, 925.

§ *Four Masters*, A.D. 894, 915, 1006.

|| Pronounced *Lea Queens* (the northern half of Ireland).

¶ About half a mile west of Kells, and on the highest point of the hill, stands a handsome round stone pillar, commonly known as "The Pillar of Lloyd." It was erected in 1791, by the first Earl of Beeston, in memory of his father, the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Taylor, Bart. It is upwards of 100 feet in height, with a projecting balcony on top, fenced in by an iron railing, and surmounted by a glass dome. Inside a spiral stone staircase, containing 202 steps, each about six inches in height, protected by an iron hand railing, leads to the top, from which there is a charming view of the surrounding country.

error in the text in writing *Taiten* for *Taillten*; and, as there is no Mullach, or hill, at Telltown, nor any remains of a cemetery, round which such annual gatherings as we are referring to were customarily held, it is not by any means probable that "their horses and cavalry were spread out on the space extending from" the Hill of Lloyd to Telltown, a line of country moreover, unsuited and rather impracticable for such a purpose. On the contrary, standing on the summit of Mullach Aidi, or Hill of Lloyd, and looking in a direct line to the summit of Sliabh-na-Caillighe, which we think we may fairly take the liberty of calling Mullach Taillten, at a distance of 6 or 7 miles, there is stretched out before the observer one of the most beautiful plains the eye could rest upon, and one exactly suited to the gathering of such a hosting.

In confirmation of this opinion, it should be observed that we have still existing proof that the cemetery was not exclusively confined to the Loughcrew Hills; for, as we proceed thence in the direction of Lloyd, on an eminence about two miles distant, called "King's Mountain," we find in the middle of a large pasture-field, now set up as a rubbing stone for cattle, a flagstone, with spirals or volutes inscribed upon it, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, 3 feet wide, and about 6 inches in uniform thickness. On its present site, up to a few years ago, stood a tumulus, which the proprietor of the field caused to be carried away for top-dressing; and in the centre of the mound this stone was found, covering in a chamber formed of smaller flagstones, and filled with bones, all of which have disappeared, the covering stone alone excepted.

Approaching still nearer to Lloyd, and about four miles distant from it, we have in the townland of Clonsilla the remains of two cairns and some large upright stones, all within a few perches of one another; so that, while the "horses and cavalry," above referred to, occupied this valley, they were actually standing around some of the tombs.

It is a very remarkable coincidence that up to a recent period, and, indeed, not yet quite given up, a large annual gathering of the people, or "Patron," extending westwards from St. Kieran's Church and Well, was held in this plain during the first week of August (the period of the year for the celebration of the famous Fair of Taillten): and this is the more remarkable inasmuch as the festival of St. Kieran, which would be the day naturally and usually set apart for the celebration of the "Patron," in honour of the patron Saint of the parish, occurs on the 14th June, the recorded date of Saint Kieran's death.

On the same plain, still further westward, and in the direction of Sliabh-na-Caillighe, the Fair of Balgree was formerly held. It extended from within half a mile east of the Virginia Road Station, on the Oldeastle branch of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway, to Cloughan-rush—a space of about two statute miles in length. No Fair, however, has been held here within the memory of the oldest inhabitant, although it continues to be published in the advertised lists of Fairs.

Approaching nearer to Sliabh-na-Caillighe, on the same plain, we

find that the ancient Oenach has transmitted its memories to us in the modernly spelled name of the townland of *Enagh*, on the Cavan estate of the Marquis of Headfort, there being also two other townlands of the same name not far distant.

It has not, we believe, been satisfactorily ascertained where queen *Taillte*, was buried; and, in the absence of any proof to the contrary, we think it is very likely that her tomb was placed upon one of the summits known as *Sliabh-na-Caillighe*; and that from this fact the cemetery may have been originally called *The Cemetery of Taillte*.

Now, if this were the case, we might be able to connect in some way, though not in the literal sense of the terms of the modern local legend, the name—*Sliabh-na-Caillighe*—or “the old woman’s mountain,” with the fact of the mountain being the site of *Taillte*’s tomb. All this, of course, is purely conjectural, but, we think, highly probable.*

* Since the foregoing went to press we have been most obligingly favoured by Brian O’Looney, Esq., M.R.I.A., of the Catholic University, Dublin, with the following interesting extract, translated by him from the Book of Lecan:—

THE FAIR OF TAILLTEN.

(*Dindsenchas*, from Book of Lecan, fol. 258, a. a.)

“*Taillten*, why so called? Answer: *Tailltiu*, daughter of *Magh Mor*, the wife of *Eochaidh Garbh*, son of *Duach Temin*; it was by him *Duma na n-Gall*, at *Temair*, was made, and she was the nurse (foster-mother) of *Lugaidh*, son of *Seal Balbh*, and it was she that requested her husband to cut down *Caill Cuain*, that it should be an *Oenach* (a fair or assembly-place) around her *Leacht* (or grave), and she died on the Kalend of August after that, and her *guba* (lamentations) and her *nosad* (games—funeral rites) were celebrated by *Lugad*, unde *Lug Nosad dicitur*. Five hundred years, moreover, and three thousand before the birth of Christ this occurred, and this fair was made (celebrated) by every king who occupied Erin till Patrick came. And four hundred years [it continued to be celebrated] in *Taillten*, from Patrick to the Black Fair of *Donchadh*, son of *Fland*, son of *Maelseachlaind*. Three prohibitions were upon *Taillten* [namely], to pass through it without alighting; to see it over the left shoulder; and to throw a cast which does not take effect in it—unde the Fair of *Taillten* dicitur—of which is said as follows:—

1. You nobles of the land of comely Conn,
Listen to us for our blessing;
Till I relate to you the ancient history
Of the origin of the fair of *Tailltiu*.
2. *Tailltiu*, daughter of renowned *Magh Mor*,
Wife of *Eochaidh Garbh*, son of *Duach Dall*,
Was thither brought by the *Firbolg* host,
To *Caill Cuain*, after a co-valiant battle.
3. *Caill Cuain*, tall and stately were its trees;
[Extended] from *Eisgir* to *Ath n-Droman*;
From *Monad More*, of great adventures;
From *Aill* to *Ard na-Suigi* (hill of the Suck).
4. From *Suige* of the *Suighe Sealga* (Suck),
Whither went the Dams* of *Druim Dearg*;
From the wood westward the chariot head did pass
Into *Ath Fínd* to *Cuill Clochar*.

* Companies.

We have documentary authority for stating that the Irish, in pagan times, had regal cemeteries in various parts of the island, appropriated to the interment of the chiefs or princes of the different races who ruled, either as sole monarchs or as provincial kings. This valuable authority is preserved in a tract called *Senchas na Relee*,* or History of the Cemeteries, being a fragment of the oldest and most celebrated Irish Manuscript we possess—viz., *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*,† which is a collection of pieces in prose and verse, compiled and transcribed at Clonmacnois, about A.D. 1100, by *Moelmuiri Mac Ceileachair*,‡ grandson of Conn na m-bocht, a distinguished writer of that great abode of learning. In quoting this tract Dr. Petrie§ remarks that—“judging from its language, its age must be referred to a period several centuries earlier than that in which its transcriber flourished. It is also to be observed that this tract is glossed in its original, evidently by *Moelmuiri* himself, and that such explanations of the transcriber are given within crotchets, both in the Irish text and the translation of it.”

From this venerable old authority we cull the following extracts, in which mention occurs of the cemetery of Taillten:—

Roptar iad ro tpi puidm-peilce
h-epend pia cpecim : a. Cruachu,
in bpuq, in Taillten, Luachair Ailbe,
Oenach Ailbe, Oenach Culi, Oenach
Colman, Temair Epand.—*Leabhar*
na h-Uidhri, p. 51, col. 1.

“These were the chief cemeteries of Erin before the Faith (i. e. before the introduction of Christianity), viz.—Cruachu, Brugh, Taillten, Luachair Ailbe, Oenach Ailbe, Oenach Culi, Oenach Colmain, Temhair Erann.”—*Leabhar na h-Uidhri* p. 51, col. 1.

* * * * *

5. The confluence^a of Curach, the head of the river,
The hill of *Banba*, where spears were wont to be,
The hounds of Cairpri were triumphant
Over the borders of *Tipra Mungarge*.^b
6. Many the heroes of the pagans,
The battles (battalions), the great fires,
That were engaged in felling *Caill Cuain*,
Delightful was the host of the Fírbolgs.
7. When she had felled the beautiful wood,
And having cleared its roots out of the ground,
Before the end of one year it was *Breg Muigh*,
It was a flowery plain adorned with shamrocks.”

^aThe meeting of the two rivers.

^bFountain or stream of *Mungarg*.

Whoever can, from the foregoing, or other sources, identify at the present time the position, extent, and limits of this great wood, called *Caill Cuain*, in the centre of which *Taillte* is here stated to have been buried, will contribute much to the history and topography of the renowned *Taillten*. The site of the wood, which probably covered the hills as well as the plains, was afterwards called *Magh Taillten* (*Taillte's plain*), and *Breg Magh* (beautiful plain): but, from all this, we see no reason to alter our opinion that *Taillte's Tomb* may have been situated on the range of hills which is on all sides surrounded by the most beautiful plains, and which may very naturally have constituted the centre of the great wood of *Cuan*.

* Pronounced *Shanahus na relick*.

† Pronounced *Leour na heera*.

‡ Pronounced *Mailmurra Mac Kealaher*.

§ “Round Towers,” p. 97.



h-i Tallten, moppo, no h-ab-
naictir Ulaib .i. Ollamh Pócla co
na élainb, co tanic Conchobor, .i.
ar ip and no coḡrbe a éabairt
eter plea 7 murr, 7 aigeḡ rair,
Pobéiz na creictir nom-bóí.—*Leab-*
har na h-Uidhri, p. 51, col. 2, top.

"At Taillten the Kings of Ulster were
used to bury, viz., Ollamh Fodhla, with
his descendants, down to Conchobhor,
who wished that he should be carried
to a place between Sleu and the Sea,
with his face to the east, on account of
the Faith which he had embraced."—
Leabhar na h-Uidhri, p. 51, col. 2, top.

In *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* there is also a tract on the death and
burial at Rathcroghan of Dathi, the last pagan monarch of Ireland, in
which occurs a poem, ascribed to Dorban, a poet of West Connaught,
from which the following three stanzas are extracted:—

Iat tpi péilce Iolaib
Relec Thailten, pé coḡa,
Relec Crúadan rír-ḡlaina
Ocup pelec in bpoḡa.

"The three cemeteries of Idolaters are
The cemetery of Taillten, the select,
The ever-clean cemetery of Cruachan
And the cemetery of Brugh.

Abnaicte ríḡ no Mhí
Ar lár in bpoḡa tóatáiz;
No abnaictir arḡ Ulaib
Ip in Tallten co lúadair.

"The host of great Meath were buried
In the middle of the lordly Brugh;
The great Ultonians used to bury
At Taillten with pomp.

Eir Ulaib, nía Conchobor,
Abnaicte h-i Tallten niam,
Co bar mb éir pópabairḡ,
Dia n-beadair dib a niam.

"The true Ultonians, before Conchobhor,
Were ever buried at Taillten,
Until the death of that triumphant man,
Through which they lost their glory."

Leabhar na h-Uidhri, p. 38, col. 2.

Leabhar na h-Uidhri, p. 38, col. 2.

This poem in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* is followed by a prose Commen-
tary, both given by Moelmuiri on the authority of the ancient accounts
collected by Eochaidh Eolach O'Ceirin and Flann, from which we ex-
tract the following passage, showing who were buried at Taillten:—

Matí Ulaib nía Conchobor i Tal-
ten no abnaicte, .i. Ollamh Pócla 7
mopperruip leir dia maccaib, 7
dia h-uib, 7 co n-bréim aile do ma-
tib Ulaib. Uairí Tuatē de Da-
nand (.i. cen móta mopperruip
no abnaicte dib h-i Tallten) ip in
bpuḡ. .i. Lug, ocup Óe mac Ollom-
an, ocup Ogma, ocup Cairpri mic
Etain (.i. ban fili) ocup Etain
fem, ocup in Dagda, ocup a tpi mic
(.i. Aed, ocup Oengus ocup Cer-
maic) ocup pobairt mór ar éna do
Tuatē de Danand, ocup Pep m-
bolḡ, ocup carḡ ar éna.—*Leabhar na*
h-Uidhri, p. 38, col. 2.

"The chiefs of Ulster before Con-
chobhor were buried at Taillten, viz.
Ollamh Fodhla, and seven of his sons,
and grandsons, with others of the chiefs
of Ulster. The nobles of the Tuatha de
Danand (with the exception of seven of
them who were interred at Taillten),
were buried at Brugh, i. e. Lug,
and Óe, son of Olloman, and Ogma,
and Cairpri, son of Etain (i. e. the
poetess) and Etain herself, and the Dag-
da and his three sons (i. e. Aedh and
Oengus, and Cermait) and a great num-
ber besides of the Tuatha de Danand
and of the Ferbolgs and of other persons
also."—*Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, p. 38, col.
2.

From this it would appear that, in addition to the Ultonians being

buried at Taillten, seven of the Tuatha de Danann dynasty, whose names are given above, were also interred here.

On the next page of our valuable old MS., alluding to the ancient fairs held at the cemeteries, we have the following poetical enumeration of the mounds, carns, or tombs to be found at each of the three cemeteries above referred to:—

Cóeca cnoc in ceó Oenuó dib rín;
Coeca cnoc, éin, in-Oenach Cruachan,
Ocur coeca cnoc in Oenuó Talcen,
Ocur coeca in Oenuó in Broga.

Leabhar na h-Uidri p. 39, col. 1, top.

" Fifty hills in each Oenach of them :
Fifty hills at Oenach Cruachan,
And fifty hills at Oenach Taillten,
And fifty [hills] at Oenach in Broga."

Leabhar na h-Uidhri, p. 39, col. 1, top.

The ruins or sites of more than half the above number of carns set down as being at Taillten can still be pointed out on the Loughcrew Hills.

Out of the list of the ancient Royal Cemeteries of Ireland before given, the sites of two only, viz. Croghan, about the middle of the county Roscommon, and Brugh, in Meath, a few miles west of Drogheda, are definitely known. The sites of the remainder, so far as we know, have yet to be established.

In the preceding extracts, from the most ancient MS. we possess, we have so much definite information given as to that of Taillten, that it appears to us almost impossible to doubt its existence on the Loughcrew Hills. If Taillte was buried here, in whose memory the fair and games of Taillten were established by Lugh Lamhfhada, whose death is recorded at B.C. 1829, it must have been used as a cemetery for upwards of 18 centuries before the Christian era; but, if we only date its being used from the time of the name of the first on the list mentioned as interred here, viz. Ollamh Fodhla, whose death is set down by The Four Masters as having occurred B.C. 1277, it must be thirty-one centuries and a half old.

As to the period at which the cemetery of Taillten ceased to be used as such, it is here distinctly stated that it was used by the Ultonians up to the time of Conchobhor, who specified his wish to be buried elsewhere. Now, as Conchobhor is set down in the generally received correct Annals of Tigherneach* as having died A.D. 33, and Ollamh Fodhla by the Four Masters at B.C. 1277, it is plain that the cemetery of Taillten must have been in actual use at least for nearly thirteen centuries before the Christian era, when, on the death of Conchobhor, it ceased to be used.

As Conchobhor and Crimthann were the two kings of the two great dynasties reigning in Ireland at the commencement of the Christian period, and Crimthann being the first of his line, according to *Senchas na Relec*, buried at Brugh, we have a very clear view, as Mr. Fergusson† points out, of the relative age and history of the two Royal

* Pronounced *Terna*.

† "Rude Stone Monuments," p. 221.

Cemeteries of Meath. In fact, it was not until Taillten was abandoned that the kings began to bury at Brugh, in the neighbourhood of Drogheda.

In the poem before quoted there is an epithet applied to the cemetery of Taillten which strikes us as very remarkable. The line runs:—

“The Cemetery of Taillten, *the select.*”

Now, we think the epithet here applied to Taillten will throw some light on the cause of the Ulster kings and chiefs coming so far, all the way from Emania, beside the present city of Armagh, to bury their dead at Taillten; for, probably, in the whole island there could not be found a more *select* and remarkable site than our ancient kings fixed upon when they adopted the heights of that range of hills we now call Sliabh-na-Caillighe for their future cemetery.

From them the mountains overhanging the bays of Carlingford and Sligo are visible, thus giving a telescopic view of Ireland from coast to coast at the narrowest part of the island. Moreover, persons well acquainted with the general face of the country are accustomed to point out, from the peaks of Sliabh-na-Caillighe, with the aid, of course, of a clear atmosphere, elevations in eighteen out of the thirty-two counties in Ireland! This ceases to surprise us when we recollect that the square-root of once and a half the height in feet of any elevation on the globe's surface is equal to the distance of the offing, or sensible horizon, in miles: hence, the highest peak of Sliabh-na-Caillighe, having an altitude of 904 feet, must command a view of, at least, 37 miles all around, in a perfectly clear horizon; and atmospheric refraction will increase this distance by about three miles.

Now, taking Sliabh-na-Caillighe as a centre, and with a radius of 40 miles, sweeping a circle on the map of Ireland, we find that this circle will include the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Longford, Cavan, and Monaghan; the greater portions of Dublin, Kildare, King's County, Roscommon, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Louth; and will include small portions, or very nearly touch the confines, of Wicklow, Queen's County, Galway, Sligo, Tyrone, and Down. Following out the same process of calculation, any mountain attaining the height of 2000 feet, under favourable circumstances, might be visible from Sliabh-na-Caillighe, if not more than 92 miles distant; and this would include every mountain of 2000 feet and upwards in height in every county in Ireland, except in Cork and Kerry.

When the sun shines out resplendently over these hills, chasing away the gloom of darkness which occasionally, and often very suddenly, obscures their summits, the gorgeous panorama, displaying a profuse wealth of natural attractions, is seen with great distinctness of outline, and presents a prospect probably one of the most diversified and beautiful in the whole island. Nature seems to have lavished her choicest treasures upon the scene, and the magnificent combination of receding eminences, and distant lakes, and gracefully undulating plains, could not fail to quicken the imagination to a profound sense

of solemn grandeur.* What wonder, then, that one old bardic chronicler, as we have seen, should have called this place "the fair-hilled Taillten," and that another should have described it as "The cemetery of Taillten, the select"?

No wonder that the great Ultonian kings and chiefs, and other kings and celebrities, at whatever distance they may have usually resided, should have yearned to make this spot their last resting place. Indeed, to us the only wonder is, that so remarkable a site for a cemetery should have been ever abandoned, so long as pagan sepulture was practised in the country.

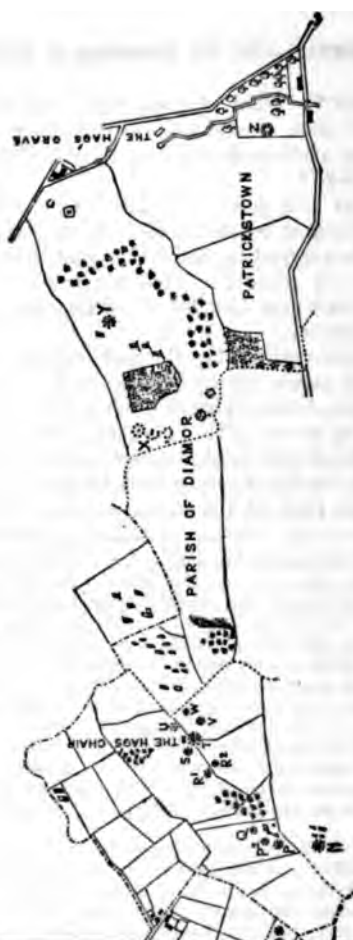
From the accompanying Map the distribution and relative sites of the still-remaining cairns can be best studied. Under the nomenclature of the letters of the alphabet each cairn has already been summarily described by us, on 26th February, 1866, and published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. IX., p. 355, &c., to which, for further details, reference can be made.

Looking at this map of the cairns, one cannot but be struck with

* In addition to what nature has done to lay the foundation of scenic beauty in this district, it is but justice to record that much of the picturesque effect, looking westwards, is essentially due to the critical judgment and refined artistic taste with which, during a long life, the late James Lenox William Naper, Esq., D. L., directed and superintended the various improvements carried out upon his extensive estate. His benevolent disposition and his genuine kindness of heart induced him, with the exception of occasional short absences, to spend his useful life upon his own property, almost daily devising plans for adding to the comforts of his poorer class of tenantry; but, above all, feeling and taking the deepest practical interest in the successful working of the excellent schools upon his property, as he believed them to be the most effective engines for promoting social progress, with certainty and permanency, in the humbler ranks of life. The following incident may be worth recording, as it affords an explanation of the origin of some of the charming views about Loughcrew.

From the opening of the singularly successful schools in Oldcastle,* founded and endowed under the will of a native of the town, Laurence Gilson, whose death took place on 14th April, 1810, the late J. L. W. Naper, Esq., acted as chairman of the board of trustees by whom the schools are managed; and, up to the period of his death, on 2nd September, 1868, uniformly took a deep interest in watching over their efficient working. The annual public examination of the schools was fixed for Tuesday, 9th June, 1868, while the writer, who acted as Inspector of the schools for the trustees, was one of an antiquarian party on a visit to Loughcrew. On that morning, while pacing about in front of Loughcrew House with Mr. Naper, who was awaiting the coming round of his carriage to proceed to the examination, the writer happened to remark, while looking in the direction of Lough Sheelin—"What a picturesque scene!" This accidental observation appeared to amuse him; and he then stated that, after the site for the house had been fixed upon, he, standing where we then stood, sketched the outline of the undulating country in front, in all its arid bareness of character; and, having afterwards in his studio worked up this outline into a picture to please himself, he planted here and there accordingly, leaving some hill tops bare, others crowned with wood, and, in the whole, producing the present exquisite panoramic view, which he lived to the good old age of seventy-six to enjoy from the front of Loughcrew House.

* During the year 1871, of the children of the town and neighbourhood receiving an excellent free education, in addition to being gratuitously supplied with all necessary books and school requisites, there was an average of 645·3 pupils on the rolls of the three schools (Boys', Girls', and Infants') in the Institution; and, on an average, there were 372·7 of these pupils in actual daily attendance throughout the year.



Map of the Remains of the ancient Royal Cemetery of Talliten,
on the Loughcrew Hills, Oldcastle, Co. Meath, Ireland.
Scale : 2.64 inches to a Statute Mile.

the general arrangement of them into groups, the central one of each group being much larger than the surrounding ones; which naturally leads to the inference that each group may represent a dynasty, the central cairn being probably the tomb of the founder.

It would be reasonable to suppose that Queen Taillte's last resting-place should be found in the cemetery named after her; but we have been unable, so far as our present investigations have gone, to point to any one of the cairns as Taillte's tomb, although we strongly suspect that the large cairn on the peak now called the hill of Patrickstown, the stones constituting which have been nearly all carted away for the purpose of building adjoining fences, was such; for there are many still living who describe this cairn, before its recent destruction, as the most conspicuous of all upon the hills, particularly when viewed from the great rath at Telltown, the probable site of one of her principal residences, as we have before seen. Had this cairn been situated on Mr. Naper's property it would in all likelihood have escaped desecration and destruction.

Having learned, from the extracts above quoted, the names of some of those who were buried at the ancient cemetery of Taillten, it becomes legitimate for us to inquire, if, among these remains, there be any positive or distinctive peculiarities by which they could be indicatively associated with the memory of any of those stated in the foregoing extracts to have been buried at Taillten. It will be seen that the first mentioned as interred at Taillten was Ollamh Fodhla,* the great law-giver

* Pronounced *Ollám Fola*: i. e. the Ollamh, or chief Poet of Fodhla, or Ireland. We are indebted to Dr. O'Donovan's translation of the Annals of Ireland for the following particulars, and the valuable notes thereon by the learned editor. It will be necessary to keep in mind, in reading them, that the Chronology adopted by the Four Masters, following the computation of the Septuagint, as given by St. Jerome in his edition of the Chronicon of Eusebius, makes the first year of our era agree with the year of the world, 5199.

"The Age of the world, 3847. After Sedna had been five years in the sovereignty, he fell by Fiacha Finscothach and Muineamhon, son of Cas Clothach, at Cruachain."^a

"The Age of the World, 3848. The first year of the reign of Fiacha Finscothach over Ireland."

"The Age of the world, 3867. After Fiacha Finscothach had been twenty years in the sovereignty of Ireland he fell by Muineamhon, son of Cas. Every plain in Ireland abounded with flowers and shamrocks in the time of Fiacha. These flowers, moreover, were found full of wine, so that the wine was squeezed into bright vessels. Wherefore, the cognomen, Fiacha Fin-scothach^b, continued to be applied to him."

"The Age of the World, 3868. This was the first year of the reign of Muineamhon, son of Cas Clothach, over Ireland."

"The Age of the World, 3872. At the end of the fifth year of Muineamhon, he died of the plague in Magh-Aidhne.^c It was Muineamhon that first caused

^a *Cruachain*. Now Rathcroghan, near Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon.

^b *Fin-scothach*: i. e. of the Wine-flowers. Keating gives this cognomen the same interpretation, but in Connell Mageoghagan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnois, it is stated that this King "was surnamed Fínnsgoghagh of the abundance of white flowers that were in his time," which seems more probable, as wine was then unknown in Ireland.

^c *Magh-Aidhne*: a level district in the present county of Galway, all comprised in the *Barony of Kilmacduagh*.

of Ireland, upwards of seven hundred years before Solon* legislated for Greece; and on the highest peak of a range of hills, rendered the more conspicuous and remarkable because they are the highest in the com-

chains of gold⁴ (to be worn) on the necks of kings and chieftains in Ireland."

"The Age of the World, 3873. The first year of Faildeargdoid."

"The Age of the World, 3882. After Faildeargdoid had been ten years in the sovereignty, he fell by Ollamh Fodhla, son of Fiacha Finscothach, in the battle of Teamhair. It was by the King Faildeargdoid⁵ that gold rings were first worn upon the hands of chieftains in Ireland."

"The Age of the World, 3883. The first year of the reign of Ollamh Fodhla, son of Fiacha Finscothach."

"The Age of the World, 3922. Ollamh Fodhla, after having been forty years in the sovereignty of Ireland, died at his own *mur* (house), at Teamhair.⁶ He was the first king by whom the Feis-Teamhrachs⁷ was established; and it was by him Mur-Ollamhan was erected at Teamhair. It was he also that appointed a chieftain over every cantred,⁸ and a Brughaidh over every townland, who were all to serve the king of Ireland.⁹ Eochaidh was the first name of Ollamh Fodhla; and he was called Ollamh (Fodhla) because he had been first a learned Ollamh, and afterwards king of (Fodhla, i. e. of) Ireland."

"The Age of the World, 3923. This was the first year of the reign of Finnaughta, son of Ollamh Fodhla, over Ireland."

"The Age of the World, 3942. This was the twentieth year of the reign of Finnaughta over Ireland. He afterwards died of the plague in Magh-inis, in Uladh.¹⁰ It was in the reign of Finnaughta that snow fell with the taste of wine, which blackened the grass. From this the cognomen Finnaughta,¹¹ adhered to him. Elim was his name at first."

* *Chains of Gold.* Keating has the same, and in Mageoghegan's Annals of Clonmacnois it is expressed as follows:—"Mownemon was the first King that devised Gould to be wrought in chains fit to be wore about men's necks, and rings to be put on their fingers, which was" (were) "then in great use."

* *Faildeargdoid.* He is called Alldeargoid by Keating, and Aldergoid in the Annals of Clonmacnois. This name is derived from *pail*, a ring; *dearg*, red; and *oid*, the hand. "In his time gold rings were much used on men and women's fingers in this Realm." *Annals of Clonmacnois.*

* *His own mur at Teamhair:* i. e., Mur-Ollamhan, i. e. Ollamh Fodhla's house at Tara. In Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnois it is stated "that he builded a fair palace at Taragh only for the learned sort of this realm, to dwell in at his own charges." But this is probably one of Mageoghegan's interpolations. A similar explanation of Mur-Ollamhan is given by O'Flaherty in his *Ogygia*, p. 214; but Keating, who quotes an ancient poem as authority for the triennial feast or meeting at Tara, has not a word about the palace built for the Ollamha. See *Petrie's Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 6.

* *Feis-Teamhrachs.* This term is translated "Temorensia Comititia," by Dr. Lynch, in *Cambrensis Eversus*, pp. 59, 60, 301, and by O'Flaherty, in *Ogygia*, part III., c. 29; but it is called "Cena" (Coena) "Teamra," in the Annals of Tighearnach, at the year 461, and translated Feast of Taragh by Mageoghegan, in his version of the Annals of Clonmacnois, in which the following notice of it occurs:—"Ollow Fodla, of the house of Ulster, was King of Ireland, and of him Ulster took the name. He was the first King of this land that ever kept the great Feast at Taragh, which feast was kept once a year, whereunto all the King's friends and dutiful subjects came yearly; and such as came not were taken for the King's enemies, and to be prosecuted by the law and sword, as undutiful to the State."

* *Cantred:* τριόδα οὐδ: i. e. a hundred or barony containing one hundred and twenty quarters of land. It is translated "cantaredus or centivillaria regio" by Colgan. *Trias Thaum.*, p. 19, n. 51.

* *Abrughaidh over every townland.* Dr. Lynch renders this passage "singulis agrorum tricenariis Dynastam, singulis Burgis prefectum constituit." A brughaidh, among the ancient Irish, meant a farmer; and his baile or townland comprised four quarters, or four hundred and eighty large Irish acres of land.

* *Magh-inis in Uladh.* Now the barony of Lecale, in the county of Down.

* *Finnaughta.* Keating gives a similar interpretation; but it is evidently legendary, because Finnaughta, or Finnaughta, was very common as the name of a man among the ancient Irish, denoting *Nivus*, or snow-white. The name is still preserved in the surname O'Finnaughta, anglicised Finaghty.

paratively flat county of Meath, we still have, among the general destruction which has befallen the others around it, as well as the partial injury to itself, a very perfect carn,† with an unique stone chair placed in its northern boundary. As we know that such seats, in a state of primitive civilization, were used for purposes of inauguration and the administration of pristine laws, we can have little difficulty in associating this chair with the memory of some one laid here to his rest who, during his lifetime, must have been in a remarkable degree connected either with the making or the administration, or both, of the laws of the country.

And to whom, keeping in view the preceding MS. testimony, could this great megalithic chair‡ be more appropriately ascribed than to Ollamh Fodhla? It would be natural to suppose that for the site of the tomb of the great King and law-maker, his posterity (or, indeed, probably he himself, during his own lifetime), selected the most elevated spot on the entire range; hence, we propose to call the carn on that spot, 904 feet above the sea level, and situated on the middle hill, Ollamh Fodhla's Tomb; the great stone seat Ollamh Fodhla's Chair; and the ruined remains of the smaller surrounding carns, six of which still remain, the tombs of his sons and grandsons, mentioned in the previous extracts. In fact, on the summit of the highest hill in the site of this ancient royal cemetery, we believe there still exist the remains of the tombs of the dynasty of Ollamh Fodhla.

What first led us to conceive the idea that this carn must be the tomb of Ollamh Fodhla was the fact of its having, as one of the thirty-

"The Age of the World, 3943. The first year of the reign of Slanoll,¹ son of Ollamh Fodhla, over Ireland."

"The Age of the World, 3959. The seventeenth year of Slanoll in the sovereignty; and he died, at the end of that time, at Teambair [Tara], and it is not known what disease carried him off; he was found dead, but his colour did not change. He was afterwards buried; and after his body had been forty years in the grave, it was taken up by his son, i. e., Oilíoll mac Slanuill; and the body had remained without rotting or decomposing during this period. This thing was a great wonder and surprise to the men of Ireland."

For further particulars as to the reigns of the descendants of Ollamh Fodhla, see "Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters," Vol. I. p. 55, &c.

* Solon, one of the seven sages of Greece and the great Athenian legislator, is recorded to have died B. C. 558; and Ollamh Fodhla B. C. 1277.

† See Map, Carn T.

‡ The ancient stone chair has been found in countries widely apart—viz., in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Greece, South America, &c. The place selected for its site has been always in an elevated position, either on a mountain, a natural hill, or an artificial eminence in the centre of a large plain (*Magh*); and it has been always associated with the ideas of power and dignity, having been used as well for the dispensation of justice as for the inauguration of ancient kings and toparchs.

¹ *Slanoll*. Keating derives this name from *slán*, health; and *oll*, great; and adds that he was so called because all his subjects enjoyed great health in his time. The Annals of Clonmacnoise contain the same remark:—"During whose reign the kingdom was free from all manner of sickness;" and add:—"It is unknown to any of what he died, but died quietly on his bed; and after that his body remained *free* years buried, and did not rott, consume, or change colour. He reigned 26 years."

seven large stones in the periphery of its base, a great stone-chair facing the north, in our days popularly called "The Hag's Chair," measuring 10 feet in breadth, 6 feet high, and 2 feet thick; from which dimensions it must be upwards of ten tons in weight, allowing twelve cubic feet of rock to weigh one ton. It occurred to us that, instead of this being the chair of any old hag of antiquity, whether real or mythical, it would be much more reasonable to look upon it as having had, in the long past days of its glory, some practical use.

At that remote period in the history of man, before the advent of Christianity, it is well known that the sun was an object of worship; and the very fact that the entrances to the interior chambers of the majority of the cairns on the Loughcrew Hills point to the east, or the rising sun, bears strong internal evidence that this form of worship prevailed when these tombs or cairns were constructed. If such were the case, for we are without any absolute historic evidence on the point, we can well imagine how appropriately a great seat of justice was placed in the north side of the great law-maker's tomb, from which, with all the solemnity attaching to the place, his laws were administered, say at mid-day, with the recipients of the adjudication fully confronted with the great luminary, the object of their worship. For these reasons we propose, henceforth, to call this remarkable stone chair, emblazoned as it is, both on front and back, with characters at present perfectly unintelligible to us, "Ollamh Fodhla's Chair."



Ollamh Fodhla's Chair (Front View).

Unfortunately, from a natural fracture in the stone, a considerable portion of the back has scaled off, and the pieces being lost, we are now unable even to guess what cryptic characters may have been inscribed upon the lost portions. In the following woodcut, however, it will be seen that the portion of the original back of the chair still remaining is inscribed with characters quite analogous with those upon its front.

The chair is a rock of native Lower Silurian grit, having a rude

seat hollowed out of the centre, and leaving an elevation at each side of about nine inches above the seat, the back having now fallen away.



Ollamh Fodhla's Chair (Back View.)

The apparent cross carved into the centre of the seat, as well as two others on adjoining marginal upright stones, are not to be mistaken for characters of ancient date, as they were cut for trigonometrical purposes in the year 1836, by the men then encamped on Sliabh-na Caillighe, and engaged in the triangulation survey of the country under Captain Stotherd and Lieutenants Greatorex and Chaytor, R. E.

If, then, it can be satisfactorily concluded that this cairn is the tomb of Ollamh Fodhla, the internal evidence for which being the sculptured stone-chair, or judicial seat, the question is settled; and all doubt as to the identification of the ancient cemetery, whose name and history had become lost in the various changes and troubles through which the country passed during the long lapse of upwards of 3,000 years, from the days of Ollamh Fodhla to our own time, must at once disappear. We may, indeed, fairly conclude that we have disintombed from the relics of time the last resting-place of one who, in this island, was a great pioneer in the civilization of his fellow-men at a period when the actions of the human race, in most other parts of the world, were probably governed by no better laws than the impulses of animal passion, dictated on the spur of the moment.



The Tomb of Ollamh Fodhla.

The above view, from a slightly north-westerly aspect, is en-

graved from a photograph taken by Charles William Hamilton, Esq., J. P., Hamwood, in September, 1865, while the original explorations were in progress. The upright stones seen on the left must not be mistaken as belonging to Ollamh Fodhla's tomb, being the boundary stones of the remains of an adjoining cairn.

The original shape of this cairn still remains comparatively perfect, consisting of a conical mound of loose stones, nearly all apparently fragments of the native rock, Lower Silurian grit. It is thirty-eight and one-half yards in diameter at the base, having an elevation of twenty-one paces in slant-height from base to summit. A retaining wall, consisting of thirty-seven large flags laid on edge, and varying in length from six to twelve feet, surrounds the base externally; and, on the eastern side, this surrounding circle of large stones curves inwards for a distance of eight or nine yards on each side of a point where the passage to the interior chambers commences, the bearing of the passage being E. 10° S., probably intended to face the rising sun at that period of the year when the occupant of the tomb was laid to his rest, or when the fabrication of the cairn was commenced. The peculiarities of construction and the internal arrangements of the chambers will be better understood from the following:



Ground Plan of Ollamh Fodhla's Tomb.

Inside the retaining wall of large flag stones, as far as was examined, and, apparently, going all round the base of the cairn, was piled up a layer, rising from three to four feet in height, and about two feet in thickness, of broken lumps of sparkling native Irish quartz, a rock which does not geologically belong to this part of the island; and which, consequently, must have found its way from some distant locality. The nearest native beds of quartz rock are to be met with at Howth, about fifty miles S. E. from Sliabh na Caillighe; in Wicklow, sixty miles, S. E.; in Donegal, ninety miles, N.; in Sligo, about the same distance, N. W.; in Galway, 110 miles, W.; but the fragments used here may, probably, have been obtained on the spot from some glacial deposits from Donegal, without actually transporting them from any of the localities above mentioned.

In the rifled state in which the interior of this cairn was found by us, during our explorations, in 1865, the entrance to the passage was closed by two irregular blocks of stone; and in the commencement of the passage were dropped three large boulders, completely filling up the first chamber in the passage to the height of about twenty inches, and for six feet in length, up to the first stone standing across the passage, and as far as the only remaining roofing stone over it. These three rude boulders rested upon two flooring flags in the passage, underneath which, when raised, was found a layer of very small stones of different kinds, and chips of quartz. Among these loose stones on the bottom of the passage were deposited fragments of bones, some pieces of which appeared to be portions of a human skull, and four large molar teeth, either of a horse or an ox. Although the general outline of the cairn still remains in its original state, the roofing stones covering the passage, with one exception, No. 26, which is six feet in length and eighteen inches in breadth and thickness, resting across the third pair of uprights, have all long since disappeared, as well as the greater portion of the roofing stones which formerly covered the central octagonal chamber. At present there are only about thirty overlapping roofing stones remaining *in situ*, carrying the roof over the central chamber to a height of about ten feet.

The first operation in the examination of this cairn, in September, 1865, was to remove the loose stones which, in the vandalism of taking away the roofing stones at some former period, had fallen in and filled up the passage and chambers. Three large bones, probably belonging to a deer, were found among the loose stones which filled up the central chamber; and near the bottom, among these stones, and close to the entrance to the northern chamber, a bronze pin, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, here represented full size, was found. It is beautifully incrustated with that patina, or green enamel, peculiar to bronze, and appears to have been much worn. The ornamentation on the head is shown at A. The stem, which also contains



Bronze Pin.

traces of ornamentation between B and C, is round from B to D, swelling to C and then contracting to D, where it begins to change into a four flat-sided point, thick below D, and tapering down to E. Although this pin must be classed with objects of ancient Irish art, it is not probable, from its being picked up among the loose stones, where it may have found its way by accident, that it can lay claim to anything like the antiquity of the tomb itself. It is here given simply as having been found in this ancient cairn, without suggesting any period as to its own age.

The central chamber was floored or closely covered by five thin flags, underneath which, on being raised, were found fragments of charred bones, and small splintered stones, mixed with pieces of charcoal.

The interior of this cairn had been so well plundered at some former period that no remains of the actual mode of sepulture were found in it; but, judging from the quantities of charred human bones, broken urns, inscribed bone flakes, polished stone balls, articles of bronze and iron, bone, glass and amber beads, &c.,* collected from the other cairns during our examination of them in September, 1865, two important facts would appear to be clearly established therefrom, viz., that cremation of the dead was practised on *Sliabh-na-Caillighe* up to the Christian era, at the commencement of which, as previously shown, the use of this cemetery was given up; and that, during the period the cemetery was in actual use, the people must have been acquainted with the use of articles made not only of stone and of bronze, but of iron, glass, amber, and bone.

If, however, nothing has come down to us immediately associated with the remains of the original interment in this cairn, future history may have something far more interesting to record, when some successful student in archaic sculptures shall have been fortunate enough to discover the key for interpreting the meaning, whether ideographic or symbolic, or merely ornamental, intended to be conveyed by the curious, and at present mystic, characters inscribed upon the stones forming the interior chambers. There is little doubt that, should one of the old sculptors of these devices, by any possibility be able once more to "revisit the glimpses of the moon," and be confronted with an inscription on one of our modern sepulchral monuments, the reading of which to us is so plain and simple, and so conformable with the science of grammar, he would be as much puzzled, probably more so, to make sense or meaning out of our characters, as we are to-day out of his!

A basaltic slab, not three feet square, turned up near Rosetta, on the western mouth of the Nile, by a French officer of Engineers in the month of August, 1799, at present preserved in the British Museum, and now commonly known as "The Rosetta Stone," has, from its fruitful contents, led to the deciphering and reading of

* See Proceedings of R. I. A., Vol. IX., p. 355, &c.

what had then become mystic characters on the pyramids of Egypt; and, if we doubt the possibility of such another lucky accident leading to the interpretation of the characters on the inscribed stones in this and the adjoining carns, as well as analogously inscribed stones in carns in other countries, may we not at least reasonably hope that by collecting them, and closely analysing and comparing the analogies of the characters, the mystery of which is at present impenetrable to us, every line, and cup, and curve, and figure on these monuments of the past, will assume a definite and distinct meaning? But it, unfortunately, too frequently happens in our days that those who wish to prosecute such studies want the necessary time and leisure to do it; and those, upon the other hand, who possess both the opportunity and the ability, do not want to do it. It would be idle to suppose, as some have done, that these markings are nothing more than childish amusements. The forms and the arrangements of many of them appear to indicate a symbolic character, and thus refute the idea of their being intended, as others assert, for mere ornamentation.

Judging from the memorials of the past which have come down to us, there appears to have been at all times, and, indeed, in every country, even before the invention of letters, a craving in the human breast, just as we find it to be the case in our own days, to perpetuate memories. Should we hope, in the slow school of archæology, hereafter to be able to unravel the meaning of the inscribed records of the age of stone-literature, if we may be allowed the use of such an expression in reference to ancient rock-markings, we must for the present be satisfied to accumulate these characters largely, even without understanding them, or too closely investigating their meaning; and, when the number of these collected elements shall be found sufficient, then some future student of archæology will, undoubtedly, be able, by careful analogies and comparisons, to render the solution of their meaning not only possible but practicable, from the consideration of these assembled elements. The following inscriptions on the stones in Ollamh Fodhla's tomb are here given, in the fullest confidence that this hope will soon be realized.

With each stone numbered for reference in the descriptions which are to follow, we submit a ground plan of the interior of Ollamh Fodhla's tomb (see next page).

The long passage and the tricameral arrangement round a central octagonal chamber give the general outline the appearance of a cross, which shape, judging from the internal arrangements in most of the other carns on Sliabh-na-Caillighe, as well as at New Grange and Dowth, in the same county, appears to have been the favourite form adopted by our pagan ancestors in the construction of the tombs of their great people.

The passage has an average breadth of three feet, and is seventeen feet in length; while the distance from the commencement of the passage to the farthest extremity of the opposite chamber is twenty-

No. 3, the third stone on the southern side of the passage, is four feet high, two feet wide, and six inches thick, having no sculptured markings now discernible upon it.

Each of these stones, numbered 4 and 5, stands four feet in height, presents a front surface of one foot in breadth, and recedes backwards for two feet nine inches. Standing compactly together as they do, they are so represented here.

This is the terminal stone on the southern side of the passage, and measures four feet nine inches in height, three feet five inches in breadth, and is nine inches thick.



No. 6.

The breadth of the passage at its termination and the entrance into the central octagonal chamber, off which are three quadrilateral chambers, constituting the arms and top of the cruciform figure which forms the interior plan of the tomb, is only three feet one inch.

The entrance to the southern chamber is here represented, giving a



Nos. 7, 30, 41, and lintel.

view of the sculptures upon the stones Nos. 7 and 11, as well as upon the lintel stone over them. No. 7, on the left, measures five feet in height, three feet two inches in width, and one foot in thickness: No. 11, on the right, measures five feet two inches in height, four feet four inches in width, and one foot in thickness: and the lintel stone over the entrance is four feet eight inches long, one foot seven inches broad, and one foot thick. No. 30, the stone closing in the entrance to the chamber at the bottom is devoid of sculpture, and measures one foot eight inches in height, the same in breadth, and is six inches thick, leaving an opening over it, or entrance into the chamber, of upwards of three feet in height.

It is deserving of notice that several of the lines upon the lintel stone have been supposed by some to be Ogham marks; but they have been examined in our presence by the Right Rev. Charles Graves, D. D., Bishop of Limerick, who has so successfully made this occult mode of writing one of the special studies of his life, and they have been pronounced by him not to be Ogham.

The southern chamber is nearly four feet square, and is covered by a horizontal roofing flag. When the loose stones which had fallen in, by the former uncovering of the central chamber, had been removed, the earth on the floor was found mixed with splinters of burned bones. No other indications of burial were found, showing the state in which the chamber had been left, after some unrecorded plundering of its contents.

The characters on the first stone on the left, after entering, are here represented; the stone itself measuring three feet seven inches



No. 8.

in height, four feet in breadth, and six inches in thickness. Projecting slightly over No. 8 will be observed the ends of two other inscribed

stones, from which it is evident, as the devices pass out of sight into the structure, that they were sculptured before their erection in their present position.

This stone is opposite to the entrance, and forms the southern wall



No. 9.

of the chamber. It is four feet five inches high, three feet wide, and nine inches thick.



No. 10.

The western wall of the southern chamber is formed by the stone here represented, measuring three feet four inches high, three feet ten inches wide, and nine inches thick.

The entrance to the western chamber, opposite the passage from the exterior, and forming the top of the cruciform figure represented



Nos. 29, 16, and lintel.

in the ground plan of the tomb, is here shown. The upright on the left has been already described as No. 11; that on the right, No. 16, measures five feet two inches in height, is four feet wide, and nine inches thick. The stone closing the entrance to the chamber at the bottom, No. 29, measures two feet nine inches in length, two feet four inches in height, and is five inches thick. Unfortunately, the lintel over the entrance has become cracked across, and has sunk considerably since the chamber below it was freed of the loose stones which filled it up, leading to the apprehension that, if this stone be not made secure, the entire chamber may shortly become a ruin.



Roofing stone over western chamber.

On entering the chamber, which is about four feet square, and nearly five feet in height, above the upright stones forming its walls, are observed seven projecting flags forming a beehive roof capped by a large horizontal flag, elaborately covered with devices, several of which extend out of sight under the structure, and where no tool could reach; again affording evidence that the sculptures upon this stone also must have been executed before the erection of the cairn.



In removing the loose stones which had fallen into this chamber, on the centre of the floor was found a circle of earth, about a foot in diameter, enclosing about a hatful of charred bones, which were covered with a flag. Over the flag were raised, for about two feet in height, alternate layers of finely broken and larger stones, among which were found some human teeth, and twenty-four bones, each about four inches long, one of which, in the broken state in which it was found, is here represented full size. The double row of processes, or notched projections, on its lower extremity, will identify it as the smaller and lower of the two large bones in the leg of a kid: and the presence of so many of these particular bones here, whatever else they may have been intended to indicate, may point to the sacrifice of half a dozen of these animals.

On entering the chamber, the first stone on the left, here repre-



No. 12.

sented, measures four feet six inches in height, two feet nine inches in breadth, and is of an average thickness of ten inches. A stone, No. 13,

standing in the south-west angle of the chamber, measures three feet ten inches in height, three feet in breadth, and eight inches in thickness; but has no devices sculptured upon it.



No. 14.

This stone, No. 14, which faces the entrance of the chamber, and passage into the interior, is inscribed in a very remarkable manner. It measures four feet three inches in height, three feet two inches in width, and nine inches in average thickness.

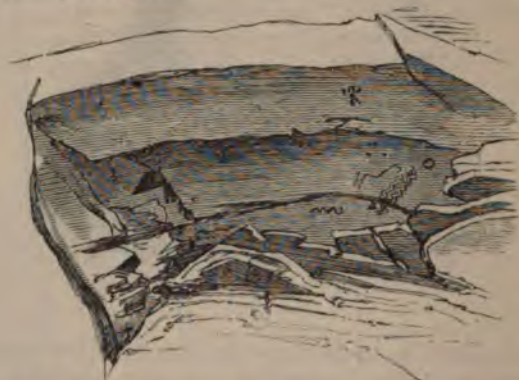


No. 15.

The northern wall of the western chamber is formed by this stone, measuring three feet seven inches in height, two feet ten inches in breadth, and one foot in thickness.

No. 16, on the right-hand side of the entrance to the chamber, has been already described.

The dimensions of the northern chamber are very similar to the other two before described. Since the removal of the loose stones which filled up the interior, the upright stones forming its walls have become much depressed by the superincumbent weight of loose stones above them; and if not soon placed again erect, this chamber must inevitably become a ruin, a catastrophe which all students of archæology would have just reason to regret.



Lower surfaces of lintel and roofing stone over northern chamber.

The chamber has a beehive roof, formed by five flags projecting inwards, and covered in by a horizontal one, on which are *cut in very fine lines*, less than a quarter of an inch asunder, among other devices, four remarkable chevron lines, about one foot in length. The characters sculptured on the lower surface of the lintel and of the roofing stone are very carefully represented in the above woodcut.



No. 17.

The stone here represented forms the left-hand or western side of

the northern chamber, and measures four feet high, three feet wide, and one foot thick. In the remote left-hand angle of the chamber, as in the western one, stands an upright, marked No. 18 on the plan, measuring three feet two inches in height, two feet wide, and seven inches thick. Neither of these two angular uprights shows any evidence of being sculptured, and their use in the construction is not apparent. No devices have been detected on the stone facing the entrance to this chamber, marked No. 19 on the plan, measuring three feet six inches high, four feet five inches wide, and nine inches thick.



No. 20.

This stone, constituting the eastern side of the northern chamber, measures four feet five inches in height, three feet four inches at its



No. 21.

widest part, and is about five inches thick. The stone, No. 31, across the lower part of the entrance to this chamber, is one foot ten inches in height, two feet two inches in width, and eight inches in thickness; and is devoid of any inscription.

Extending from the northern chamber to the termination of the passage stands a stone, No. 21, with very remarkable sculptures, not only on its face, but also upon the ledge abutting on the passage. It measures five feet eight inches in height, three feet six inches in width, one foot in thickness, and is here very accurately represented.



Nos. 22 and 23.

The two terminal stones on the north side of the passage, with the devices upon them, are here shown together, No. 22 measuring five



No. 24.

feet seven inches in height, three feet nine inches in breadth, and ten inches in thickness; while No. 23 measures four feet in height, fourteen inches in breadth of face, and is fifteen inches in receding depth.

The second stone, on the right-hand or north side of the passage, is here presented to view. It stands three feet six inches high, two feet eight inches broad, and is nine inches thick.

On No. 25, the first stone on the right of the passage, measuring two feet six inches in height, two feet seven inches in width, and one foot in thickness, no devices, if any such ever existed, are now traceable.

The stone, No. 27, standing across the end of the passage where it



No. 27.

opens into the large central chamber, measures two feet five inches in width, and also in height, and seven inches in thickness, having its eastern face marked as here shown. No. 28, also standing across the passage, between Nos. 4 and 5 on the south, and No. 23 on the north side, measures two feet two inches in height, is two feet wide, and one foot thick; but is quite devoid of sculptures of any kind.

We found a loose fragment of an inscribed rock, here represented,



Fragment of inscribed rock.

standing two feet eight inches in height, near the entrance to the passage; but it would be impossible to decide to what portion of the carn

it originally belonged. We left it standing on the north side of the entrance, near the place where it was found.

It would be an irreparable loss to archæology if this historic pile were now allowed to become a wreck, for want of a little timely and inexpensive repair. The only thing necessary to be done would be to remove temporarily the loose stones over the northern and western chambers; and, after carefully and skilfully resetting the uprights and broken lintel, to replace the loose stones in their original position, as their weight could only serve to give firmness to the structure, should the parietal stones be properly poised.

It is to be regretted that the various articles found during our explorations of the cairns at Loughcrew, in 1865, have not been yet arranged or classified, so as to be able to examine or refer to them, as might be required. They were presented by us to the National Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, on the part of the late lord of the soil, J. L. W. Naper, Esq., D. L., who consented to part with them, for the Nation's sake, with an amount of public patriotism and high-minded generosity which reflected credit upon his large and liberal heart; and we hope soon to see, for the sake of the public, this long-delayed omission rectified.



XVI.—ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF ST. MALACHY O'MORGAIK'S "*MONASTERIUM IBRACENSE*." By REV. JOHN O'HANLON, M. R. I. A.

[Read February 26, 1872.]

ONE of the most remarkable incidents in the career of St. Malachy O'Morgair occurred about the year 1127, while he ruled over the See of Connor, and when the King of Ulster took possession of that city, plundering and destroying it in great part, having dispersed its inhabitants. St. Malachy, and a considerable number of religious men subject to his ecclesiastical rule, were obliged to fly for protection to Cormac MacCarthy, King of Desmond, or South Munster.* This latter prince, who had been temporarily expelled from his principality, now joyfully received them; for in Lismore he had formerly been under the spiritual direction of St. Malachy.† Ibh Rathach, or Iveragh, lay remotely within Desmond,‡ and there a place was set apart by the king for building a monastery, which might serve to accommodate the bishop and his exiled companions. The learned Dr. Petrie, with a great deal of research, discusses the question about Cormac MacCarthy having been archbishop as well as King of Cashel; and he fairly considers those evidences adduced in his work favour an affirmative conclusion on this point.§ The reputed bishop-king was a munificent founder of churches and a benefactor to the clergy.||

* In Harris' Ware, Kierrigia-Luachra, from which Kerry has been denominated, is stated to have comprehended a great part of what was afterwards called the Territory of Desmond. See vol. ii. "Antiquities of Ireland," chap. vii. p. 51. According to Smith, in his Histories of Kerry and of Cork, the whole of this latter county, and the greater part of the former, with other districts adjoining, formerly belonged to Desmond, by the Irish called *Deas Mumham*. At a later period, under the Fitzgeralds, this territory was more restricted. See a very interesting and learned article on the topography and history of Desmond, in "The Annals of Ireland," translated from the original Irish of the Four Masters, by Owen Connellan, with Annotations by Philip Mac Dermott, M. D., and the Translator, pp. 170 to 183.

† See St. Bernard's "*Vita S. Malachie*," cap. iv., §§ 8, 9, 10, cap. ix.; "*Opera S. Bernardi*," tomos ii., Benedictine Edition; also what are called "*The Annals of Innisfallen*," by Dr. Lanigan, and Dr. O'Donovan's "*Annals of the Four Masters*," vol. ii., at A. D. 1127.

‡ The very turbulent and ambitious Turlough O'Connor, who aimed at the universal sovereignty of Ireland, made various attempts upon Desmond, and had undertaken the regulation of this principality in a manner to subvert his own projects. In 1121 he wasted its territory from the plain of Femhins, near Cashel, to Tralee. See Dr. O'Donovan's "*Annals of the Four Masters*," vol. ii., pp. 1012, 1011, and s. (n.) *Ibid*.

§ See "*The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*," Part II., sect. iii., subsec. i., pp. 307 to 312.

|| He built two churches at Lismore, and erected the celebrated Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel. See *ibid*, pp. 252, 291, 292. This King Cormac, ancestor of all the MacCarthy septs, and King of Desmond, was treacherously killed by Toirdeal-

With zeal and energy this religious community set to work in establishing their new foundation. King Cormac himself frequently superintended their labours, supplied them with the necessaries of life, and made a liberal provision for their support. On this occasion, says St. Bernard, "*monasterium Ibracense constructum est.*"* Here, too, St. Malachy and his religious seem to have lived a regular community life, until A. D. 1132, when the Superior was unanimously elected Primate of Armagh, in a council of the bishops and chief men of Ireland, convoked by Malchus, Bishop of Lismore, and Gillibert, Bishop of Limerick.†

Most of our writers on Irish ecclesiastical history appear to have hazarded very wild conjectures regarding the position of St. Malachy's southern monastery. Sir James Ware was greatly in error‡ with regard to the "*Monasterium Ibracense*," when treating about the Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland;§ and again, when conjecturing that it was identical with St. Barr's or Finbar's Abbey, near Cork. Alemand was more strangely of opinion that Ibracense might be applied to Beg-Erin, near Wexford;|| and this he thought most natural, because he imagined Ibracense might be confounded with St. Ibar, the reputed founder of, and professor of all sciences in, its first monastery.¶ With- out much serious thought being bestowed by him on the subject, the Rev. Alban Butler only remarks that some supposed this place to have been near Cork, while others believed it was in the Island of

bhach O'Brien and the two sons of O'Connor Kerry, A. D. 1138. See Dr. O'Donovan's "*Annals of the Four Masters*," vol. ii., pp. 1058, 1059, and n. (r), *ibid.* The "*Annals of Innisfallen*," as quoted by Dr. Petrie, have his death somewhat more circumstantially related at the same year, where they notice that he was "a man who had continual contention for the sovereignty of the entire province of Munster."

* See "*Vita S. Malachie*," cap. ix., § 18.

† For a more detailed account of the foregoing particulars, the "*Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair*," issued by the present writer, may be consulted. See chap. iv. and vi. Dublin, 1859, 8vo.

‡ See "*De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus*," cap. xxvi., p. 228. Londini, 1658. 12mo.

§ A list of these, with the dates of their foundation, will be found in a MS. (classed E. 3. 8.) in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 65. It is in the handwriting of the seventeenth century, but it professes to have been copied from older MS. bulls and other documents. Some modern names, given in the last column, have been added by the Rev. Richard Butler, M. R. I. A. It is published in his edition, "*Jacobi Grace Kilkenniensis, Annales Hiberniæ*," App. No. 1, pp. 169, 170, and printed for the Irish Archaeological Society in 1842.

|| See "*Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*," p. 54. A Paris, 1690. 12mo.

¶ In another place, when treating of Newry, in the county of Down, Alemand says—"Elle estoit appellée en Latin *Nevoracense Monasterium*, et comme elle s' appelloit aussi en Irlandois *Monaster-ibhair-chinn Traghas*, on la nommoit aussi *Ibracense canobium*, si cet *Ibracense* ne designe point seulement l'Abbaye de saint Ibare de Chanoines Reguliers dans l' Isle de Beg-Ery ou petite Irlande, sur les costes du comté de Wexford dont nous avons parlé." P. 194, *ibid.*

Beg-Erin.* The acute and judicious ecclesiastical historian, Dr. Lanigan, seems to have been the first of our modern writers not only to detect those mistakes, but even to point out the very obvious fact, that St. Bernard's Latin spelling of the word "*Ibracense*" can be resolved into Ibrach or Ibrac. The letters *b* and *v* being commutable in Irish, this etymon again may be rendered Ivrach or Ivrac, now the district or barony of Iveragh, in the county of Kerry. This very tract was likewise included within the boundaries of Cormac Mac Carthy's kingdom.† And what seems most remarkable is the circumstance, only this one Iveragh—a purely territorial denomination—is to be found among those names marked on the Ordnance Survey Maps of Ireland.

While the district itself was thus ingeniously discovered, yet, to the present time, few modern persons had been aware of the exact locality where the "*Monasterium Ibracense*" stood. During the month of July last, in company with a friend and member of the Royal Irish Academy,‡ the writer of this paper visited the remote town of Cahirciveen and the Island of Valencia, in the county of Kerry. On returning from Valencia, our boatmen made us acquainted with the circumstance, that near Beg-Innis, and on Church Island—or Illaun a Teampull as they named it—there were some interesting ruins, well worthy of a visit. The sea being calm, and time permitting it, we signified a wish to be rowed over; and accordingly we were landed on a very small and rocky islet, which stood boldly prominent near the northern harbour entrance to Cahirciveen.§ Soon were we enabled to ascend the rocks which cropped up from the little harbour where we landed, and after subjecting the existing ruins to a tolerably minute examination and admeasurement, we again prepared for departure. The intelligent owner of the boat could only inform us that the ruins on Church Island always went by a traditional name, "the monastery," but that nothing more was known by the coast population regarding their structure or their history.

The most exact and detailed description of the old ruins on Church Island that can be found is one written by John O'Donovan, LL. D., while engaged on the antiquarian literary work of the Irish Ordnance Survey.¶ It is subscribed, *Cl 3-Cačair Saibbín a n-Uib Rách-*

* See "*Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints*," vol. xi., at the 3rd of November.

† See "*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*," vol. iv., chap. xxvi., § xi., p. 86, and n. 67, pp. 89, 90, and § xii., nn. 73, 74, 75, pp. 91 to 93.

‡ The Rev. James Gaffney.

§ This islet, and Beg-Innis, quite close to it, although within the parish of Caher, is situated still nearer to the island and parish of Valencia. See Lewis' "*Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*," vol. i., p. 237. This ascertained fact may lead some probable confirmation to a tradition hereafter noticed, that originally these islands had been united to the mainland.

¶ See the MS. "*Letters containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the county of Kerry, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1841*," pp. 127, 128.

ach,* and dated August 15th, 1841. After having described a curious little cell or church, which stood about a quarter of a mile from the town of Cahirciveen, and called by some Killavarnoge, by others, Killavarnaun, in Irish written *Cill á Beapnúin*; the writer alludes to the circumstance, that this diminutive structure was built of long flags of green stone, and without the use of cement, like the "bee-hive"-shaped houses at Kilmalkedar, near the remote extremity of Dingle promontory. He then tells us, that on Church Island, belonging to the parish of Caher, there was a cell of nearly similar construction.



Square fort-like building on Church Island, Valentia, Co. Kerry.

From east to west it measured on the inside 19 feet in length, and on the north and south it was 10 feet 6 inches in width. Its side walls were 6 feet in height, 5 feet in thickness, and built of long flags of green stone, without any kind of cement having been used. To the height of 2 feet from the ground-level, and on the outside, the walls are 6 feet 4 inches in thickness; but from that to the top they are only 5 feet, as already observed. The west gable was destroyed. With exception of a small opening or doorway—if it can be so called—and which only measures 2 feet 1 inch in height, while at bottom it is 1 foot 10 inches in width, diminishing to 1 foot 1 inch at top, there was no other opening then observable.

To the north-east of this small cell, at a distance of 9 feet, there

* From Cahirciveen, in *Ui Rathach*. Thus rendered by J. O'Beirne Crowe, Esq. The latter denomination signifies "the descendants of Rathach," and according to Miss M. F. Casack, this was the original tribe name of the O'Sheas, who formerly possessed this territory. See "*A History of the Kingdom of Kerry*," chap. xvii., pp. 367, 368. See, likewise, "*The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na-Naomh O'Huidhrin*." Edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D., pp. lxxviii., lxxix., and *nn.* 594, 599.

was a stone house of bee-hive form, then much injured. In diameter its uncemented stone walls were 14 feet 6 inches; those walls were 6



Bee-hive-shaped House on Church Island, Co. Kerry.

feet 6 inches in thickness, and in altitude their highest part only reached 10 feet 6 inches. No other important remark is ventured by Dr. O'Donovan regarding the remains of antiquity on this Island.

The present writer's admeasurements of the square and fort-like building, on the interior, were 11 feet from wall to wall; while at the base the walls were 5 feet 3 inches in thickness, but they gradually diminished to 4 feet 7 inches at the highest point. Although a very solid structure, it appeared to have been greatly ruined. Nor is this a matter to be wondered at, considering its very elevated, exposed, and uncemented condition. The "bee-hive"-shaped house or *cloghaun* measured, with a tape line, 86 feet in circumference at the base, which arose over a sort of narrow stone terrace. Interiorly it is nearly circular, and about 14 feet in diameter. The rude walls are 7 feet in thickness at the apparent door-opening—now quite ruinous—and about 9 feet in height, as they then stood. It is less elevated in position than the other building. At the upper part, the walls remaining are coved to an obtuse point. The stones are so placed above as to form dripping and drooping surfaces on the outside; and it is surprising they have not long since fallen, as they have no mortar to bind them in their position. Of the ruins, the writer was enabled to take two distinct sketches* What appeared to be the *debris* of somewhat

* On application to Miss Stokes, that lady most obligingly allowed the writer an opportunity of inspecting a great number of exquisite photographs of Irish ruins in her possession; but the ruins here described do not appear among them.

similar structures were scattered on other points of Illaun a Teampull. The "bee-hive" houses here are like those observed at Kilmalkedar, Lough Corrane, and many other places in Kerry.* Nor have those curious buildings been peculiar to this county, for they stood in various parts of Ireland during centuries not very remote,† and they furnished an ordinary type of dwellings for the humbler classes of people, until the progress of modern domestic architectural convenience displaced such erections. Even yet the old "bee-hive"-shaped houses in Kerry are not unlike some of the more modern cabins, called "Builly-houses," in the remote western parts of the county Mayo.‡

The boatmen informed us, while leaving the Island, how old people were in the habit of saying, that, in the reign of Queen Anne, Illaun a Teampull had been connected with the mainland at Renard Point, eastwards from Valencia Island, and also with the adjoining rather extensive island, called Beg Inish. At low spring tide, we were told, a person might wade, with water scarcely reaching to the waist, from Church Island to Renard Point. We were also told that a fine Irish scholar, Mr. Andrew O'Sullivan, of Cahirciveen, would be able to communicate additional particulars regarding all the surrounding localities, when we should have returned to that town. The hale old man in question—then over eighty years—is regarded as a distinguished *Shanachie* in that part of Kerry. In reference to Illaun a Teampull, Mr. O'Sullivan informed us he had read in an old Irish MS. that St. Malachy O'Morgair, with four clerics, lived there; but the title of the MS., or where he had seen such record, had then escaped his memory. Not only in his early years had he access to many rare Irish MSS.; but, even at present, he is in possession of several that are valuable.§ What renders his statement especially important is the fact, that he had not previously known St. Bernard placed St. Malachy O'Morgair's *laura* or *cœnobium* within the district of Ive-
ragh, which includes Illaun a Teampull.

Although St. Malachy appears to have presided over a numerous

* Illustrations of these may be seen in the MS. Ordnance Survey Records and Sketches of this county, now preserved in the Academy's Library. Mr. Du Noyer has also very effectively drawn some of those objects in the splendid folio volumes he presented to the Academy.

† Nicholas French, Catholic Bishop of Ferns, having effected his escape from some village near Wexford, immediately after that town surrendered to Cromwell, fled into the fastnesses of the county, where he states he was obliged to take refuge in "bee-hive"-shaped houses, which were peculiar to Ireland. This letter of Dr. French is preserved among the MSS. in Trinity College Library, as I have been informed by Rev. Charles P. Meehan, M. R. I. A.

‡ See some of those described in Hall's "Ireland:" vol. iii., pp. 403, 404.

§ He most obligingly afforded us an opportunity of examining no less than eight Irish MSS., and all written in the Irish character. He furnished a description of their contents, likewise, so as to enable us to take brief notes.

community of monks, in the city of Connor, it is not certain that all of these fled with him to the south of Ireland.* It is even possible that the religious accompanying him thither may have found refuge in other monasteries, so that only a comparatively small number settled with him in the "*monasterium Ibracense*." The buildings on Illaun a Teampull were evidently fashioned after older structures of the kind in that part of the country. They convey the idea of an oratory for prayer in common, with detached cells near it, and used as houses for lodging the monks. The quadrangular building, however, may not have been an oratory. How many such dwellings were grouped together at this place cannot probably now be known. Even the extent of surface over which they spread, or of land attached for maintenance of the community, may baffle further inquiry. Around Church Island the sea-sands are shifting, and the Atlantic Ocean, rolling over or beside them, may have effected great changes in course of time, either by levelling land surfaces beneath the waves, or by causing them to accumulate, as in so many other cases around our shores. It is likely, however, from the rude and peculiar style of the existing structural objects, that these must have stood there, and in a much more perfect condition, before the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland.

The earliest published and traced maps of this part of Ireland seen by the writer are too incorrect and imperfect to furnish any clue regarding the relative position or connexion of Illaun a Teampull with the mainland. On the Petty Down survey map representing the barony of Iveragh, in the county of Kerry, as copied by General Vallancey,† there is a drawing of Cunny Island—which seems to be represented by the present Beg Inish—of Lamb Island to the north of it, and of a small nameless island to the south of Cunny Island. This island, unnamed, and without any antiquarian object marked on it, seems intended to represent the present Church Island; and thus, about the middle of the seventeenth century, this small insulated spot does not appear to have been joined to the mainland at any point. All the aforesaid islands lie nearly midway between Valencia Island and the seaward promontory of Caher parish, at the entrance to Begnis Harbour,‡ and much as they are at present represented on the more correct modern Ordnance Survey Maps of Kerry county.

* In Mabillon's *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*. Tomus vi., Lib. lxxvii., s. xlv., p. 315, it is said that St. Malachy brought 130 brethren with him to Munster. In the Benedictine edition of his Life by St. Bernard, the same number is said to have been under his jurisdiction, although in a marginal note at this passage "*Alias viginti*" is found. In the MS. *Vita S. Malachie*, among the Trinity College Library MSS., we read "*centum xxi*."

† The original is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris. The packet, or ship, in which some of the Petty maps happened to have been sent from Ireland to England, was captured in the Channel by a French privateer.

‡ See the large bound volume of Clare, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, Cork and Kerry Maps, No. 122, at present preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

XVII.—ON ANCIENT CEMETERIES AT RATHCROGHAN AND ELSEWHERE IN IRELAND (AS AFFECTING THE QUESTION OF THE SITE OF THE CEMETERY AT TALTIM).—By SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL.D., Vice-President.

[Read February 26, 1872.]

RECENT speculations as to the possibility of the sepulchral cairns on the Loughcrew hills, being the Taltin of the tracts published by Petrie, will impart interest to the annexed sketch, in ground-plan, of the cemetery at Rathcroghan, which, of the three sites mentioned in these tracts as burial places of the Irish kings and nobles of the Pagan period, is the one about the identification of which no question has been raised.



Cemetery at Rathcroghan, called *Relig-na-ree*; looking west.

[Ord. Map Roscom., sheet 22.]

The three sites mentioned in the tracts on the Cemeteries, and in the poems on which they are founded, are first, Brugh, on the Boyne; secondly, Taltin; and thirdly, this cemetery, called the *Relig-na-ree*, or Kings' burial-ground, at Rathcroghan. Assuming the New Grange group to be the first, and finding nothing analogous to its grand features at Teltown, in Meath, which hitherto has been regarded as the second, the author of "*Rude Stone Monuments*" concludes that Taltin must

be sought for elsewhere, and fixes on the sepulchral tumuli on the Loughcrew hills, which have a marked correspondency, in general character, with the New Grange group, as the true Taltin of the tracts. These Loughcrew, or Slieve-na-Calliagh, tumuli have been brought to public notice about seven years ago by the exertions of Mr. Conwell, M. R. I. A., who has explored them and given descriptions of them in our "Proceedings." Mr. Conwell accepts Mr. Fergusson's views as to their identification; and goes so far as to designate one of them the tomb of Ollam Fodhla (see "Proceedings," Vol. I., Ser. II., Part 6, Pol. Lit. and Antiq., p. 72).

The substantial argument relied on for Mr. Fergusson's conclusion has been, as already indicated, the remarkable likeness between these monuments and the New Grange group, which latter are assumed to have been certainly identified as Brugh, and serve as the known term in the problem. It is obvious that this kind of argument may, with equal force, be applied from the other end of the equation, and the pretensions of the Slieve-na-Calliagh tombs to represent the Taltin of the ancients be tested by a comparison with what is found at Rathcroghan as well as with what is found at New Grange. In such a process, if we adopt Teltown for the middle term, the conclusion would strongly militate against the assumption that Knowth, Dowth, and New Grange, constitute the real Brugh of the ancients. In order to place the means of such comparison fully before the mind of the inquirer, many matters must be taken into account, and, *inter alia*, considerable care will be necessary in seeing how far *Relig-na-ree* corresponds with other places of probable Pagan burial-usage, and how far it is to be regarded as the sole burial-ground in use at Rathcroghan.

Rathcroghan itself, the great mound or earthen fort which gives name to the place, is situate in the wide tract of grazing lands lying around Tulsk, in the county of Roscommon, from which village it is distant about two miles to the north-west. The cemetery lies to the south of the Rath, on a lower level about a half mile nearer Tulsk; but included among the ancient mounds and vestiges of earthen constructions which extend in all directions from the central fortress. It is called the "Relig" in the ancient poems and tracts, and had been traditionally known by its present name of *Relig-na-ree*, or Cemetery of the Kings, as far back, at least, as the days of Keating and Mac Firbis. The above ground-plan was carefully drawn on the spot in the Autumn of 1864, on the occasion of my obtaining the *Modff ogham* from the adjoining Cave ("Proceedings" R.I.A., vol. ix., p. 160).

It is a complete circle, abutting on a flat-topped adjoining mound, which may or may not have formed part of the original ground-plan. The circle is fenced in by a dry-stone wall of ancient masonry, having two openings, the principal of which appears to have been on the east, flanked by the mound above mentioned, which in 1864 bore the designation *cnocan-na-g-chorp*. This is the name by which the mound, regarded as the grave of Dathi, also appears to have been known, when

O'Donovan, if his recollections are accurate, described what he saw there in 1837 (Hy-Fiachrach, 25, n).

The enclosing wall is the kind of structure called a *Cahir*, and appears to have been known by that name at the time of the composition of the poem ascribed to Dorban, which has been published by Petrie. This poem is the principal historical piece relied on as evidencing the early use of *Relig-na-ree* for sepulchral purposes by the Pagan Irish Kings and nobles. The diameter of the circular enclosure is, according to Petrie, one hundred and sixteen, according to my observation, one hundred and twenty paces. At thirty inches to the pace, this gives an internal area of about two statute acres. Judging from the irregular elevations of the surface, still traceable, it appears to have been divided into five portions, agreeably to the statement that the kings and magnates of each of the five provinces were accustomed to bury here. Referring to the statement in the poem of Dorban (borrowed from the still earlier poem of Torna Eces), that this "*Relig*" contained fifty mounds, each of which contained the remains of royal or noble persons, and allowing for the space occupied by the interments of the humbler classes, and by the internal partitions of the area, it will be observed that the mounds in question must have been of but small average dimensions. At present there does not appear any indication of more than two or three mounds within the enclosure having a diameter of more than 20 to 25 feet. The mounds and separating embankments have generally so far disappeared, that the surface is only slightly diversified by their traces. The interments all appear to have been in pits or chambers, dug beneath the surface, lined in most cases with rough walls of stone, and covered by roofing-slabs, over which the sepulchral tumuli were erected. Several of these chambers lie open. The largest is about six feet by four. None of the stones, so far as I could observe, exhibited tool-marks, or the least sign of decorative or other sculpture. The general impression on most minds would, I imagine, be one of disappointment, and of surprise at the mean accessories of a place supposed to be a royal cemetery, even amongst a rude people and in a primitive age of the world. In its immediate application to the question respecting the identification of the Slieve-na-Calliagh group, it tends strongly to negative the idea of those great and highly-decorated sepulchral monuments having had any community of origin with remains so insignificant.

At about three hundred yards to the south-east of *Relig-na-ree* stands the pillar-stone thought to indicate the grave of Dathi, the last Pagan Monarch of Ireland, who is recorded to have been buried at Rathcroghan A. D. 428. When seen by O'Donovan in 1837 it was prostrate, lying beside the little mound on which it has since been erected. It is undoubtedly the *coirthe dearg*, or red pillar-stone, which tradition affirmed to be the monument of Dathi, when Mac Ferbis wrote in A. D. 1556. Its weight is such as would make it unlikely that it should

have been transported from its original site, so that some probabilities point to this spot as being the sepulchre of Dathi. It is a little mound of about 18 feet in diameter. The earthen field fence has been diverted so as to avoid passing through it. The tumulus itself hardly rises above the surrounding embankment.



Pillar of Dathi, Rathcroghan.

As if conscious that, for so great a personage, this must seem a very inadequate memorial, the old writers have been careful to assign a reason for its insignificance and obscurity. The reason suggested for the meanness of his sepulchre is that the ex-king and hermit, Formenius, in storming whose cell Dathi met his death by fire from heaven, had prayed, on that occasion, that Dathi's reign might be short, and his monument not conspicuous. On this it may be remarked, that although the hillock answers well enough to the imprecation, the pillar-stone is the largest block remaining in or around *Relig-na-ree*; standing six feet high from the ground, in which it is sunk three or four feet. It is a rude plate of red sandstone, either brought from a distance or found as a boulder on the surface of the limestone; but the former suggestion is the more probable, as it shows no marks of water-wearing.

On the opposite or north-western side of the "Relig" there exists a minor cemetery, also circular. This, too, has had its mounds and chambers of like character. Two of the chambers are found to unite, and form a kind of double entrance or ante-grotto to a cave of considerable extent, partly natural and partly artificial. (See ground plan, "Proceedings," R. I. A., Vol. ix., p. 162.) In the construction of these chambers and passages the builders have employed flag-stones and pillar stones apparently removed from some cemetery; for two of the long stones now forming the roof bear ogham inscriptions, which evidently have been carved prior to their insertion in the

masonry. It is on one of these the name *Medff* is found. The inscription on the other offers an example of a character hitherto only found, so far as I know, in medieval manuscripts, where it stands as a contracted form or siglum for *ui*; and, so far, savours of more recent times than the companion legend.

The other chambers in this minor enclosure are in no way distinguishable from those of the great "Relig;" and supposing them cotemporaneous with the cave, and seeing the cave to be posterior in date to ogham writing, one is forced to accept the caution, which those objects powerfully inculcate, against concluding anything regarding the antiquity of the "Relig," from the mere fact of the rudeness of its sepulchral chambers.

Being thus warned that the "Relig" by itself affords no absolute test of its being of the vast antiquity claimed for it, we are led to inquire whether other cemeteries, probably of the Pagan period, exist with which it may be compared; and the place which first attracts the attention in such an inquiry is the Hill of Usnach.

Although not directly enumerated among the Pagan places of burial in the poems or tracts on the Cemeteries, the Hill of Usnach is mentioned in our old books as one of the places of most venerable antiquity in Ireland. Such was its reputation, not only here but abroad, about seven hundred years ago, when the stones of the inner circle of Stonehenge were alleged to have been brought thence by Merlin. Such was its reputation at least several centuries earlier, when the story of the Acts of Saint Patrick was first committed to writing, and a miraculous reason assigned for the friable character of the limestone rock, of which one of its grandest monuments, the "Cat-stone" cromlech, is composed. Here it was that, in the second century, Teuthal Techtmar established an *ænach*, or fair, similar to those at Tara, Taltin, and Tlacta; and it may be considered that whenever the games and festivities of an *ænach* were celebrated, they were in connexion with sepulchral places. Accordingly, there is found on the Hill of Usnach an ancient cemetery, which may with great confidence be regarded as one of its primitive monuments.

Usnach is situate in the county of Westmeath, about four miles north-west from the Castletown station of the Midland Railway. The hill is a long swelling green eminence, lying east and west, and has never been submitted to the plough. It has two summits, the eastern one of which is occupied by the cemetery. A broad avenue has formerly led to it from the south, the lines of which are still traceable on the green sward. With the exception of the Cat-stone, and some smaller earthworks on the lower part of the eastern slope, it is the only remaining structural work on the hill. The area is not so great as that of *Relig-na-ree*; but the general arrangement and internal divisions of the enclosure are so far of a cognate character as to produce a strong *primâ facie* impression that they belong to the same period and have served the same purposes.



CEMETERY ON THE HILL OF USNACH.

[Ord. Map of Westmeath, sheet 24.]

The principal enclosure is an irregular circle, or rather a square with the angles rounded off, of about 250 feet in diameter. Subsidiary to this, there is on the western side an *annexe* of the same general outline, of about 180 feet in diameter, showing much the same relation to the principal enclosure as that described at *Relig-na-ree*. Counting this as one division in the general ground-plan, there appears to have been here, as at *Relig-na-ree*, a five-fold partition of the enclosed space. Each division contains the remains of tumuli, the more prominent of which only are indicated on the plan:—



Ground-plan of Cemetery at Usnach.

[Ord. Map, Westm., sheet 24.]

Some of these appear to have been erected on the intersection of the mounds of demarcation, and all have been opened. In the western division, the mouth of a cave has been exposed, and other holes in the surface show where the roofing stones of the passage have fallen in.

All the constructions, so far as visible, are of the same rude character as at Rathcroghan; the interments are below the surface. There is no appearance of stone cutting or of decorative work of any kind, and no trace, so far as I could observe, of any Christian emblem.

The general aspect of this cemetery seems hardly reconcilable with the suggestion of such monuments as those of Slieve-na-Calliagh, not to speak of the New Grange group, having proceeded from the same race of builders, or having been contemporaneously erected for similar purposes.

A peculiar feature of the ground-plan has been referred to as corresponding to the external mound at *Relig-na-ree*. A minor enclosure, annexed to the principal one, appears in two other instances of cemeteries presumed of Pagan origin, which so far resemble those already noticed as to induce me here to give some account and illustration of them.

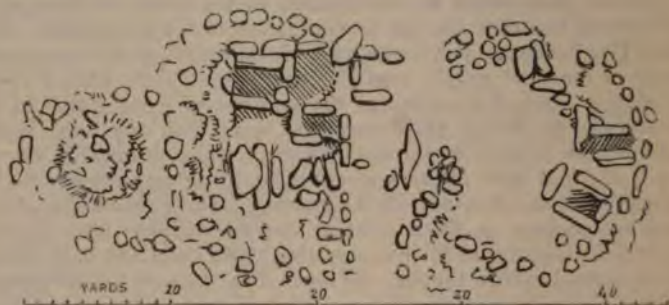
One of these exists in Glenmaulin, in the county of Donegal, to the left of the road leading from Carrick to Glencolumkill. It is called Cloghanmore, and is one only of an assemblage of stone monuments of the kind usually regarded as Pagan, which, when I visited the site in 1864, had withstood the progress of agriculture in this remote valley. Seven great cromlechs were then standing, though more or less ruined, in the lower part of the glen towards the sea. One could not look at the scene without being impressed with the circumstance so often remarked regarding such assemblages of rude stone monuments on the Continent, that the builders seem to have selected for the sites of their necropolises the wildest and most solitary places accessible from the sea. So much does the aspect of Glenmaulin confirm these impressions, that a general view of the site of Cloghanmore (not marked on Ord. Map, sheet 89), showing the character of the upper part of the valley, may not be out of place here.



Glenmaulin, Co. Donegal,—Cloghan More, in the middle distance.

Regarding the name Cloghanmore, "Great stone-heap," it may be observed that this is one of a class of very significant names applied by the native-speaking Irish to such monuments. They call them, in Irish, "Beds of Dermid and Grania," "Lifted Stones," "Griddles," and other names, indicating an ignorance on their part of their origin and uses, which is certainly suggestive of a pre-traditional antiquity in the objects themselves. If the origin and uses of Cloghanmore had been fresh in the minds of the native peasantry at any time since the present race of Irish began to inhabit this coast of Donegal, it is not likely that

it would have been designated merely as the great "cloghan." At whatever time it received the name, it most probably presented much the same appearance as shown in the plan; for the expression is not so applicable to a cairn or barrow, as it is to such a ruinous pile of chambers and galleries as Cloghanmore presented at the time when this drawing was made.

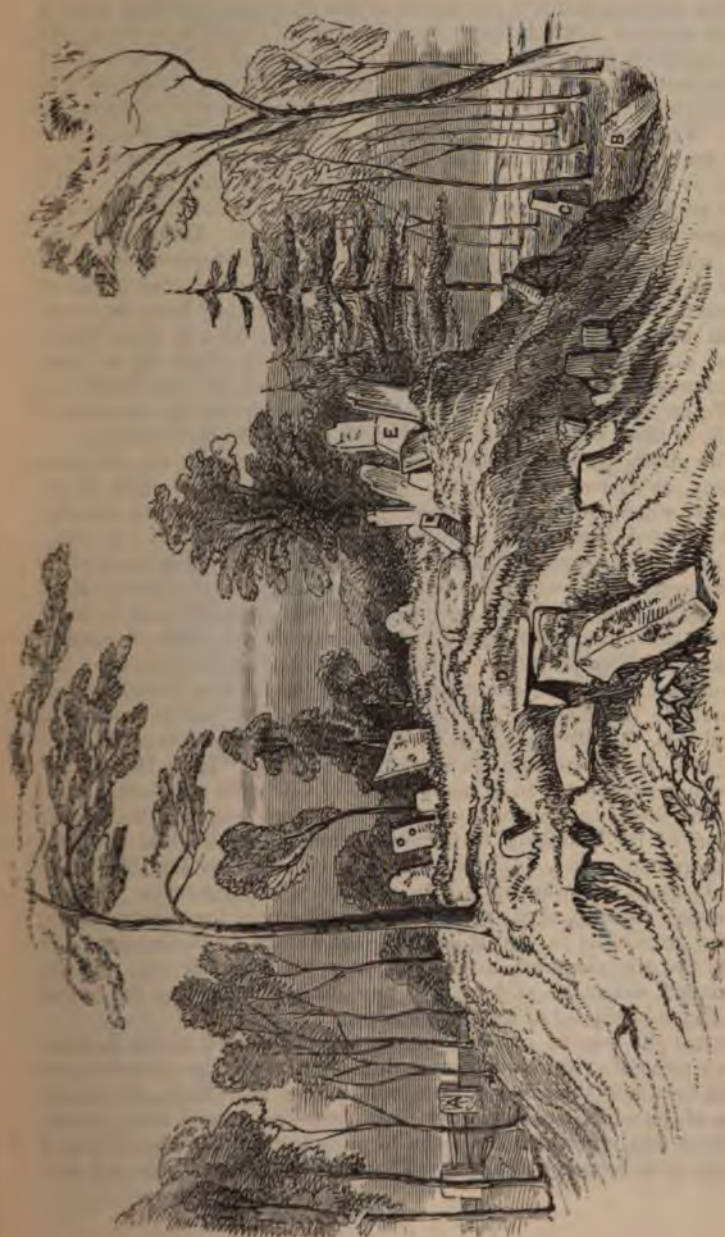


Ground-plan, Cloghanmore, Glenmaulin.

All that now remains is the ground-plan and underworks of what appears to have originally been a tumulus or long barrow. The sepulchral cists have everywhere been stripped of their outward covering, and, in most cases, of their roofing-stones. Enough, however, remains to show the general plan, which was composed of two larger circles, placed side by side, and together forming a long oval, with one smaller circle annexed at the southern end. All the chambers were constructed on the ground surface. The passages leading to them either opened externally on the level of the adjoining land, or branched off from one or two principal adits.

If we suppose Cloghanmore to be covered over, it would present the appearance of an elevated mound, showing the ends of its chambers and galleries all round, just above the ground-level. Such is, in fact, the present appearance of the cemetery which remains to be noticed in this connexion, being the burial-ground at Killeen Cormaic in Kildare, with this difference, that the seemingly Pagan substructions in which the resemblance consists have, in the latter, been overlaid by accumulations of Christian burials, continued down to the present time.

Killeen Cormaic is situate close by Colbanstown bridge, on the west bank of the Greiss river, which here forms the boundary between the counties of Kildare and Wicklow, on the road leading from Dunlavin to Ballitore. As I know no other place which presents such a continuity of monumental retrospect, made still more attractive by the presence of at least four inscribed ogham stones, one of them a "bilateral" if not a "bilingual" example, I have thought that a careful drawing, which may preserve the characteristic features of the spot hereafter, will not be irrelevant to the more immediate subject of inquiry.



Killteen Cormaic, Dunlavin, looking east.
[Ord. Map Kildare, Sheet 32.]

This drawing exhibits the places of the principal inscribed stones, and the aperture, towards the west, at D, of one of the adits to the sepulchral chambers in the base of the mound. The mound itself stands about twenty feet high. Its base presents a ground-plan very similar to that of Cloghanmore, being an oval with a minor *anneze* in the line of its major axis. Whether this is a characteristic feature or a mere coincidence there are not examples numerous enough known to me for determining; but it is too noticeable to be passed by without observation. The under part, if stripped, would present just such a set of chambers and passages as are seen in the remains of Cloghanmore. Their walls and adits can be traced all round; and one of the first questions which arises on the view of them and of the inscribed pillar-stones lying on the green sward on which they abut, is, whether they have any connexion with these pillar-stones? for, if so, the idea of their Pagan origin, and, incidentally, of the supposed Pagan origin of at least Cloghanmore, would become liable to be tested by the Pagan or non-Pagan character of these monuments; and certainly on most, if not all, of these pillars the inscribed work appears to be Christian.

The pillars are thus circumstanced. Two lie opposite the entrance gateway, at A, on the left of the drawing. That on the right of the gateway, when entering, bears the "Druides" inscription (see description by Rev. J. Shearman, "Proceedings" R. I. A., Vol. ix., p. 253). That on the left bears an incised human bust, in a very antique style of sculpture, which one cannot but accept as a head of our Lord. Both these pillars are alleged by the people of the neighbourhood to have formerly stood near where they now lie, outside the circumference of the mound. Two others are visible on the right of the drawing; the more distant one, at C, stands where it appears to have always stood, also outside the mound. Of its markings nothing can be predicated beyond this, that they are cryptic. The fourth is seen nearer the spectator, at B, lying prostrate. It bears an inscription, "Maqi Ddecceda," &c., which is repeated in so many places of Christian association, and, in two of these, in Roman characters, that there can be little, if any question of its belonging to Christian times. Its original site was not where it now lies. When I first saw it, it lay on the side of the mound, about half-way up, a little northward of its present position. There was nothing, then, to connect it with any of the substructions; and the probability is, that it had originally stood on the mound, over one of the superimposed interments, at a point higher up. So far the mound cannot be said to give any indication belying the *primæ facie* Pagan character of its underworks.

But at the remote, or south-east side of the mound, under E, there exists a piece of evidence somewhat difficult to reconcile with the conclusion to which those other facts would lead us. Here, at the end of one of the adits, but four or five feet above the ground level, stands the stone post, to which the slabs forming the doors of the adjoining passage were formerly attached. They appear to have been let into

grooves cut vertically down the sides of the pillar. The stones bearing the corresponding grooves are gone; but this remaining pillar is deeply cut at both sides; and although very much weather-worn and disintegrated, it seems to have borne Ogham characters, but now too much worn to be at all legible.



Grooved stone doorpost at entrance to tomb, Killeen Cormaic.

If this be part of the original substruction, we should be confronted here with much the same form of question as arises on the *Medff* inscription at *Relig-na-ree*—Is this pre-Christian alphabetic writing, remaining on a Pagan monument? or is it a Christian inscription, proclaiming the recent origin of works erroneously thought to be Pagan? It is just possible to evade the question by considering that the elevation at which the pillar stands raises it above the test-level: but one cannot but look forward to discoveries which must bring us face to face with it, in future investigation; and, certainly, in the existing state of our knowledge, this feature of Killeen Cormaic must be taken as carrying the practice of alphabetic writing, and, at least the *prima facie* appearances of Christianity, very deeply into a monument seemingly allied in character and general design with such cemeteries as Cloghanmore, Usnach, and *Relig-na-ree*.

The conclusion, however, to which most minds will be conducted, on a consideration of the foregoing facts which I have endeavoured to present, as far as I know them, in all their bearings, will probably be that the presumption in favour of the Pagan origin of *Relig-na-ree*, arising from tradition and from its similarity to other probably Pagan cemeteries, has not been displaced; and that, assuming it to have really been one of the three royal cemeteries of the Pagan Irish, its meanness presents a material obstacle to the acceptance of the grand remains at Slieve-na-Calliagh as marking the site of another. In such a point of view there would arise even greater difficulty in accepting the New Grange group as the *Brugh na-Boinne* of the tract on the Cemeteries.

Turning to Tara, which was also a royal Cemetery in Pagan times, according to the same poems, the evidence afforded by the remains still traceable there leads to a similar inference. The *leacht* of Leaghaire, stated to have been interred in the rath the remains of which still bear his name, is no longer traceable. The plough has erased the tomb erected over the head and neck of Cuchullin. A little pile of earth and field stones, twenty-six feet in diameter, is all that remains to mark what Petrie took to be the grave of Caelcu, one of the Tara monuments deemed great enough to be commemorated in the tracts in prose and verse which he has published. In identifying this mound with the *leacht* of Caelcu, Petrie has been drawn into a disregard of the text, which is very rare, if not unexampled, in his other writings. Seeing this presumably sepulchral mound at or towards the north-western extremity of the long hall, and finding that the text placed the *leacht* of Caelcu at its north-eastern extremity, he concludes that the text must have been miscopied, and that "there is every reason to believe that it should have been written north-west, as the Irish transcribers frequently mistake the word *sair* for *siar*" (p. 215). But, in truth, the only reason for the belief is, that a sepulchral mound being sought, here is one at hand, which, supposing the text to be the other way, will suit the purpose. It was a prolific error; for, assuming this to be Caelcu's tomb, it becomes a point of departure for new identifications; and those appropriate to the rath of Grainne and some of its adjuncts, the remains of the *Claenferta*, still very obviously recognisable by their pensile position on the steep declivity towards the north-west, leaving the *Claenferta* unidentified. *Claenferta* signifies the sloped or oblique trenches, ditches, or graves, but more properly the last; and in fact, around the margins and on the summits of the two singularly-circumstanced raths in question there are minor mounds indicating places of interment; so that most probably we are here among the remains of the principal Cemetery of Tara; and may judge, from their character and dimensions, whether the royal sepulchres at Tara were in any respect monuments of the same class with the groups at New Grange and those on the range of Slieve-na-Calliagh. Apparently the same disparity exists here as in the other cases above enumerated. A character of littleness pervades all the objects. Even the objects

described as raths are of no imposing dimensions. It may possibly be, however, that they are sepulchral, as their name would suggest; and, if so, their central mounds would be large enough to contain chambers vying with some of the minor monuments of Slieve-na-Calliagh. But their appearance is military or residential, and not sepulchral. A double ditch surrounds the central elevation, and, assuming them to be the *Claenfertha* of the tracts, it is historically known that one was a species of *gunaikéon*, or female college, and the other the place in which Lugaid, predecessor of Cormac, son of Art, held his court; for it is to the unjust judgment there pronounced by him the tracts attribute that shock of nature which caused the house to topple over, and gave it the inclined appearance it still exhibits. In any case we must accept the declivity of the hill on this side as the *Fan-na-carpait*, or "slope of the chariots," which was the Tara terminus of the *Slighe Asail*, or great north-western road from Tara. This appears to have been quite a separate highway from the *Slighe Midluachra* or north-eastern road which Petrie and O'Donovan agree in identifying with the present highway leading from the crest of the hill opposite the church of Tara by Lismullen towards Slane. This *Slighe Midluachra* certainly passed near Rossnaree and the New Grange group. The *Slighe Asail* as certainly passed near Broad Boyne, Bray Bridge, and Stackallen. But in the *Lebor na h'Uidhre*, in the old tale of the Phantom-chariot of Cuchullin, it is distinctly stated that *Fan-na-Carpait* was on the way to the Brugh of the Boyne. Unless, therefore, Petrie and O'Donovan have been mistaken in giving the *Slighe Midluachra* an independent terminus at Tara, this testimony of the undoubted voice of antiquity would declare that Brugh should be sought near Stackallen, and not in the neighbourhood of the New Grange group of tumuli. If so, the whole argument drawn from the resemblance of the Slieve-na-Calliagh constructions to those of New Grange, so far as it impugns the identity of Teltown with the Cemetery of Taltin of the ancients, loses its foundation.

We are now in a condition to apply a more intelligent observation to the remains at Teltown, which certainly occupy the site known as Taltin to the writers of the early lives of Saint Patrick. If the cemetery of Tara have diminished to remains so inconsiderable as we have just been considering, it need not be surprising that all trace of that at Taltin should have disappeared; for while Croghan, Usnach, and Tara have escaped the plough, there is no portion of the lands of Teltown which has not, at a recent time, been under tillage. The plough has been driven up the acclivity of Rathduff, the principal feature which still shows the old importance of the place, and over its flat table-like summit. This summit is still surrounded by the remains of a low earthen rampart, on which, the country-people say, the spectators sat while games were celebrated on the circular green sward before their feet. This space comprises about an Irish acre, and would be sufficient for such a display. If the tradition be well founded, this embankment

would be the *forrad*, and the flat-topped fort itself the sepulchral mound of Tailte. It is historically stated that Teuthal the Welcome, about A. D. 160, erected regal mansions here and at Tara, Usnach, and Tlacta. The traces of those buildings at Tara and Usnach have disappeared. Tlacta, the now Hill of Ward, near Athboy, remains. Its character is quite different from that of the Rathduff of Teltown, but corresponds in a striking manner with that of the great fort, in the immediate neighbourhood, at Donaghmore. This consideration lends weight to the idea that Rathduff is the old central nucleus round which the annual assemblies of the Lugh-nasa used to spread themselves, and in the neighbourhood of which the now obliterated tombs of the Pagan magnates, mentioned in the tracts on the Cemeteries as having been interred at Taltin, were situated.

Whoever, therefore, accepting the Irish Annals as substantially true from the commencement of the Christian era, would be convinced that the Slieve-na-Calliagh tumuli can be identified with the Taltin of the tracts, should first be satisfied either that the most diverse modes of sepulture, from the meanest to the most magnificent, were simultaneously in use for royal persons in Ireland (which is hard to credit); or else:—

That what is now called *Relig-na-ree* is not the old royal Cemetery of Rathcroghan;

That the mounds around the *Claensferta* are not the old royal Cemetery of Tara; and,

That the New Grange group of tumuli are the *Brugh-na-Boinne* of the poems cited by Petrie.

A failure to establish any of these postulates involves the argument for identification in what would, at present, appear to be extreme difficulty; and the examination of the evidences with which this paper has been conversant does not encourage the expectation that such failure can be avoided.

Such seems to be a fair statement of the present position of the question. New lights may be thrown on it at any time. One of the most promising sources from which we may expect such helps to a satisfactory judgment is the chambered tumulus at Knock-Many, in Tyrone, which is alleged, and seemingly on good grounds, to have been identified by a learned member of the Academy with sepulchral works historically ascribed to the second century. The remains there have already been, to some extent, illustrated in the "Proceedings" of the Academy, and certainly associate themselves in their general character with the groups of New Grange and Slieve-na-Calliagh. A further exploration is now designed, which may assist us in explaining the apparent inconsistencies arising on the comparisons instituted in the present state of our knowledge.

Postscript.—Since making the above communication, I have (12th April, 1873,) examined the Knock-Many tumulus. It is entirely in the character of the Slieve-na-Calliagh and New Grange groups, and bears a remarkable resemblance to some of the Breton monuments.

XVIII.—ON SOME EVIDENCE TOUCHING THE AGE OF RATH-CAVES. By
SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL. D., Q. C., Vice-President.

[Read April 22, 1872.]

ARTIFICIAL Caves, constructed within raths, or earthen, or dry stone places of defence, are of very frequent occurrence in Ireland. As early as the beginning of the last century they attracted the notice of the philosophic Molyneux; and Harris, another writer of excellent judgment, has given a chapter in his "History of the County of Down" (A. D. 1744, c. 14, p. 194), to the description of those which, up to his time, had been discovered in that county. All these were destitute of inscriptional marks. The rath-caves, however, which in modern times have been explored in the south and west of Ireland,* are occasionally found to contain Ogham legends inscribed on the stones used in their construction. These stones obviously have borne their inscriptions before being built into their present positions. Hence it may be inferred that they were originally used for some other purpose; and this, judging from the proximity in most, if not all, cases, of disused burying grounds, would seem most probably to have been sepulchral. The circumstance of these dismantled burying-grounds or *killeens* being only used at present as places of interment for unbaptised infants gives reason for a further speculation as to the reason of the popular disregard for objects which, had they been the grave-stones of Christians, might *primâ facie* have been expected to escape that kind of desecration; and hence it has been, not unreasonably, suggested that these monuments must have been taken from Pagan cemeteries; and that, in their Ogham legends, we may expect to find names of gentile persons and divinities.†

* The principal Ogham caves are those at Dunloe, Co. Kerry ("Kilk. Arch.," N. S., vol. 5, p. 523); Drumloghan, Co. Waterford, ("Proceedings," R. I. A., vol. 10, Part 2, p. 103); Roovesmore, Co. Cork, the stones of which are now in the British Museum (described by Colonel A. Lane Fox); Ballyhank, near Cork city, one stone from which is now in Museum, R. I. A.; Croghan, near Tulsk, in Roscommon ("Proceedings," R. I. A., vol. 9, p. 160); besides others noticed in various papers by Mr. Brash, and in the MS. Collections of the late Mr. Windele in Library R. I. A. To these is to be added the rath-cave of Aghacarrille near Dingle, three of the stones of which bear inscriptions in the Ogham character. Two of these cannot be satisfactorily read without a removal of the incumbent earth. A portion of the legend on the third is probably concealed in the masonry of which it forms part. A cast of it, as far as the inscribed edge is visible, is deposited in Museum R. I. A., (L. 22. xxvii.)

† Even the solid-minded O'Donovan was awed into an impression that he stood in presence of a Pagan literature when he first entered the crypt at Dunloe. "The only monument with an Ogham inscription yet discovered," he says ("Irish Grammar, Introduction," xlv.), "which exhibits all the apparent features of a Pagan monument, is an artificial cave near the Castle of Dunloe, in the county of Kerry.

In this point of view (assuming for the argument's sake that the Ogham legends themselves cast no light on the question), the age of the rath caves would be assigned to some time after the Christian era, and the age of the inscriptions remitted to some indefinite earlier period.

But this argument is not supported by what we know of the habits of the people generally, in regard to the sepulchral monuments of their forefathers; and it leaves out of account the motive to intentional defacement supplied by early religious differences, which seem to offer a better explanation of the *quasi* sacred, yet non-consecrate character of the *killeens*. The general proximity to the *killeen* of these caves, and even of the churches into which stones bearing Ogham inscriptions are found built, has been noticed and well established in several papers by Mr. Brash. Another suggestion, as to a supposed practice of evidencing title to the land by inscribing the name of the owner in the interior of the rath-dwelling, has been made on the authority of a passage in the Brehon Law. This passage has not yet been published; but, when it appears, it will deserve the gravest consideration. As regards the general character of these monuments, Colonel A. Lane Fox, F. R. S., in his paper on the Roovesmore Oghams, has condensed his observations on those in the province of Munster, of which he computes there were about 10,000 at the date of the Ordnance Survey, in the following clear and exact account:—

“In speaking of these works as forts, I have only adopted the term in general use for them by the country people. But it is not by any means certain that the whole of them were constructed as defensive works. . . . That they were inhabited, appears to be satisfactorily proved by the remains of hut circles that were found in some of them; by their being almost invariably found in close proximity to a good spring; and by their being usually located in the

This interesting remain of ancient Ireland was discovered in 1838, by the workmen of Daniel Mahony, Esq., of Dunloe Castle. In constructing a small fence in one of the fields of the demesne, they broke into a subterranean chamber, of a curved form, which proved to be the termination of a gallery. The sides of the cave are constructed of rude stones, without any kind of cement, and the roof is formed of long stones laid horizontally; an upright pillar extends from the centre of the floor of the cave to the roof, and is evidently designed to support it. This pillar stone is inscribed with Ogham characters, as are four of these which form the roof, in such a manner as to impress the conviction that they had been inscribed before they were placed in their present position. In the passages were found several human skulls and bones, which clearly [?] indicated the sepulchral character of the monument. . . . The Author of this Grammar examined this cave in the year 1841, and can testify that the inscriptions are not fabrications; but whether the monument be Pagan or early Christian, he will not take upon him to decide.” The legend on the supporting stone is *Cunocena*, corresponding to the *Cunacena* of the Trallong “bilingual.” At first it was essayed to be read in the wrong direction, and yielded only the unintelligible form *apeogus*. Mr. Brash has noticed this interesting addition to the numerous proofs of South Irish and South British connexion in early times.

most fertile spots. . . . They vary from 30 to 100 and 200 feet in diameter. The largest I know of in the South of Ireland, called Lis-na-raha, has a diameter of 280 feet, with a ditch 12 feet deep, and 30 in width at the outside. . . . The interior space of the rath is almost invariably undermined by a set of chambers, called by the natives 'pol-fatalla,' or 'hole of a house' (say, rather, *pol-follacha*, 'hiding-hole'); the entrance to which is usually by an opening so small as barely to admit the body of a man creeping on the belly. These chambers vary in size, but average 9 feet in length, by 3 to 4 in height, and the same in width. Similar narrow openings communicate onwards to the other chambers; and sometimes these underground galleries diverge into two or more strings of chambers, occupying the whole interior space within the circuit of the intrenchment. The main entrance is frequently in the ditch of the rath, and is not unusually the smallest. When the nature of the ground admits it, they are often excavated in the natural earth, and domed over without any artificial support; but others are lined, in the inside, with undressed and uncemented stones, the sides converging towards the top, which is usually flagged over with large and heavy slabs of stone, serving to roof the chamber, and, at the same time, by their weight, to prevent the sides from falling in; at other times, though rarely, they are formed by upright jambs of unhewn stone, like the crypt at Roovesmore.

"As regards the probable date of these works, all that I have been able to ascertain respecting them tends to show that however early they may have originated—and their construction would lead us to assign a very early period to some of them—they must, in all probability, have continued in use until comparatively recent times; for I have on two occasions found them to be associated with implements of iron. In my collection there is an iron axe, and part of the pointed ferrule of a lance, the former of which was derived from one of the underground chambers, and the latter was excavated from the centre of a rath, in which it was found three feet from the surface, together with a quantity of ashes, and fragments of burnt bones."—"Roovesmore Fort," pp. 13, 16.

Seeing the profusion of lapidary Ogham writing in so many of them, it is singular that, so far as I am aware, there occurs no instance of any rath-cave in Ireland containing an inscribed legend in ordinary alphabetic characters from which a legitimate argument may be drawn as to its age, save in the case of that near Seaforde in the county of Down, which I am about to submit to the notice of the Academy. Although we are obliged to take this inscription on the authority of a copy made by one who was ignorant of its meaning, and unacquainted even with the form of its letters, it will, I think, be found to furnish a solid ground for some reliable conclusions as regards the probable age of the particular structure in which it was found; and so may cast some light on the general question.

It is to the Rev. John Dubordieu, Rector of Annahilt, in his Statistical Survey of the county of Down, we owe the first published description of this interesting monument, and the drawing of the remarkable legend found within it.

An earlier account, however, in point of observation, although not published for some years after the appearance of the Statistical Survey, is found in the Grammar of the Irish language by the Rev. Dr. William Neilson, of Downpatrick, published in 1812. It is to be desired that something more were known of this capital scholar and philosophical writer. O'Donovan, in his preface to his Irish Grammar, recognizes Neilson's elegant and logical arrangement, but censures his examples as provincial and barbaric, although admitting that in the Achill edition of 1845 (from which I shall quote), these imperfections have been to a great extent rectified by the Rev. J. Nangle. O'Donovan remarks that Dr. Neilson was assisted in the compilation of his "Grammar" by a good Irish scholar of the same neighbourhood, Mr. Patrick Lynch, of Inch parish. Nothing in its kind can be more natural and agreeable than the illustrative dialogue, probably contributed by Lynch, which forms Neilson's Appendix. The passage I shall cite occurs in the dialogue, entitled "*Teach Oidheachta*," or the Country Inn. The *duine uasail*, or gentleman, has entered into friendly conversation with two persons of humbler rank, one being called *Mac an Gobhain* or Smith—we may take him to stand for Lynch himself—who, throughout the dialogue, maintain the characteristic shrewdness and politeness of the native peasantry with much felicity of expression. Having spoken of political matters the gentleman observes:—

G. "We may speak, also, of the antiquities of the country without offence. Are there any remains of old castles, old churches, and ancient towers in it?"

S. "Indeed there are; and the raths, the caves, and engraved stones found in it are ancient works also."

G. "Where were these engraved stones found, do you say?"

S. "I will tell you, Sir. About a mile from the place where we live, a cave was found, on the brow of a hill, by a person who was digging round a stone, about ten years ago. No person thought or knew that such a place was there, and it happened to be found thus: a long narrow cave, without bone or relic, or trace of anything in it, but empty walls covered with great stones. There was a neat little chamber of a round form, like a bee-hive, on one side of the cave, and a little narrow door to enter by, empty also as the rest. However, there was found one broad smooth flag on the top of the place (*a mullach na haitese*), and on the lower side of that flag there were three lines engraved (*tri líne grabhalta*) of clean, well-formed letters; nor has any person been found since who could read or explain the inscription."

R. "It is perfectly true, for I saw the cave, the flag, and the inscription when it was discovered."

G. "I have no doubt of it, as I have also seen an account of that cave which you mention, and a fac-simile of those letters printed in copperplate, in the new history of the county Down."

S. "A learned gentleman came from Annahilt, who took a copy of it on paper."

G. "Was there not a cromleac found, under a cairn, near that place?"

S. "There was indeed, about two miles from it (about seven years before), an exceeding large, broad, level, smooth stone, as polished as the pebbles on the sea-coast, &c. There was an enclosure of long equal stones, standing straight up round the great cromleac when it was found, under a great cairn of small stones."

G. "Were these long stones lifted?"

S. "They were all carried away to a building near the place."

G. "Surely, the cave was not broken?"

S. "It was broken and destroyed; neither flag nor stone was left, of any value, that was not carried away in the same manner."

G. "I am surprised that the cave was broken?"

S. "Why, even the round tower at Downpatrick was thrown down; and I think, Sir, it is not lucky to touch such things."

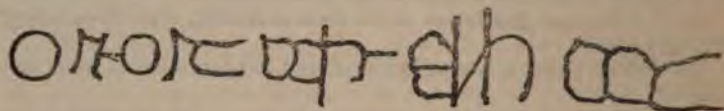
G. "I do not say that it is unlucky; but I think it a disgrace to literary gentlemen to pay no respect or attention to the remains of the ancient works of their country (*achd togar dham gur naireach do dhaoineibh waisle, foghlanta, gan cion no meas a bheith, a bhfuighioll oibreach irasaisge na tìre*)."—Neilson, "Ir. Gram.," App. 51-4.

The "*Duine uasail foghlumtha*," or learned gentleman from Annahilt, who made the drawing, is obviously Mr. Dubordieu, from whose Statistical Account, published about six years before, I shall now give the particulars as they appeared to him, after the cave had been broken up, and its inscribed roofing-stone used for a trough for pounding furze-tops as food for cattle:—

"The cave was about thirty yards long, with a circular apartment on one side, towards the extremity, and a square apartment on the other, a little nearer the entrance, both covered with roofs of stone. The cave having been destroyed before I saw it, I could not get the exact dimensions; I heard it was about three or four feet in width, and about four in height. On a stone at the further end was the following inscription, but in what characters I could not discover, as it has been used for a trough to pound furze, and is thereby much defaced. A gentleman to whom I showed the inscription, and who had been used to look at the Danish manifests brought by the masters of ships, thought it was in that character; but on taking a copy of it, he let me know that the interpreter could not read it. The fort in which it is situated is within sight of the old Danish Castle of Clogh."—"Stat. Surv., Down," App. x. p. 277.

The "three lines" of the dialogue were probably the three groups of characters which may be distinguished in Dubordieu's drawing, reproduced on the next page.

But possibly it may be that the scaling off of the surface which he describes may have obliterated the greater part of the inscription,



and that what we have here is only the first of the three lines mentioned by Neilson or his informant. The first group of the inscription as it stands will be quite familiar to you. It is evidently the *oroit* of the well-known Christian sepulchral formula, *oroit ar*, such a one, or *oroit do*, such a one; or *oroit ar anmain*, of such a one, in which, it will be observed that the *oroit* is always followed by *ar* or *do*: each alike signifying "for." I refer to Miss Stokes' repertory of Christian Inscriptions, where all the varieties of the formula are to be found.

This conclusively stamps the inscription as Christian. Any further speculation, grounded on a text at second-hand, cannot promise more than problematical results. Still, the inquiry will be worth making as, at least, an exercise in palæography. At first, it might seem that the general form of the characters might serve as a key to their approximate date. But it is only where we have numerous examples from one school of inscriptional sculpturing, that we can, with safety, rely on characteristic forms of letters as indicating this or that century. We are here in the North of Ireland, far removed from the lapidary fashions of Clonmacnoise, and other seats of the art, where a critical eye may discern progressive changes from earlier to later forms. The only local aid we can refer to is the formula *or do dertrend*, from the neighbouring locality of Movilla (W. H. Patterson.—"Notices of Ancient Tombstones at Movilla, County Down." Belfast: 1869), which may suggest to look for *do* rather than *ar* in the next group of the legend; though the latter is the shape which the irregular lines of Dubourdieu's drawing will take to most eyes accustomed to detect the elements of known forms among adventitious strokes, copied, as the superfluous lines of this inscription have most probably been, from mere inequalities of the surface.

Such, very plainly, is the pendent to the second character in the first group, which has to be thrown out of the field of vision before we recognize the lines of the regular R. In the second group, whether it be accepted as *ar* or *do*, considerably greater rectifications must be resorted to. If *ar*, the protruded lines at the upper left-hand corner giving the characteristic form of the Irish D must be retrenched; and instead of the continuous circular outline given by Dubourdieu to the rest of the character, the arc at the right must be inserted, to give the A its characteristic form A. If *do*, while the protruded lines and right arc will stand, it will be necessary to add a corresponding arc to complete the O; and to admit an overlapping of the two letters,

of which I am not aware of any other example. In either case, the R, retrenched by the rejection of the superfluous limb, which probably represents some crack or fissure of the surface, will stand: in the first supposition, as completing the *ar*: in the second, as commencing the proper name of the person commemorated, which in either case should follow the preposition.

Our choice of the preposition will, therefore, depend on our success in making out the name. If it begin with R, the preposition is *do*: if it begin with E (which appears to be the next letter), the preposition is *ar*. The R, the E, and the remaining characters of the group, except that immediately following the E, are fairly obvious to any practised eye. Assuming that we have the whole of the name here, it presents itself with reasonable distinctness as RE HAT OF E HAT, the hiatus showing the place of the excepted character.

This character at first sight bears all the appearance of an N inverted, a mode of presenting a letter by no means unexampled. This might suggest the idea that Dubordieu had before him the remains of a legend commencing with the formula *oroit ar anmain*; but it seems impossible to reconcile this hypothesis with the form of the terminal characters, which appear plainly to be AT; and if we go outside the mere tablet of the legend, and inquire into the local conditions of the place where it was found, another, and, I think, a preferable phonetic power for this character will be suggested.

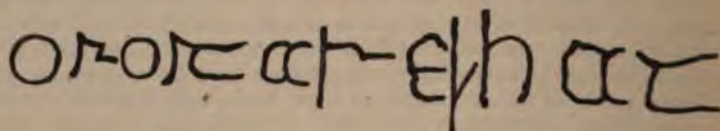
The rath from which it was taken stands in the neighbourhood of Clogh, the ancient name of which was Cloch-magheracat, which, possibly, may be a corruption of (Magh-)rechad, the name found attached to the adjoining chapelry. Reeves finds a Capella de Recat in the parish of Loghan Island, which comprises Clogh, in the terrier of 1615, cited by him (*Down and Connor*, 215). Hence would arise a surmise that Recat may be the name, if the questioned character could be reconciled with C hard. Again the Capella de Recat appears in the form Rath-kehath and Rath-ekethath in the Inquisitions of Edward VI. and Elizabeth (*ibid.* 29, 125), pointing to a similar reading, minus the initial R.

Now, it is clear that the seemingly inverted N of the text cannot be made to yield any form of C as known in Irish alphabetic writing. But it will be observed, that the right limb of the character belongs properly to the following H; and that we have only been able to regard the combination of lines presented as standing for N, in any aspect, by doubling the function of this line, and ascribing it as well to the N as to the H. Although such double functions belong to the lines of all siglums, it is only when we are sure that it is a siglum with which we are dealing, that we are justified in so regarding them. Confining the effect of the down stroke to the H, we have left a combination of two lines, a perpendicular and an upward oblique springing from it towards the right, being, in fact—as pointed out by the Secretary of the Academy, in aid of a less tenable conjecture of

mine, drawn from the form of K in the Kilmalkedar inscription—the identical character which stands for K in the common Runic alphabet (Stephens, 122). Instances are frequent of the interjection of Runes among the Roman characters of northern legends. Several examples may be seen in the "Monumenta Runica."

Assuming that we are right in thus clothing Dubourdiou's outlines with the force of K, we have to make our election between *Rechat* and *Echat*, one or other of which is most probably the name before us. The Christian character of the formula, and the seeming association with an alphabet modified by Runic influences, incline the judgment against *Rechat*; for, assuming *Rechat* to have been a person giving his name to the plain of Magh-Rechat, his epoch would probably mount to a period prior to Christianity, and even to alphabetic writing. Such at least is the inference to be drawn from the persistent character of the local names of large expanses of open land designated *moy*s in Irish local nomenclature.

Adopting this conclusion, the name which would emerge is *Echat*; and the legend *Oroit ar Echat* would point to some period probably subsequent to the closer Scandinavian relations originating in the 9th or 10th century, for the execution of this sculpture, and a period not earlier for the construction of the cave in which it was found. The legend adapted to meet this view will be seen to have undergone little alteration from the outline furnished by Dubourdiou.



Here note that caves were recognized as places of retreat and security in the period of the Danish occupation ("Wars of the Gael and Gauls," pp. 25, 232).

Having regard to the condition in which the stone was when Dubourdiou made his copy, it seems a hopeless quest to enter on any search for it now. But the inquiry has been undertaken by James C. Young, Esq., M.D., of Strangford, a gentleman at present engaged in collecting materials for a revised history of his county, and will, I am sure, be prosecuted with such diligence as ought to merit success, if success be now possible.



XIX.—ON SOME LINKS IN THE CHAIN OF CONNEXION BETWEEN THE
EARLY POPULATIONS OF ASIA AND CENTRAL AMERICA.—By SAMUEL
FERGUSON, LL.D., Vice-President.

[Read May 13, 1872.]

IN early Hindoo architecture, the trunk of the elephant is introduced as an ornamental feature in the form of a pendent, sometimes issuing from the cornice over a capital, sometimes descending from the quoins of quadrangular buildings.

The head and trunk of the elephant, distorted and conventionalized in the Mexican taste (I use the words Hindoo and Mexican conventionally), may be traced in the sculptured ornamentation of many of the Central American structures. Numerous examples may be seen in Gailhabaut's "*Recueil d'Architecture*," as well as in the larger works specially devoted to Central American Antiquities. Among these examples may be seen several instances of pendent carved members issuing from the quoins of quadrangular edifices, plainly in the taste, and, making allowance for time and distance, after the pattern of the Hindoo elephant ornament. I do not attempt to fix the distance in time; but desire to remark that no forms are found more persistent than those which are transmitted through the traditions of architecture: witness the short-horned bull's skull perpetuated in the metopes of our Doric façades.

A general similarity is also discernible between the florid Hindoo decoration and the characteristic Mexican modes of sculptural ornament. The latter are, indeed, to our eyes, wild and extravagantly grotesque; but the resemblance exists both in features and mode of treatment, although apparently separated by intermediate stages, at each of which some new element of *bizarrière* has been superadded to the Hindoo model.

Looking back from Hindostan to Egypt, the same observation will apply to the pyramids, as compared with the Teocallis of Central America. A generic likeness strikes the eye; but a likeness implying a variety of intermediate departures from the original model.

The attention of French men of learning, excited by events of national importance in Mexico, has recently been turned to the island of Java, as affording some illustrative evidences of the progress of Mexican civilization in its passage eastward to the New World. In the "*Revue Archéologique*" for July, 1864 (p. 70), is an interesting memoir on this subject, in which the learned work of Sir Stamford Raffles, "*The History of Java*" (1817), is used as a repertory of facts illustrative of the Mexican progresses.

There are two editions of this excellent work; one plain, the other illustrated. M. Eiethal, I infer, has only had access to the plain edition; for in the illustrated copies of the work are found some

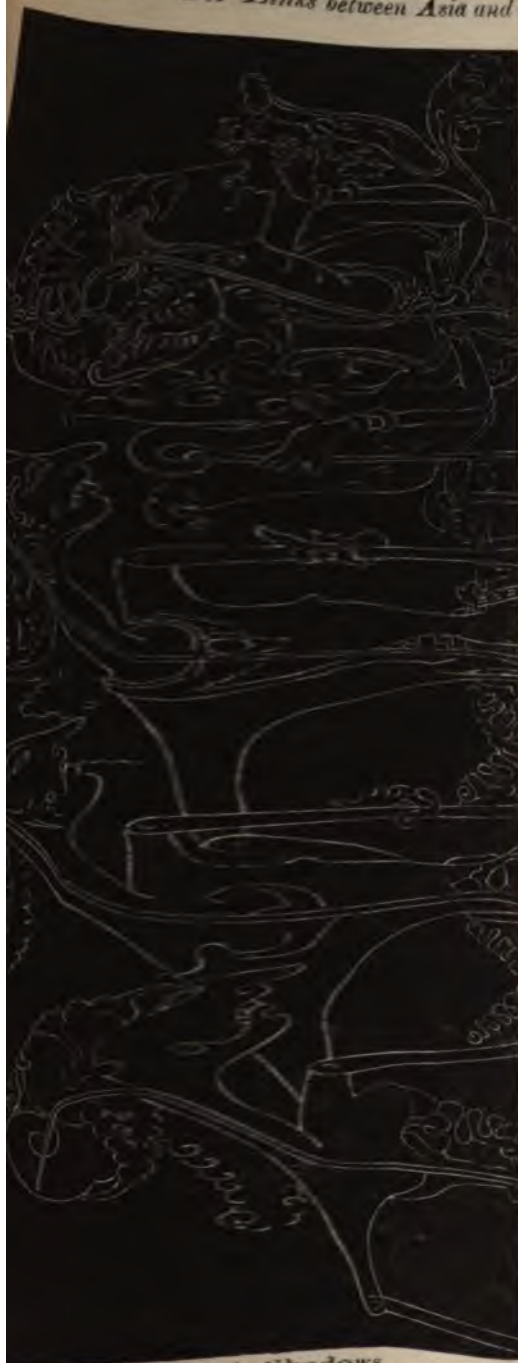
representations singularly apposite to the inquiry in which he has been engaged, and which a writer of so much acuteness and industry would not, I conjecture, have been likely to overlook. The illustrated edition is rare. When I was last in the reading-room of the British Museum, it was not in their general collection; but, after some search, a copy was found in the King's Library. We possess a copy in the Moore Library.

The most striking features of resemblance between Asiatic and Egyptian objects on the one hand, and Mexican architectural remains on the other, are the stepped pyramidal temples, of which several plans and drawings are found in Raffles' work. In these structures the features of the pyramid and pagoda are combined with an Asiatic profusion of ornament, resembling very much the pyramidal Teocallis of Yucatan. I subjoin one of the most characteristic.



Pyramidal Temple in Java.

But the illustration which in Raffles' *Java* brings us, so to speak, face to face with the Aztecs, is a representation of what he describes as "scenic shadows," that is, a species of puppet-show made by projecting the shadows of certain grotesque figures on a semi-transparent surface. These *marionettes* are cut or stamped out of leather, and with moveable limbs are made to play their parts by the motion of the performer's hand, communicated by an attached conducting rod. The features are purely Aztec: the taste and decorative accessories are of an equally marked Hindoo character. In neither is there the least resemblance to existing Javanese types, either ethnological or æsthetic. The Javanese account for the unlikeness of these objects to anything in their categories of existence by a statement, which, considering that it was made to Raffles long before the attention of Europeans had been turned to the peculiarities of Central American architecture, or of Aztec physiognomy, is worthy of grave consideration in any system of ethnology dealing with Mexican origins.



Javanese Scenic Shadows

"In the *wayangs*, or scenic shadows, the subject of the performances is taken from the earliest period of history and fable, down to the destruction of the Hindu empire of *Majapahet*. These are distinguished according to the periods of the history which they represent, by the terms *wayang purwa*, *wayang gedog*, and *wayang klitik*.

"The different characters in the history are in these *wayang*s represented by figures, about eighteen inches or two feet high, stamped or cut out of pieces of thick leather—generally of buffalo's hide, which are painted and gilt with great care, and at considerable expense, so as to form some supposed resemblance of the character of the individual intended to be personified. The whole figure is, however, strangely distorted and grotesque, the nose in particular, being unnaturally prominent. There is a tradition, that the figures were first so distorted by the *Susunan Mória*, one of the early Mahometan teachers, in order to render the preservation of the ancient amusements of the country compatible with a due obedience to the Mahometan precept, which forbids any exhibition or dramatic

representation of the human form. 'By these means,' said the *Su-súnan*, with much ingenuity, 'while the world in general will not imagine the figures to be human, the Javés, from recollecting their history, will yet be able to comprehend the characters they are intended to represent, and enjoy in secret their national amusements. Or if, in time, they should forget the originals, and confound them with the distorted resemblance, they will be impressed with the idea, that it was only after conversion to the faith of the Prophet that their ancestors assumed the present shape of man.' But the comparatively recent alteration in the figures is rendered doubtful from the circumstance of similar figures being found on many of the more ancient coins, thus affording ground for an opinion, that they existed nearly in their present form before the introduction of Mahometanism. Their antiquity is further confirmed by the existence of similar figures in the Hindu island of *Báli*, where, though not so much distorted, they are still far from natural."—Raffles' "*Java*," vol. i., pp. 336, 337.

Visiting the rich Museum of East Indian objects at the Hague, in Sept., 1868, I was careful to inquire for examples of these curious Javanese figures, and saw a considerable number of them. The features in all were unnaturally prominent, but by no means so much so as in the drawing of Raffles.

XX.—ON A LANTERN OR FANAL ON ST. CATHERINE'S DOWN, ISLE OF WIGHT. By HODDER M. WESTROPP, Esq., M.R.I.A. With Plates VI. and VII. (Pol. Lit. & Antiq.)

[Read May 27, 1872.]

ON showing my pamphlet on the *Fanaux de Cimétières* to a friend in Ventnor, he informed me there was a Fanal or Lantern similar to those figured in it, on St. Catherine's Down, about seven miles from Ventnor. As I was anxious to see any lantern of this kind which would tend to confirm my theory in regard to the Round Towers of Ireland, I immediately went to St. Catherine's Down to see and make a sketch of it. I was pleased to find that it does lend a strong countenance to my view, as this lantern is built in connexion with a sepulchral chapel, and is evidently a lantern of the dead, like those which occur in France, a more particular account of which may be seen in Viollet le Duc's "*Dictionnaire d'Architecture*,"—article, "*Lanterne des Morts*."

In the guide books it is styled a light-house for mariners, but its connexion with a sepulchral chapel shows this to be a mistake.

This lantern and chapel were erected in 1323 by Walter de Godyton, who added an endowment for a priest to say masses for his own soul, and the souls of his ancestors.* This tower is thus described by Sir Henry Englefield (*Isle of Wight*, page 94):—"It is of plain, not neat, masonry, octagon without, and square within, and covered with a pyramidal roof of stone. Just beneath the roof it is pierced with eight small windows, whose openings diminish inwards, and all tend to the centre of the building. This construction, which would have been ill calculated for the admission of light from without, is perfectly well contrived for its diffusion from within. The height of the turret from the ground is thirty-four feet six inches, and each side of the octagon is four feet; the space within is four feet square."

There were three floors in the tower, one on a level with the base of the upper door, seven feet above the ground. There are joist holes of a second floor at thirteen feet above ground. At nineteen feet (above ground) there is a projection on which the joists of the top chamber must have rested. The ascent must have been by wooden ladders from floor to floor. The projection of the stone roof is three inches.

There are two doors to the tower,—one on a level with the ground, six feet high, and another about eighteen inches over this, five feet eight inches in height. See Plate VI., (Pol. Lit. & Antiq.), Fig. 2.

A chapel, which was evidently a sepulchral chapel, from its being used for saying masses for the dead, was built in connexion with the

*And to provide lights at night to warn off ships from approaching too near this dangerous coast—both duties performed till the Reformation."—Venables' "*Isle of Wight*."—Ed.

tower, the roof line of which is still to be seen on the sides of the tower; the groove at the roof line was cut into the stone, of which this is a section (Plate VI., fig. 2.) The height of the apex of the roof line is eighteen feet. The height where the roof line meets the buttress, twelve feet. The length of the chapel was thirty-three feet, the breadth twenty-two. At about three feet from the turret, the walls of the chapel incline towards the tower: the length of these walls is seven feet.

This turret was repaired by Sir Richard Worsley, about 1756, and its angles strengthened by buttresses. (See Plate VI., figs. 1 and 2, elevation; and Plate VII., fig. 2, plan.) The foundation of the chapel was also cleared and discovered. In an ancient survey belonging to Sir Richard Worsley there is a rude drawing of this chapel, when entire, from which it appears it had only a body without a transept; the tower stood at the east end.

A description of this tower, with four views of it in its decayed state, is seen in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," Vol. xxvii., page 176.

In the east view (Plate VII., fig. 2) which I have given, can be seen where the sepulchral chapel was connected with the lantern, which suggests a similarity to the small Tower and Chapel at Clonmacnoise. Four of the angles of the tower point to the four cardinal points, which further corroborates its connexion with the French Lanterns of the Dead, and all probably with the Irish Round Towers.

An objection has been made to its analogy to the Round Towers, on account of the tower of St. Catherine's Down being octagonal, and also as the entrance door is on a level with the ground; but this objection is of little weight, as the base of the Round Tower at Kinneigh, Co. Cork, is hexagonal, and as the entrance door of the small tower at Clonmacnoise is also on the level of the ground.

Several of the Lanterns of the Dead in France are octagonal: that of Felletin (Creuse) is octagonal, is forty-six feet high, and has eight arched windows. All the French Lanterns have stone roofs, and their windows generally face the four cardinal points.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

Fig. 1, Plate VI., is a west view of the lantern, or tower, showing the buttresses added by Sir R. Worsley.

Fig. 2, same Plate, is an east view of the lantern, showing the groove cut into the stone for connecting the roof of the chapel.

Fig. 1, Plate VII., is the ground plan of the chapel.

Fig. 2, the ground plan of the tower.

Fig. 3, horizontal section, showing plan of windows of the tower.

XXI.—NOTES ON SOME UNDESCRIBED ANTIQUITIES IN THE PARISHES OF KILLENNY AND KILTEALE, QUEEN'S COUNTY. By the REV. JOHN O'HANLON, M.R.I.A.

[Read June 24, 1872.]

To preserve correct representations of the fast-fading monuments of other days—especially of those local objects which have not yet engaged notice from the antiquary and draftsman—induces the writer to prepare this communication for the Members of the Royal Irish Academy. A few years hence, the mouldering ruins, and the notes which refer to this subject, may leave scarcely a vestige of former appearance, or historical interest. Old popular traditions vanish as a shadow, if not consigned to record, while such memorials remain. With each revolving year, our ancient monuments are becoming more dilapidated, and less numerous; and even on the Ordnance Survey Maps, as will here be shown, no clue is afforded to the antiquarian investigator for the identification of several well-known local and historic relics or denominations.

KILLENNY PARISH

in the Barony of Stranbally, and containing 945A. 3R. 12P., is bounded on the north and west by a small stream,* which, although unnamed on the Ordnance Survey Map, runs for a considerable distance in an easterly course, until it flows into the River Barrow, immediately under Longphort-Rothlaibh,† known as the present Fort of Dunrally.‡ East and south, Killeenny§ is bounded by the parish of Kildeale.

Within the townland of Killeenny proper are the church ruins of this parish. The building appears to have been one of great anti-

* On the Exchequer Rolls, No. 12, referring to the Fourth Year of Edward VI.'s reign, it is pointed out, as forming the northern boundary of Leyse, "aquam de Glaisheamarow usque aquam de Barrow," &c. This document is now preserved in the Record Office, Dublin. The little stream which runs into the River Barrow, separating in part the parish of Coolbanagher, in the barony of Portmahinch, from the barony of Stradbally, is called the River Glashævaragh, in a survey made by John Mason, A.D. 1657, for Sir William Petty. The "grassy streamlet," it has been rendered by William M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A., and such a name the surrounding margins render very appropriate.

† In the year 860, on the 5th of September Ides, a Chieftain named Cinnedich, who was son to Gaithin, the Lord of Leix, demolished Longfort Rothlaibh, now called Dunrally. This place lay in the townland of Courtwood, and parish of Lea, quite near the River Barrow, on the boundary line between Leix and Clann-Mac-laghra. See Dr. O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, Vol. I., pp. 496, 497, and n. (1.) Ibid. This chieftain was afterwards slain by his own people.

‡ The ancient Irish name for this entrenchment was Oun Racleib, a place of historic note.

§ In Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, this parish is not only most imperfectly, but even most inaccurately, described. See Vol. II., p. 135.

quity; but yet it is possible an earlier church may have occupied its site. Mr. Thomas O'Connor, a writer engaged on the Ordnance Survey, supposes this local denomination to have been derived from a Saint Ethne; and he says, the Irish name should probably be written Cill Eithne (O. S. Letters; Queen's Co., vol. i., 181-4.) The etymon of Killenny must, however, be derived from a different source.

The townland of Killenny, undoubtedly, takes its name from the old church founded there. The ruins now measure thirty-seven feet, six inches, and eighteen feet in breadth interiorly (stated by Mr. O'Connor, in his O. S. Letters, as 36 and 16 feet respectively); while the gable walls yet standing are over three feet in thickness,* the side walls only measuring two feet seven inches across. The east window is very rude in design; it was about three feet in length, by only ten inches in width on the outside; interiorly, however, it was more deeply splayed. The door-way was either in the south side wall,† which, at present, is very much ruined, or, perhaps, it was an apparent low opening, in the west end.‡ But, if we admit this latter supposition, it must afterwards have been closed with masonry. A rich mantle of ivy screens the two gables, as also the north side-wall. A small grave-yard, nearly circular, surrounds the old church. Although thickly covered with many graves, and a burial-place from time immemorial, the cemetery is now disused for interments.§

In the centre, and on the south angle, the east gable is now quite ruinous; but the north angle is covered with masses of ivy to a considerable height. The west gable is well preserved. The side-walls on the north and south are not up to their original height. This old church has been built of a fine lime-stone peculiar to the district. A shallow fosse and a low ditch, crowned with a hedge of fine old hawthorns, enclose the burial ground. A fertile meadow field is entered from the adjoining road, and an ancient pathway towards the cemetery has not been disturbed, as yet, by the progress of cultivation.

The commentator on St. *Ængus' Feilire*, in the *Leabhar Breac*, seems to have considered that a St. Lassar had been venerated on the 17th of March, which is St. Patrick's Day. He says, moreover, that she was the seventh daughter of Branin, having been venerated at Cill Inghine Branin (church of the daughter of Branin), in Laiges,

* Exteriorly the side walls of the nave measure forty-four feet, and the gable or end walls twenty-four feet.

† Something like the side of a door-way, or window, appears there, not far from the west end.

‡ A small enclosure, the walls of which were about twenty-four feet square, stood outside the western gable.

§ This has been the case, more especially, during the last thirty years, and since a new burial-ground has been opened around an adjoining Catholic chapel, which has been built on a verge of the Great Heath of Maryborough.

(Leix).^{*} Such must have been the original name for this church, in all probability, since it lies within ancient Leix. In the copy of the *Feilire*, now preserved in the Franciscan Convent, Dublin, and intitled, *Martyrologium Cathaldi Maguir sive Ængussius Auctus*,† the Scholiast enters precisely the same statement, so far as the proper name *Lappan*, or *Lassara* is concerned. Whether this entry of the Saint's festival be correct, or otherwise, it is important to find, that in the Scholiast's opinion, the church of *Cill ingine bpanin*, somewhere in Leix, must have been the one dedicated to her. We can hardly entertain any reasonable doubt that Killenny thus took its name, especially as, in the Deanery of Leix proper, it seems to have been called, in the year 1615, Killanna, which had for rector Nicholas Geering, a reading minister. The value of this living was then £6 13s. 4d. The Church and its Chancel were in repair, while a Communion Book in the Irish language was there preserved.‡ This old church probably fell into a state of total decay and neglect, after the civil wars of the seventeenth century.

Within the townland of Killenny, and near the old church, as shown on the Ordnance Survey Map, rises a very steep limestone hill, covered over with hazel and other dwarf shrubs.§ When last visited,

* The original Text of Ængus, and its English translation, are here inserted:—

"Lappan gnem aine
Appal epeob oige
Dacraic co met mile
Nobdiciu bi ap tpeige."

"Flame of noble sun,
Apostle of perfect Erin,
Patrick with many thousands
May he be a protection to our wretched ones."

To this the Scholiast has added the following commentary. But it would appear probable he mistook the Irish word *Lappan*, "flame," put in apposition with *Dacraic*, for the proper name of a female St. Lassar, or Lasera.

"I. pinel mac pinbhada do uib garchon ipe ced buine do baipc Dacraic in epinn, ⁊ Neppan concaize cum Dacraic in hac die; No lappan nomen septimæ filie bpanin, ⁊ i Cill ingine bpanin i laigir ata ⁊ clidna ann ingine ele do o ta tonb clidna."

"i. e. Sinell son of Findchad of Uibh Garchon; he is the first person whom Patrick baptized in *Erin* (recte Eriu), and Nesan of Cork—cum Patricio in hac die; or Lassair nomen septimæ filie Branin; and in Cill Ingine Branin (Church of the daughter of Branin), in Laiges (Leix) she is; and Clidna [was] the name of another daughter of his, from whom is [named] Tonn Clidhna."

† This copy was made by Rory O'Luin, for Cathal Maguir of Sénat-Mac Manus, in Lough Erne, and now known as Belleisle, as we learn from an Irish note by the transcriber, on the last page but one of this old vellum MS.

‡ See the *Liber Regalis Visitationis*, for a return furnished from Carlow on the 5th and 6th of July, in power of a commission appointed by James I., and dated 22nd of June, 1615. A copy exists among the Royal Irish Academy's Manuscripts.

§ The ancient name of this hill seems lost or unknown. At present it is called Lyons' Hill, from a gentleman farmer who holds the lands.

about two months ago, tufts of beautiful primroses and violets grew under the sheltering branches. So thickly matted together were these, that it was difficult to track any passage through them, except by following the rather devious sheep-walks, which are interlaced in every conceivable form up to the top, when you stand on a depressed cone, from which the eye ranges, with pleasure, over a most enchanting prospect.* Some small, undefined, and unnamed object on this hill is noted on the Ordnance Map. This is probably intended to show the site of some remarkable remains, which consist of building and lime stones, scattered in great profusion, over a circular area of about fifty feet in diameter. These stones are intermixed with a great proportion of what appeared to the writer to have been mortar or cement. But a specimen procured establishes the fact, that it is only broken surface rock, worn away by long exposure to the elements.† It is quite evident, those stones are the disjointed remains of some very ancient building—possibly one of those rude *Caishols*, so frequently met with in the south-western parts of Ireland. The neighbouring people say it was formerly a castle of the O'Moores.

Within the parish of Kilkenny, likewise, the old mansion of Kilkenny, built in the Elizabethan style, and having very massive walls, is yet tenanted by representatives of an old and respectable native family. According to opinion long entertained by many of the people in this locality, the present very intelligent lady‡ who occupies this house, and who holds a large farm attached to it, has assured the writer, that a church or monastery once occupied the site of this old mansion. Thick masses of ivy, that completely cover a portion of the garden walls, are said to screen some ornamental mullions or dressings of doors or windows, subsequently walled up; but it does not seem well established, that any other traces of an ecclesiastical structure there can now be discovered.

Immediately over this mansion, and on the northern side of Kilkenny Hill, near the summit, which rises to a height of 718 feet,§ there

* The late learned and lamented Dr. O'Donovan, whose earlier years were passed in the Heath Lodge, the residence of Myles O'Reilly, Esq., and adjacent to this hill, must have often ascended its summit, if only to enjoy the view presented. Yet, he seems either to have passed unnoticed, or forgotten, the antiquarian object here described; for, often as the writer of this paper conversed with him regarding the localities and people near the Great Heath of Maryborough, he never once alluded to this vestige of a period long passed.

† Such is the pronounced opinion of Dr. William K. Sullivan, M.R.I.A.

‡ Daughter to the late Mr. Joseph Dunne, formerly an officer in the French service, and known to Dr. O'Donovan, as may be seen in his edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Vol. IV., n. (g) p. 960. In the year 1833 he was about 89 years old. He was regarded as one of the largest men in Europe. The writer can well corroborate Dr. O'Donovan's statement, having known Mr. Dunne, when he was over 90 years old, and even then not very decrepit. His grave is yet pointed out, within the ruinous nave of Kilkenny church, the family place for interment.

§ See Ordnance Survey Townland Maps of the Queen's County, Sheet 14.

is a deep fissure in the limestone rock, which admits a person to walk into it on the level, for a distance of over thirty feet. Then it sinks from about six to eight feet, and opens into a large cavern of irregular outline, and of considerable altitude. The country people call this cave "Poul-is-toul," said to mean "*The hole in the hill.*" No further tradition is known regarding it, except a popular rumour of its being a place for fairy ingress and egress.

KILTEALE PARISH

lies to the south of Kilkenny, and is situated partly within the barony of Maryborough East (1991A. 2R. 12P.), and partly within the barony of Stradbally (1561A. 3R. 34P.). See, Ordnance Survey Townland Maps, Sheets 13 and 14. The townlands noticed within it are Kilmurry, Ballythomas, Carrigeen, Ballymaddock, Kildeale, Ballinlough, Ballycarroll, Raheen, Raheenahoran, with the Heath House and Demesne, as also the greater portion of the Great Heath of Maryborough.*

Among the parish names in Ireland, we can only discover three,—Kiltale, in Meath, Kiltel, in the County Kildare, and Kildeal, in the Queen's County,—having a very close resemblance in spelling and pronunciation. Within the townland of Kildeale proper, in the Queen's county, the old church and burial ground are situated, beside an ancient road, leading towards the rock and ruined fortress of Dunamase.†

The church is greatly decayed, as the east gable only stands, with some portions of the side-walls near it. The dimensions of the interior seem to have been thirty-six feet in length, by twenty feet in breadth; the walls were nearly three feet in thickness. In the northern side-wall a narrow, rude window yet remains; and it measures three feet in length, by one foot in width on the outside, while it opens to greater dimensions, being splayed interiorly. The corresponding part of the south wall, opposite this window, is destroyed. Traces of plaster appear on the interior walls. In the gable remaining there is a large rent or opening near the ground, and at a short distance over it there is a narrow window, three feet in length, by one foot in breadth, while it is more widely splayed on the inside. So far as a conjecture may now be hazarded, a choir-arch seems to have turned over the lower opening, and under the top window; but by some more recent adaptation, much of the space appears to have been closed with masonry. Another narrow doorway then seems to

* On the northern line of the parish boundary, and nearly about the centre of the Great Heath, there is a large and an elevated circular entrenchment, called Rathabean. It is remarkable, that on an adjoining townland, but within the parish of Straboe, the old ruined Castle of Shaen, within the demesne, and near the modern mansion of Shaen, may yet be seen. Hence the townland's name.

† From Cromwell's lines, on the opposite hill of Kildeale, and shown on the map, this fortification received its last "pummelling."

have been formed, and a portion of its turning-arch yet remains. No trace of a choir is now visible. Great masses of ivy hang over the existing ruins, and large elder trees grow within them. Old hawthorns flourish through the burial-ground, which appears a very ancient one. A few modern inscribed head-stones are there, with ruder ones over many unnoted graves. The situation of this old church and graveyard, on the slope of a hazel-copsed hill, and very near the celebrated rock of Dunamase, is truly picturesque.* As seen from the spot, ranges of hills towards the north, swell and undulate, like huge billows surging against the sky. The graveyard's surface rises over the level of the adjoining road and fields, beside a modern glebe-house. The cemetery is well fenced on every side.

A writer engaged on the Ordnance Survey says, that the name of Kiltale Parish, Cill Teidil, means "the Church of St. Teidhil." This denomination is mentioned in the Calendar† at the 1st of November, when the Seven Bishops of Cill-Tidil are commemorated.‡ However, these may have been connected with some other Kiltale.

Kilteale was an improper rectory, in 1615, with a residence. Thomas Waller was then its Vicar. The annual value of this living was £10. The church and chancel were in repair, with books. Both were in the Deanery of Leix proper. A lease seems to have been given to Pigott, and an order at the Council-table in behalf of Jonathan Hoyle, circa annum 1637, regarding the lands of Kilteale. See *Liber Regalis Visitationis*.

The right of the Pigott family to the advowson, tithes, &c., of the rectories of Dysart-Enos, and Kilteale, had been questioned, but reaffirmed by a vote of the Irish House of Commons, bearing date the 9th of July, 1641. The plaintiff in the case was named Jonathan Hoyle, who would appear to have been for some time in possession of certain ecclesiastical rights, from a decree passed at the Council Board. These particulars are collected from some loose paper extracts, contained in a Manuscript Book belonging to Marsh's Library, near St. Patrick's, Dublin, (Class V. 3, Tab. 1, No. 24). They appear to have been copied from the Minute Book of the Irish House of Commons, and are marked in the MS., pages 191, 195, and 199 respectively. These documents thus read:—

* Higher up, on a spur of this ridge, and on a level with the old fortress works of Dunamase, are to be seen the three concentric circular entrenchments of Colonels Hewson and Reynolds, when in 1650 they battered down the castle walls held by the Confederate Catholics. See *Irish Penny Magazine* for 1833, Vol. I., No. 3, p. 18. Those field-works are of very considerable height, and there is a fosse fully eight feet in depth around the centre circle. The ditches and trenches are now thickly covered with briars and hawthorns. A further description of this spot may be seen in *Legend Lays of Ireland*, by Lageniensis, p. 73.

† See Thomas O'Connor's communication in the *Queen's County Antiquarian Letters*, Vol. I., pp. 354, 355.

‡ See Dr. Todd's and Dr. Reeves' Edition of the *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 290, 291.

9th July, 1641.

It is ordered upon Question, that the title of St. Robert Piggott and Cap^{tn}. John Piggott upon the whole matter as it is reported to this house this day is voted by this house to be good and valid in Law.

Copia vera. Ex^r. p^r. Tho. Tilson cler. Parl. dom. com.

9th July, 1641.

It is ordered upon Question that the proceedings in the cause wherein Jonathan Hoyle was pl^t. and St. Robert Piggott and Cap^{tn}. Piggott Defend^{ts} att the Councell Board Concerning the Rectorys of Disert Enis & Kiltale in the Queens County are by this house voted to be void, extrajudiciall and contrary to the law of the land.

Copia vera. Ex^r. p^r. Tho: Tilson Cler. Parl. dom. com.

9th July, 1641.

It is ordered upon Question that St. Robert Piggott and Cap^{tn}. John Piggott shall be forthwith restored to his former possession, and the meane profitts of the said Rectorys of Enis Disert and Kiltale, since they or either of them lost the possession thereof since the decree made att the Councell Board.

Copia vera. Ex^r. p^r. Tho: Tilson Cler. Parl. dom. com.

The townland of Ballymaddock is situated within the parish of Kiltale, and in the barony of Stradbally. The surface of this townland is gently undulating—the soil is of good quality—and the scenery, immediately surrounding the neighbourhood, has a pleasing and picturesque character. The antiquarian remains of Ballymaddock are its castle and adjoining ruins. These are placed in rather a low situation, but at the head of a pretty valley, which winds along in a north-eastern direction. Those ruins consist of two distinct ancient buildings, erected at different periods, yet, situated in a position quite contiguous to each other. One of those buildings is locally denominated the "monastery;" although it bears no external traces of having been designed for ecclesiastical purposes, nor does the writer know of any historical reference to warrant such designation.

The end wall only remains, with a part of the side-wall, which is perforated by a small window. The other portions have been removed; and they were probably employed in the erection of a barn, which occupies the space between the "monastery," and the gable wall of the old mansion, designated "the house of Cahernacapol, (in ruins)," on the Ordnance Map of the Queen's County, Sheet 14. The walls of the "monastery" are of great thickness. The gable end appears to have been breasted on the interior with a massive pile of masonry, which must have served the purposes of a chimney; although at present it is in so ruinous a condition, that the use for which it had been intended cannot be very accurately conjectured. The great probability is, that the "monastery," as locally denominated by the peasantry, was only a portion of an ancient castle or mansion. A few small perforations for windows, which yet remain, would serve to confirm this impression, as in style they are altogether unlike openings

The remains of extern square towers, of no great altitude, are yet to be seen, on the angles of what constituted a courtyard of quadrangular shape. This bawn extended in front of the entrance door to the old mansion. Walls yet standing in a parallel direction with the gables of the old house, communicated between the latter and the extern towers. On the outer angles of both these towers, may yet be seen chimneys, characteristic of the style which prevails in the standing gable. These towers are now used as farm-offices; ranges of houses extending in a line between them. Without, the inner court appears to have been a larger quadrangular bawn, which must have been used for the out-offices pertaining to the castle. The walls which enclosed this bawn have not entirely disappeared; and even yet remain in a well-preserved state, on one side of the quadrangle. There appears to have been only one large gateway entrance to this bawn, which was towards the east, and nearly opposite the front of the old mansion, the mere view of which is only presented in the preceding sketch. It is remarked, regarding all tracts of land in the immediate neighbourhood of old castles, the field behind the mansion far surpasses all others in the townland for riches and fertility of soil. This is accounted for, because it is supposed that cattle were frequently congregated there to be fed, milked, or perhaps placed under more secure protection from the raids of robbers.

Mr. Patrick Moore, already mentioned, informed the writer, many years since, that a sort of road or avenue formerly wound through the glen, in a north-eastern direction. This road led towards Stradbally, which village is about two miles distant from the Castle of Ballymaddock. The avenue was thickly planted with ancient yew-trees. These no longer remain, excepting a pair of yew-trees growing within the enclosure of the courtyard; now the sole representatives of that sombre forest, which surrounded or opened before the old mansion. Other particulars of curious interest were derived from tradition, which my informant took great pleasure in communicating. These have now escaped my memory altogether, or have left such faint recollections behind, as to prevent my hazarding statements, with any great pretensions to accuracy.

The late Dr. John O'Donovan informed me, that Ballymaddock must be anglicised into "the town or townland of Maddock." This name is now usually written Maddocks, or Maddox; and some representatives of the family are yet found in various parts of the Queen's County. Hence, we may suppose, that this townland was held by possessors of this name, under the O'Moores of Leix, whose Castle of Dunamase was only a mile and a half distant. The history of Ballymaddock is consequently involved in all the changes of fortune that befel the various Chiefs or occupants of Leix territory, both of Irish and English origin, until its lands became vested in the Cosbys, who yet hold possession under their original grant.

Not far from Ballymaddock Castle, a fine old rath may yet be

seen, and in a direction leading to the gate,* by which the field is entered from the road, springing corn or grass is noticed in summer to assume a tinge of deeper verdure than in other parts of this same field. Human remains, in great quantity, have been discovered there; and many think the place must have furnished a site for some battle, not known in historic records. Again, in a field adjoining the rath, a sort of elevation, having some disjointed stones on the summit, is to be seen; and around the cone, in a very regular circle, the grass always partakes of a similar dark colour, about the months of June and July. This is thought to have been a former place of interment, and the upper surface somewhat resembles a dilapidated cairn.

On the townland of Carrigeen, north of the road leading from Stradbally to the Great Heath, and within a wood planted about the beginning of this century, the country people point out an object, which they have been accustomed to call a Druid's Altar. It lies on the south side of Killone Hills, sheltered under a nearly semicircular sweep of rock, near a little ravine. It rests one edge partly on a ledge of rock; while its other edges are supported by three or four large upright blocks of limestone. Of this material, too, the covering flag is composed. On top, it has an irregular lozenge-shape, and it measures diagonally eight feet nine inches in length, while the extreme diagonal breadth is seven feet four inches. In thickness it varies from 8 inches only, to 17 inches. It slopes at an angle of about 20 degrees.

On the townland of Kilmurry, anglicised "the Church of St. Mary," south of, and quite near the road leading from Killone, in the direction of Stradbally, there is an old church in ruins, and within a small graveyard, now disused for interments, though traces of many graves and rude head-stones are to be seen. This church was probably dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. In length it measures thirty-nine feet six inches, and seventeen feet six inches in breadth, interiorly; while the gable-walls were over three feet in thickness, and the side walls were not more than two feet ten inches. The north side-wall is much dilapidated; but at one part of it, there are traces of a door entrance, which seems splayed internally; while on the south sidewall, a ruined window appears, and a sort of alcove is near the east gable.

On the townland of Ballythomas, the only remains of antiquity discernible are two fine raths, unless the old castellated and lately repaired mansion, tenanted by a farmer, be regarded. It has the high gables and stacked chimneys of the seventeenth century, to indicate its period of foundation. A portion of this townland is yet called Killpatrick by the people; but this denomination is not to be found on the Ordnance Survey Map, nor among the townland names of Ireland on the General Alphabetical Index.

* Locally called "the bone gate," because a large pile of human bones was placed there, about forty or fifty years ago, until they were removed, and burned in one of the midsummer bonfires.

In like manner the old denomination of Kilmartyr,* yet familiarly pronounced by, and well known to the people, has been obliterated from those records. It seems to be sunk under the extensive bounds of Ballymaddock townland. What is still more extraordinary, the foundations and basement cellar of the old castle of Kilmartyr are yet to be seen in the middle of an open field; but no mark to indicate their site can be traced on the map. Yet this castle and its denomination, in connexion with a townland, have place in our historic rolls. At an early period, it was a dependency on Dunamase. When made over to the Cosbys, a certain John Johnson became their tenant of the lands for a term of 21 years, by a deed dated 2nd of June, 1614. Yet, two years later, one Thomas Warde seems to have obtained the tenancy of Kilmartyr for a term of thirty-one years,† commencing after the expiration of the former deed. Again, we find sixty acres of the lands of Kilmartyr and Ballymaddock, assigned by Alexander Cosby, through a deed, bearing date the 2nd of June, 1636, and drawn in favour of Francis Willoughby, of St. Dominick's Abbey, of Francis Slingsby of Kilmore, and of his son and heir Francis, as also of William Dodwell, of the Grange.

Near this same townland, but on that of Ballymaddock, according to the Ordnance Survey Map, and not far from Loughshionachawn,‡ the people have a tradition that a village formerly stood. Every trace of this has disappeared, if we may except a few thatched cabins, skirting the sides of a very antique *boreen*. The central site of this village is yet called Old Town. However, it would seem, that this was the former village, which was situated on the townland of Kilmartyr. (Usually alluded to as "vil' de Killmarter" in the Inquisitions.) The pond, which gave name to this locality, has been drained of late years, and its former site is only indicated by a peculiar dark colour of the soil.

Except a few not very remarkable old raths, no other objects or traditions of antiquarian interest are known in connexion with Killeale parish. Several of its most ancient sub-denominations have been omitted from the Ordnance Survey Map. Among these old names, Clonduff, so called owing to its black, boggy and level surface—towards the west, is sunk in the denomination Ballycarroll townland.

* In the Inquisitions it is called Killmarten or Kilmarter. See *Inquisitionum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Repertorium*, Vol. I., Lagenia. Com. Regine. Temp. Eliz. Reg. Marebroughe, 17th August, 1596; Temp. Car. 1 Reg., 15 Mar. 1631; and again, in an undated Inquisition, apparently taken about April, 1646.

† By a deed bearing date 2nd of December, 1616. This Thomas Warde, or some representative of his family, appears to have paid the rent of Kilmartyr, to a Richard Cosby, who lived in the year 1646.

‡ Beside this former Lough, a rude old thatched Chapel stood, about the middle of the last century; and it is said, when this had been demolished—the Great Heath having been selected as a more populous and convenient neighbourhood—a fine spring of water issued from the site, and flowed into the adjoining Lough. The writer has lately seen not only this well, but the old stone holy-water font of the chapel, which was placed on a pile of stones, near the farm-house of people named Fitzpatrick.

I.—ON AN ANCIENT BRONZE SHIELD, FOUND IN THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK. By MAURICE LENIHAN, M. R. I. A. [Abstract.] With Plate VIII., Pol. Lit. & Antiq.)

[Read June 24, 1872.]

An ancient bronze shield now brought under the notice of the Academy was found in a bog between Ballinamona and Herbertstown, in the county of Limerick, and not far from Lough Gur (anciently *Loch Gur*). It was drawn out of the bog by a boy with a gaff, who, in so doing, broke several holes in the shield, where he struck it with the gaff. In plate No. VIII. (Pol. Lit. and Antiq.) will be found representations of the face and back of this shield. It consists of a disc of bronze, nearly flat, or very slightly convex, strengthened by a series of concentric circles, six in number, formed of hollow bosses, surrounding the umbo, or central boss. The shield appears to have been borne on the hand, and has contrivances for slinging it on the shoulder. The slinging loops are fixed so as to form on the obverse a series of equal in size to those contained in the circles. It measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. The rim is an inch and three-quarters in thickness—the handle, which is fixed similarly to the slinging loops, is six inches in length across the interior of the umbo. The bosses are about a quarter of an inch in diameter. The handle, which, as I have stated, traverses the umbo only, appears to have been intended for rather a small hand, such as those of the Normans were, and such as those of the Scandinavians, generally speaking, must have been, if we can judge from the small size of the sword hilts preserved in Danish museums. I do not, however, think that the shield is Danish, unless indeed it belongs to the period of the old Danes or Tuatha de Danaan. In close fight, or against a spear, the shield, though rather a light one, would have proved an effectual defence.

Although weapons—spears, swords, &c.—have been found in all parts of the country in considerable numbers, extremely few shields have been found. Indeed, so far as my reading informs me, only one of any resemblance to the present one has been found in Ireland. Mr. Pennant (*Antiquities of Scotland*) speaks of but one shield having been found in that country—which he states was not bronze, but steel; he alleges that it was in the possession of the Earl of Mar. I have, however, been informed by my friend the Rev. James Graves, Curator of St. Canice's, Kilkenny, that, in the course of a recent visit to Scotland, he saw two shields in the National Museum at Edinburgh, of a similar kind, but by no means so large, or so fine, as the one exhibited to the Academy. Pennant in his *Tour through Scotland* (vol. ii. pp. 362-3) tells us, that in 1784, opposite to Keret, is Movel Hedog; in a bog not far from that mountain, he found, in 1784, a most curious brass shield, which Mr. James of Lanidan favoured him with a sight of; its diameter was two feet two inches—the weight four pounds. In the centre was an umbo, projecting above two inches. The surface of the shield

was marked with twenty-seven smooth eccentric elevated circles, and between each was a depressed space of the same breadth with the elevated parts marked by a single row of smooth studs. The whole shield was flat and very limber.

The ancient Irish had several names for shields, of which *Sciath* may be considered the generic one. This term seems, however, to have been generally applied to the large convex shields made of wicker-work, covered with leather, having somewhat the form of the scuttle-like basket now known by the same name. That it was not confined, however, to convex shields, is shown by its use to designate light bucklers or targets, some of which had bosses upon them. The term *Targu*, or, as it is also written, *Sdarga*, which corresponds to the English *Target*, was used to designate light shields carried by horsemen, may have been applied to bronze shields like the present. But whatever may have been the name given to such shields, there can be no doubt that bronze shields were used by the ancient Irish; and I am therefore, disposed to refer this shield to the pre-Christian period of our history. I do not, however, believe it be *Scotic*, for the *Scoti* did not use bronze implements or weapons, whereas their predecessors did. For the want of a better word, I shall designate it a "Celtic" shield, understanding by the term "Celts" those predecessors of the *Scoti* who occupied the country before the arrival of the latter, and to whom the bronze weapons, and other vestiges of a higher civilization (traced by some to a Phœnician origin) are referred.

If one could imagine—I, however, cannot—that this shield belonged to a later period than I claim for it, and if we consult the Irish annals as to the times when possibly shields were borne by soldiers in the district where this one was found, it may have been left there by Brian Borumha when he made or strengthened a Dun in the neighbourhood of Lough Gur, or it may have been worn by the Commander in the army of Domhnal M'Loughlin, King of Ireland, and elder branch of the Northern Hy-Nial or Kinnel Owen, when he invaded the West and South, on which occasion, after taking hostages from the King of Connaught (Rory O'Connor), he burned Limerick and Kincora, and plundered "the plain of Munster" as far as Emly, Bruree, and Lough Gur. So say the Annals of the Four Masters.

The latest occasion on which shields—but certainly not such shields as this is—may have been borne in those parts, were in the times of the Earls of Desmond, where there were great hostings, if not great fighting, in that part of the County of Limerick; for instance in 1516, and more recently in the sixteenth century.

[This shield has since been purchased for the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. A full description of it, with an engraving, is given in the "Journal of the Royal Hist. and Archæol. Soc. of Ireland," 4th Ser., Vol. ii., p. 8. There is one somewhat like it in the British Museum.—Ep.]

XIII.—REMARKS UPON AN OGHAM INSCRIPTION AT CAHIRCIVEEN. Extracted from a letter addressed to S. Ferguson, LL. D., V. P. by the RIGHT REV. DR. GRAVES, LORD BISHOP OF LIMERICK.

[Read November 11, 1872].

I HAD hoped to be able to lay before the Academy during my present visit to Dublin a detailed account of the principal steps which I have made at different times in the deciphering of Ogham Inscriptions, but more urgent demands upon my time and attention have quite frustrated this hope; and I find myself obliged either to give up the attempt altogether for the present, or to content myself with some brief and hastily written remarks upon a single Inscription. Though I have none of my books or papers at hand I prefer the latter alternative; and beg that you will allow me to make my communication to the Academy in the form of a letter to yourself.

In the year 1868, being at Cahirciveen, I heard of a *Giant's Grave* in a Killeen, or disused burial-ground, a few miles from the town. Suspecting that this might be an Ogham Monument, I visited it and ascertained that my suspicion was well founded. At the head of what looked like a long grave stood the monument in question, a tall slender stone, bearing a rudely incised Greek cross; at the foot, a much smaller stone with an elaborate cross and a dove engraved upon it in a very peculiar manner,

The Ogham Inscription on the head-stone reads as follows:—

Anm Moeleagoemip Amaci Peacimean.

Upon this short text I shall hereafter find occasion to make a long comment. For the present I shall call attention only to a few principal points. First, the inscription is the only one in Ireland, so far as my knowledge extends, in which we find the Ogham character which denotes the diphthongs beginning with the letter O. The inscription on the Bressay Stone, of which I gave a reading many years ago [Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. vi. p. 248] furnishes, I believe, the only other known example of the use of this character on a stone monument.

Now, passing from letters to words, I must direct your attention to the formula *anm* with which the inscription commences. About twenty years ago I communicated to the Academy a paper on Oghams, in the course of which I described a monument bearing the legend, *Anm Cpuanac Macu Lucum*; and I then made bold to assert that the three first letters were to be read as the word *anm*, equivalent to the Latin *animus*. But at that stage of the research I was not in a position to prove my assertion. For it might have been urged that the *anm* was part of a proper name, like *Anmchad*; and I only knew at that time of three other Ogham inscriptions beginning with *anm*, and these were hard ones to deal with. I refer now to the Fortwilliam, Aghabulloge, and Maumanorig stones. I felt that I had no argument upon which I could so well depend as the one which I brought forward, viz., that the pedigrees of the Book of Lecan actually supply the name

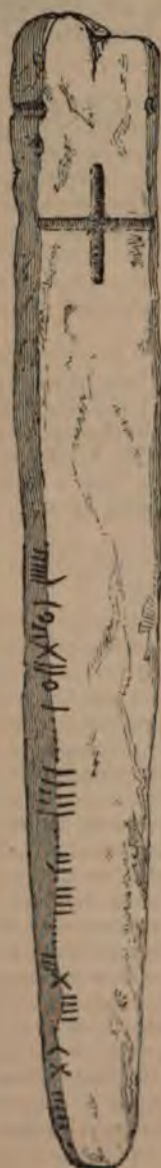
of a Cronan son of Luchain, who must have lived about the middle of the seventh century. But *now* my position is much stronger; I can point to ten, or more, Ogham inscriptions commencing with this formula. I may therefore claim the discovery of another key to the secret of Ogham writing, not indeed as generally applicable as the *Macui* which was my first contribution, but of great use, both in the deciphering of the inscriptions, and as furnishing us with an indication of their age and purport. It is worthy of remark that of all the inscribed monuments in which I have found this initial *anm* only two exhibit crosses, and some of them are singularly rude, massive, and of what might be thought a truly Pagan aspect. Influenced by the intrinsic evidence which the *anm* supplies, I am now justified in claiming all these for the Christian period.

But further, I have noticed monuments which appear to begin with an initial *a*, preceding an undoubted proper name. And in one case the vowel stroke standing for this letter has a mark over it such as might indicate a contraction. I take these initials to stand for the fuller form *anm*. You have seen the name *Cupcicci* upon an Ogham monument in Kerry. Well, when I find another beginning *acupcicci*, I can hardly doubt but that the same name appears in both instances, and that the *a* is no part of it, but the initial of another word or name. Have I not reason now to conjecture that it stands for *anm*?

With the materials which are now before us, and which are ample enough to guide us safely to a conclusion, you would not have proposed the reading you give for the *Maumanorig* stone in the Proceedings [Ser. 2, vol. ii. p. 62.]

I must now pass on to the next word in the inscription before us.

Moeleazgoemp is a remarkable name, essentially ecclesiastical. It means the tonsured servant of S. Adhamar, or Eadhamar [Lat. Audomara], whose name is to be found in the martyrologies, and of whose time and pedigree I shall have more to say hereafter. The name, though in another form, occurs on one of the Clonmacnoise monuments, figured in Miss Stokes' second fasciculus of *Irish Christian Inscriptions*. It is there spelt *Odmoer*, and she is called *ingen*



Ogham-inscribed stone at Cahirciveen.

bund ... the daughter of Dunadach. I only know of two other names on Ogham monuments, beginning thus with mael. But when we consider what this form is, and what inferences are to be drawn from it as regards the age of the inscription, we cannot fail to recognize the importance of the testimony which I am now producing.

Now let us look at the next word, Comaci. I take this to be another formula added to our small stock. It appears in different forms: as Otmacui, or Attmacui, on two of the stones in the Cork Institution, and as Eattmocui on the famous Camp Stone. I take this *ot* or *att* to be a prefix like the *παρὰ* of the Greek, indicating something false or wrong. For this I shall be able to allege reasons founded on philological considerations.

It remains for us to notice the final name Feachimean. The substantive Feicheam meets us repeatedly in the Brehon laws, meaning one of the parties or pleaders in a suit. The proper name Reochair mac Feachemair occurs in the Tain Bo Cuailgne.

I lament to say that this remarkable monument no longer stands in the place where I found it. It is now set up in a garden attached to an Institution in the town of Cahirciveen. The removal of it was not called for on the ground that it was exposed to injury in the place where it originally stood. It was the sepulchral monument of a Christian in an ancient grave-yard, where it seemed safe from injury. It is now severed from local associations of an interesting kind. Against this stone O'Connell often leaned whilst his pack of Kerry beagles hunted the long brown valley which runs up from Carhan Bridge to the foot of Rehill mountain,—so at least I heard from the old people of the place, who told me, that they had themselves often seen him sitting there with his back against the stone.

POSTSCRIPT.—On looking at the drawing which illustrates this letter you will observe some things which deserve notice:—

1. There is a considerable interval between the word *Anm* and the name *Moeleagoemir*.

2. The vowel strokes after the final *r* in the latter name are indistinct.

3. From the shape of the stone, it appears nearly certain that the part bearing the inscription was intended to have been buried in the earth. This falls in with the notion that the inscription intimated something that was not to the credit of the person of whom the stone was a memorial.

4. You will remark that there are grooves on the sides of the pillar-stone, just above the cross. As to the cause or use of them it might be rash to offer any conjecture. Perhaps they mark the place to which was fastened a chain, worn by some one who did penance in this lonely spot, for some great crime; and occupied a small stone cell, the remains of which are still to be seen within a few yards of the monument.

Dr. Ferguson, on reading this letter, expressed a difficulty in accepting the formula *anm* as the equivalent of *anima*, owing to what seemed to him to be its association with nouns not in the genitive.

XXIV.—ON THE OGHAM-INSCRIBED STONE ON CALLAN MOUNTAIN, CO. CLARE.—By SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL.D., Q.C., V.P.R.I.A.

[Read February 10, 1873.]

THE first paper published by the Royal Irish Academy in the department of Antiquities, in their Transactions, was that by Theophilus O'Flanagan on the Ogham inscription on Mount Callan, in the county of Clare, read 19th December, 1785. In this paper O'Flanagan gives an interesting account of his search for the stone bearing the inscription, which he states he had first discovered about six years before, in company with Mr. Burton Conyngham, who made the drawing published by the Academy.

O'Flanagan's reading of the inscription purports to have been prompted by some lines which he cites as from an Irish poem, called the *Battle of Gabhra*, to the effect that one of the Fenian heroes, named Conan had been slain at the spot by the *Fianna* on the occasion of an assembly held for worship of the sun, and that Conan's name, in Ogham characters, existed on his sepulchral stone, where he had been buried, on this mountain. He does not pretend to find the name of Conan, *totidem literis*, on the monument; but avers that, according to certain rules of Ogham spelling, the letters *C o n a f* appearing there, stand for *Conan*: the *n* and *f* being, as he alleges, commutable, by reason of their occupying respectively the same place in the series of both the Irish alphabets, that is the "Beth-luis-nion," or ordinary alphabet, and the "Bobel-loth-fearn," on which latter the first category of the ordinary Ogham scale appears to be constructed. This interchangeable quality of the letters being premised, he proceeds to extract a series of no less than five several readings from the line of digits constituting the inscription. First he reads it from left to right, giving the groups which stand for *n* and *f* their proper respective values; then he repeats the process, giving them their interchangeable values; then, pivoting, as it were, on the last digit and reading backwards he aduces a third

any known authentic sepulchral legend of any age or country, and particularly unlike any Ogham formula hitherto observed. As might have been expected, it has been received with very general distrust. This discredit has, during our own times, extended itself from O'Flanagan's speculations to the subject of them, and it is now a common thing to hear the Callan mountain inscription and the verses about Conan from the *Cath Gabhra* treated as palpable forgeries, the disgrace of which is imputed, sometimes to O'Flanagan, sometimes to John Lloyd, author of an Account of the County Clare, and sometimes to Michael Comyns, a gentleman of the same county, who distinguished himself as a poet and romance-writer in the Irish language, about the middle of the last century. Much of the obloquy cast on O'Flanagan is divided with General Vallancey, to support whose speculations about the ancient Irish having been sun-worshippers is supposed to have been O'Flanagan's object in the fabrication of the impeached verses. These charges have been put forward with much authority by the late John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry. As they are contained either in printed publications or in MSS. to which the public may have access, there will be nothing improper, as affecting the reputations of any of the parties, in citing them here.

I shall first refer to what O'Curry has said on the subject, in his abstract of the MSS. in the library of the Academy. Describing volume No. 119, in the collection purchased from Messrs. Hodges and Smith (H. & S. Cat., vol. ii., p. 415), he says:—

"Page 114 begins the Fenian poem called the Battle of Gabra, ascribed to Oisín, and containing 368 verses. I have closely examined every copy of this poem, that has come under my notice, bearing date previous to the year 1770, and I can safely say that in no copy of that or previous date have I found any mention of Conan's absence from the battle of Gabra, nor any allusion to his having been killed while paying adoration to the sun, on the top of Mount Callan, in the county of Clare. I have little hesitation in saying that the allusion above referred to (which is found in several modern copies of this poem) was introduced into the poem to give countenance to Vallancey's doctrine of sun-worship in Ireland, and Theophilus O'Flanagan's nonsensical and extremely roguish *Four different Readings* of the Ogham inscription on the stone on Mount Callan. Mr. John O'Donovan and myself having minutely examined and accurately copied the above celebrated inscription in the autumn of last year (1839), we shall be enabled at the proper time to show the difference between what has been made of it already, and what it really is."

Sefaharmosatievisog, Gosieuitasomrahafas." Windele himself makes it *Catabar moco Astaganga*, which nearly approaches the reading given by W. Williams and the transcript made by Mr. George Du Noyer. He also cites a transcript ascribed to a former contributor to our Proceedings, *ebhdhbbhtmlcbfmlhngsmdbngf*, and another published by the same gentleman, *ebhahhbbhtmlcbfmlhngsmdbngf*. I do not possess a cast of this legend; but have carefully examined it, and find it, as I believe, to be, *Catabar moco frigorb*, i. e. Cathbar son of Fercorb. It is a very fine monument; and the names, if I have rightly read them, may be of any period consistent with their grammatical formation. If this were determinable to any particular linguistic epoch, on trustworthy grounds, it would seem to be the only key to the probable age of the inscription.

I am not aware that O'Curry or O'Donovan has left any account of what they supposed the inscription really to be; but it is obvious that they did not consider it to have been accurately transcribed by O'Flanagan, which is hard to reconcile with the idea of his having been the inventor, seeing that a person making use of something previously fabricated by himself or his confederates for the purpose of being so used, would not be likely to misapprehend his own preparations.

O'Curry, however, does not appear at any time of his life to have been influenced by any gentle feelings towards the memory of O'Flanagan. In his Catalogue of the Academy Original Collection (Series i., vol. i., p. 312), he returns to the subject:—

"Page 19, line 5, commences a translation of an extract from the poem entitled *Cath-Gabhra*, or the battle of Gaura, ascribed to Oisín. This extract goes to say that the fierce and mighty Conan was not in that battle, for that he had gone the previous May to worship the sun on Mount Callan in Clare, where he was killed by the Feni of Finn, and his sepulchral monument raised on the north-west, and his name inscribed in Ogham characters on a flat stone. Mr. O'Flanagan gave a copy of this Ogham inscription, and a translation to the Royal Irish Academy, which they published in 1789 [1787.]

"But the accuracy of the rendering and translation may be questioned; as it is well known that Mr. O'Flanagan's knowledge, not only of Oghams, but of the Irish language in general, was very superficial, and his solution was not original, because Michael Comyn, a clever general scholar, and a good Irish one, was the first to give this version of the inscription, about the year 1760, but not at all in a serious sense. And the quotation from the poem above alluded to is not to be found in any copy that I have seen older than the year 1790. Indeed, I never saw it at all but in one copy made even later than 1790; so that I am perfectly satisfied this *extract* was founded on a purely original tale, written in Irish by the aforesaid Michael Comyn, entitled '*The Adventures of Toribh Mac Starn and his sons*,' to give a popular illustration of some monuments of antiquity, and some topographical features of the western coast of the county Clare; and that this *extract* was concocted with the view of giving colour to Vallancey's doctrine of the ancient Irish being fire worshippers, for after the falsifications described at No. 26. 4, in this catalogue, what would not Vallancey and O'Flanagan do to carry out their own views in antiquarian researches?"

I do not know where O'Curry finds that the inscription had been read in the same sense by Michael Comyns, about 1760, but direct attention to it as a fact of some importance, considering that Vallancey appears for the first time, as far as I know, in Irish affairs as a Captain of Engineers stationed at Kilkenny in 1763, and having regard to other considerations which will subsequently present themselves.

O'Donovan's imputations are definite in fixing the fabrication of the Ogham on Lloyd, and that of the corroborative verses on O'Flanagan, although as regards the inscription it will occur to candid minds that if it were known and deciphered in the same sense in 1760, John Lloyd must have been somewhat negligent in utilising his preparations, as he did not publish his account for nearly twenty years after. It is in his *Irish Grammar* (Introd. xlvii.) that O'Donovan makes his public charge against O'Flanagan of having fabricated the verses:—

"It is stated by some that this stone had lain buried for ages, while others asserted with confidence that the inscription was forged by Mr. John Lloyd, a Munster Irish poet of the last century, who was the first [?] to notice it himself in his *Short Draught*

of the County of Clare, as the monument of Conan, one of Finn Mac Cumhaill's followers! O'Flanagan, without acknowledging that it had ever been deciphered before [this is not so; see *post*], actually forges an Irish quatrain, which he cites as a part of the poem called the *Battle of Gabhra*, to prove that Conan was buried on the Callan mountain, whither he had repaired after the battle of Gabhra, to worship the sun!"

The broad imputation against Lloyd of actually cutting the inscription, is contained in a copy of a letter, dated 27th September, 1843, purporting to be from O'Donovan to the late John Windele, preserved amongst the MS. collections of the latter, now in the Academy library (Suppl. Vol. i., p. 183):—

"I found one Ogham inscription on a cromlech, about one mile N. E. of Ballybay, in the county of Monaghan, but it is most undoubtedly a modern fabrication,* like the one on the Callan mountain, which was cut by John Lloyd, the Irish poet, who afterwards published an account of it. Among the fabrications which brand the antiquaries of the last century with disgrace, I may mention this on the Callan mountain. O'Flanagan knew right well that an account of it had been published by John Lloyd, and still he gives it as if discovered for the first time by himself! He also interpolates the poem on the battle of Gabhra to connect this monument with that battle. He was a most dishonest man, and his name will descend to posterity as a fabricator. The interpolated verse about the worship of Grian on this hill is too palpably false to be received by any one without suspicion, but when the copies are compared, it turns out that they all want the verse about Conan and the worship of Grian on Sliabh-Callan.

"The Oghams at Dunloe and in Corcaguinny are, however, of a different character from the one on the Callan mountain, and it is a pity to injure the cause by forcing them to be of the same age. The best plan will be to collect as many specimens as possible first, and then to compare them all with the different scales given in the Book of Ballymote, and the other Irish MSS. of authority. I wish the Archaeological Society would publish the tract on the Oghams in the Book of Ballymote,† so that investigators might be put in possession of the real nature and amount of the information we possess on the subject. Nothing should be taken at second-hand. I would not believe one word from O'Flanagan or Vallancey on such subjects, but I can excuse them more or less, as they lived in an age when fabrication was fashionable; but now the time is for ever fled when a Highlander or an Irishman might forge what he pleased, and tell the world that it was a translation from the Celtic.

"We must all be on our guard against the forgeries of the last century, and the entire of Vallancey's *Collectanea* may be said to be a tissue of wild vagaries of his own brain. I could not believe that he could have understood with any certainty one sentence in any vellum Irish MS. containing a noun, a verb, an objective case, and involving an Irish idiom; and he has done more by his pretensions of a thorough knowledge of this language to bring Irish literature into contempt on the continent than any man that ever took pen in hand. This I learn from a letter from Pictet of Geneva.

"I say all this to put you on your guard against the *Collectanea*, and to induce you if possible to receive with caution any remarks of the dishonest O'Flanagan."

* The writer of this paper has given a close examination to the Ballybay (Lennan, or Tullycorbet) cromlech, and stated fully his reasons for regarding the inscribed characters still visible on it as genuine, in a letter to Rev. James Graves, M. R. I. A., dated Oct. 1873, and published in the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, 4th ser. vol. ii. p. 523.

† This tract when published will be found rather disappointing. It is obviously the work of a writer affecting a show of learning by reproducing the well known manuscript Ogham alphabet in a variety of forms which add nothing substantial to our stock of information, and are in many instances merely puerile. The real nature and amount of the information we possess on the subject of Ogham writing must be judged of by the results of a long and patient induction grounded on the monuments themselves.

In justice to the memory of Mr. Windele, it is right to append a copy of some portions of his letter in reply, in which he displays an acumen and a firmness of judgment worthy of commendation :—

"I should like much to see a copy of the Ogham inscription on the Ballybay Crom-leac, after the strong assertions relative to that of Callan, which, nevertheless, I believe to be no forgery. I should hesitate about the condemnation of any other without very ample proof. . . . I would in every case of this kind wish to judge for myself. Mr. Petrie some years ago mentioned to me his belief that the Callan inscription was a forgery. I did not then nor can I now subscribe to that. I have not seen it myself, but I have the report of two experienced friends who visited it together, and I have their copies, and especially the rubbing taken by them : all which have satisfied me that O'Flanagan's copy was quite erroneous, but that nevertheless the monument contains a genuine inscription. . . . O'Flanagan's Conan is not there. Had he forged he would have taken care of that. . . . One should think that O'Flaherty [sic = O'Flanagan] ought to be able to give a correct copy of his own production."

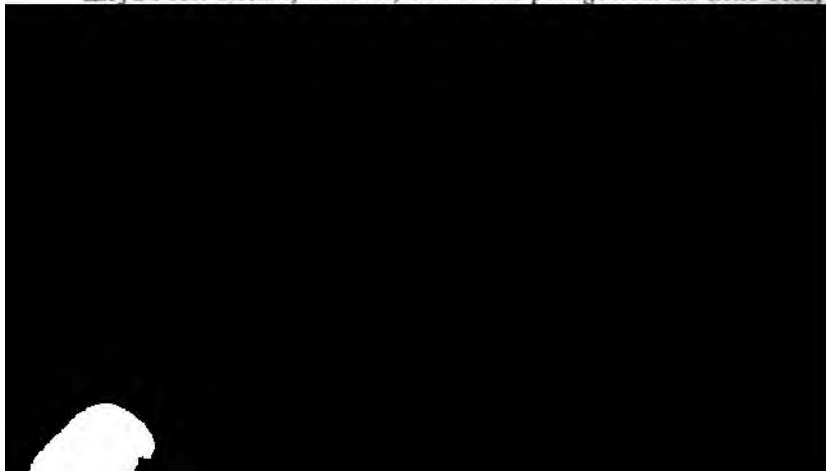
It will here be proper to correct some errors both of O'Donovan and Windele as regards John Lloyd.

O'Donovan can hardly have read with attention the paper of O'Flanagan in our Transactions, or he would not have charged him with suppressing Lloyd's claim to have read the inscription. What O'Flanagan said on the subject is this :—

"There was, indeed, another gentleman in the county of Clare, a Mr. Lloyd, who published an account of that county, in which he made mention of Conan's monument on Mount Callan, but, as his explanation of the inscription is exactly in the words of my first effort to that purpose [*Fan liesi ta Conan Colgae cos-fula*], I am apt to believe it was from hearing what account I had given of it rather than from any search or discovery of his own ; for his publication appeared just about the time of my first visit to the monument." (*Trans. R. I. A.*, vol. i., *Antiq.* p. 8.)

Mr. Windele, on the other hand, overlooks the fact that it is Lloyd, and not O'Flanagan, who is charged by O'Donovan with the lapidary forgery.

But his acute remark that the forger ought to be able to give a correct copy of his own production, applies with equal force to both. Lloyd's best defence, however, will be the passage from his little book,



and accurate description of the county of Clare, with some particular and historical observations; printed at Ennis, for John Busteed and George Trinder 1780 [Price, a British shilling]."

"Contiguous to this coast of Malbay is the high MOUNT CALLAN, which commands an inviting prospect of the whole country; its fruitful environs are inhabited by the descendants of Northern, or Ultonian emigrants to this country, during the later wars in this kingdom; they are an honest, endeavouring set of people. On this remarkable high mountain is a large flat stone, under which CONANUS (one of the celebrated Irish Militia) is buried; this stone hath an Irish Celtic inscription on it, which implies in English, under this stone lies the furious, long-legged CONANUS. Probably the mountain takes its name from this monumental stone, as Callan is one of the Irish appellations for a rock or stone. According to Irish romance the above gentleman was a very uncouth officer and a voracious eater."

If these evidences satisfy the inquirer that in 1779 the inscription was a well-known object, they will acquit O'Flanagan of his portion of the odium: but the proofs of his innocence derivable from the text itself and his peculiar method of dealing with it are still more convincing. Lloyd, it will be remembered, gave one direct reading only, in the usual course from left to right, while O'Flanagan subjected the text to readings in both directions, and from above as well as below. There is no doubt that a series of Ogham characters (in that kind of Ogham writing in which consonants and vowels are alike represented by stem-crossing digits) may be arranged in such a sequence that they will read from left to right, and back from right to left; nay, even, if we are set free from word-divisions and allowed to *syllableize* at will, will yield as good Irish as the Eugubian Tables, turned upside down, but this can only be effected in legends of a very few words; and the feat of producing such a combination of any considerable length, with the superadded capacity of yielding a further sensible meaning when inverted, would certainly be one of astonishing cleverness. But in any process of that kind, it is obvious that the number of digits shall be such that, whether read forward or backward, each shall fall into the exact place necessary for the intended groupings, and that a digit more or a digit less in any of the combinations would be fatal to the entire scheme. It is a further and indeed a cardinal necessity of such a collocation, that the reading shall pivot on a definite point at the end of the line; and it is also, if not indispensable, at least very expedient, that the characters which group themselves into words of various lengths in the different combinations produced by the direct and retroverse readings, should remain undistinguished by marks of word-separation.

One set of word-separations is apparent on the face of O'Flanagan's work, on which it will be observed that the groups constituting the words of the direct transliteration are divided by dots; but that, when we attempt to follow him through his retroverse reading, these dots, instead of falling between the words, fall so as to divide them, not from one another, but within themselves; and this confusion propagates itself through new dislocations of the word-groups in each subsequent shift

of the process. That a fabricator ingenious enough to devise so artificial an adjustment of his elements should have gone out of his way to sow these needless seeds of disruption amongst them, is exceedingly improbable; and, if the case went no further, we might well pause before giving any serious attention to the suggestion that the legend is the work either of O'Flanagan or of any person in privity with his theory of the reading.

But the case goes much further, and tends to the absolute acquittal both of O'Flanagan and Lloyd when, turning from their own representations of the inscription, we look at its authentic reproduction in the cast before the eyes of the Academy. This cast was taken from the stone on the 18th of July, 1872. I had already, in 1869, made a tracing by a process of rubbing, almost amounting to a reproduction of the surface, which I also exhibit: but, warned by repeated delusions into which I have been led both by drawings and tracings, I took the opportunity of visiting the site again, when travelling from Limerick by Ennis last summer. This was my third visit; the first, in 1868, having been productive only of the disappointing results recorded in a former communication to the Academy.

I found no change in the condition of the stone or in the aspect of the place since I first saw it. The stone, which was about eleven feet long by about eight inches thick in O'Flanagan's time, has been split into two slabs of about three to four inches thick respectively. The inscribed half lies on the top of the other half. Both are propped up by a few broken fragments of the same kind of clay-slate beneath. To all appearance, save that the flag is split into two plates, things remain exactly as they were when O'Flanagan wrote his description nearly ninety years ago. But I learn from Professor O'Looney that the monument has in point of fact undergone various vicissitudes in the interim. His account of these I shall ask Mr. O'Looney to allow me to annex to this paper in his own words. But for the enthusiasm of this energetic inquirer, and his power of enlisting the hands as well as the hearts and spirits of his Irish-speaking countrymen, my visits would have been in vain, and the question of forger or no forger should have been debated over the ashes of men unable to speak in their own defence, upon verbal assertions and fallacious hand-made sketches. I may, however, refer to a drawing, executed on the spot, for the general aspect of the place, showing the position of the stone in reference to the central eminence of the mountain and to the little tarn of *Loch-booleynagrine*, which lies about 300 yards to the west.

The other monument mentioned by O'Flanagan stands about a mile further westward. It is a remarkable trilithon-cromlech, known by the name, commonly applied to monuments of the class throughout the country, of *Leaba Dhairmada as Grainne*. A drawing of this monument also is presented to the Academy. The scene still realises its wild and vivid description by O'Flanagan. The road from Ennis to Miltown-Malbay, passing behind the eminence seen to the left of the picture, has only been constructed of late years: and between the "Hand" cross-roads and

the descent at the western part of the mountain there is but one cottage. What chiefly impresses the mind, having regard to the site of the inscribed stone, lying aslant on the hanging brow of the hill, is the absence of any appearance of a sepulchral character. It obviously has never been intended to stand upright; and the position seems so little suitable to a grave to which a level flag-stone should be accommodated, that one cannot help speculating on the probability of the stone having been selected with a view to its erection elsewhere, and, after being engraved *in situ*, left derelict. But this idea is quite displaced by the facts stated by Mr. O'Looney as well as by the common consent of the country people, who all call it *Leaba Conain* pronounced *Conoin*. One man over sixty years of age assured me he had heard it so called by his father, an old man when he was a youth, and that such has always been the common voice of the country. It is known by no other name, so far as I could learn, but *Leaba Conoin*, "Conan's bed," or grave. When we consider the difficulty of inducing Irish-speaking people to take up with novel names in their own language, we are furnished with another strong dissuasion against fancying—whatever we may think of the inscription—that the story of the grave of some one called Conan, being there, is a fabrication foisted on the acute people of the country, and adopted by them into their own language within a hundred years of our own time. What, I suppose, would next strike the mind of an observer comparing the present appearance of the stone with that of Mr. Burton Conyngham's drawing of it, would be, that the oblique fracture at the end is the same that he has represented. It must have existed before the flag was split in two, for it cuts equally across the upper and the lower slabs. Now it will be observed that the inscription is contained within a species of long panel, which is complete at the western end, but imperfect where the cross fracture cuts it off at the other extremity. The inscription obviously has extended beyond the line of fracture. Assuming the last word to be an adjective, like "colgae," which precedes it, there must have been at least one group more of four digits above the medial line. But O'Flanagan represents it as a complete cartouche, enclosing Mr. Conyngham's drawing, and defining the limits of his text at both ends: a very possible mistake for a draftsman to fall into on paper, considering the worn and obscure character of the surface, but the actual state of things is the last kind of arrangement that a fabricator would have designed in aid of a theory requiring a definite termination to the line of characters.

But the best defined turning-point, even if it existed, would be of no avail if the antecedent portion of the legend do not supply the needful number of digits to evolve the predetermined combinations in the back reading; and, in point of fact, if O'Flanagan was party to this forgery, he has dislocated all his back-reading, by the insertion of a digit too many. The drawing annexed to his paper shows 78 digits; his final reading requires 79; the stone actually presents 80, and obviously has borne more. But, although the agreement in number is closely approximate, and in his first reading is complete, on comparing digit with digit there appears a

wide discrepancy. In that part of the legend preceding the groups, sounding *Conaf* in O'Flanagan's copy, not fewer than seven instances occur in which characters crossing the medial line are retrenched to one side of it, and characters at one side prolonged across it. Was Mr. Burton Conyngham party to intentional misdrawing? It cannot reasonably be so supposed. The divergencies are obviously mistakes of transcription, and show very plainly that the surface in 1785 was almost as worn, and the indentations on it as faint and difficult to make out as they are at this day. In the third drawing before the Academy, these discrepancies of O'Flanagan's last reading are indicated in red ink; Lloyd's divergencies—reconstructing his text from his English,—are in like manner exhibited in blue. It is beyond measure difficult to suppose that the digits which both failed to read as they exist, were ever prepared by either, for the purpose of sustaining readings with which they so largely disagree.

It is of the nature of the charge of forgery, that when dispelled from one object, it tends to settle itself on another. Lloyd and O'Flanagan being out of the indictment, what shall we say of Comyns? It will probably occur to the minds of the Academy, that where men who used this inscription for the purpose of advancing their own reputations for ingenuity and scholarship, have been acquitted of having had any hand in its production, Comyns, who never referred to it in any writing,—for the inference that might be drawn from O'Curry's note that it is mentioned in the tale of *Torlb Mac Stairn* is quite erroneous,—and who seems to have regarded it only as the subject of a conjectural reading, may safely call for our *nolle prosequi*. In truth, the difficulty of such a fabrication would be so great, and the chances of detection so imminent, that, unless to serve the purpose of some contemplated literary fraud to be put in practice soon after its perpetration, the roguery cannot be conceived to be entertained by any reasonable being.

The features which hitherto have been relied on as casting suspicion on the inscription are, its word-divisions, its medial line, its agreement



line and in the cartouche, and partly to have been rubbed out, as in some of the digits. They appear ancient; but it seems to me that the system of writing to which they belong is not that anciently in use for lapidary work in Ireland; and I would assign them to a period within the same limits of age as our manuscript writings.

If they be in Irish (as I suppose they are) these characters express a sepulchral formula of no great antiquity. If one had to select between the third and the thirteenth century for an epitaph beginning *sub hoc lapide*, the later date would, I dare say, be the one selected. It cannot be doubted that *Conaf* is a source of immense difficulty in the way of those who would seek here the name of an Ossianic hero. The statements made to Professor O'Looney, which he will now detail, tend to show that the interment was mediæval, owing to the presence of objects in iron. See p. 171. But,—is it impossible that arms in iron should exist in a sepulchre of that age? The name *Conaf* might perhaps read *Conalb* and—resembling Irish forms of mediæval names ending in *ulf*, as *Illulb* = *Indulb*—be capable of being turned to *Conan* in the popular pronunciation.

Whatever be the result of these conjectures, and whatever shall be the ultimate judgment of men of learning on the question of the authorship of the verses cited by O'Flanagan, on which, though much persuaded to suspicion, I offer no definite opinion, I shall be well satisfied if the result of my own endeavours to get at the truth has been to relieve the memories of men who cannot now be heard in their own defence from the imputation of having fabricated the Mount Callan lapidary inscription, with a view to projected literary imposture.

PROFESSOR O'LOONEY'S STATEMENT.

“In the summer of 1844 I visited *Leaba Chonain*, i. e. the Bed of Conan, on Mount Callan in the County of Clare, and examined the Ogham-inscribed stone called *Leac Chonain*, i. e. Conan's Flag, which then covered it. This great *Leac* occupied a prominent place on the South-eastern slope of that part of Mount Callan called *Tulach na Feinne*, or hill of the Feinne or Fians, overhanging *Loch Buaille na Greine*,—i. e. the lake of the lawn of the sun,—where it rested in a half reclining position over a pile of rough unheewn stones, perhaps the remains of a *Leacht* or monumental pile, about 18 inches high at the head end, and not more than 10 inches high at foot; and over this *Leacht* rested *Leac Chonain*, Conan's Flag, with its Ogham legend, looking to the south-east over *Buaille na Greinne*.

“The *Leac* was eleven feet long, three feet wide, and one foot thick. The inscription consists of one line of what is called *Ogam Chraebh*, and runs along, nearly from end to end, on the middle of the upper face of the stone, and ends abruptly, and I believe imperfectly; a corner being lost from the stone, which appears to have been broken off at a very remote period. I copied the Ogham and made notes of the peculiar character of some of the lines as they then appeared to me. My reading of it runs thus:—

f a n, l i a, b o, l i c a, c o n a p, c o l g a c, c o r o b a b a [c] . . .



(a) Two dots not of the Ogham.

(b) An indentation in the stone, not of the Ogham.

(c) I would expect *il* (= c) here; if the stone was perfect it would then read '*corobadec*.'

"In the summer of 1859 I was asked by Mr. W. S. O'Brien for a copy of the inscription, and, before giving it to him, I went to examine the stone again, in order to secure the correctness of my copy; but when I reached the place I found that the monument had disappeared, and nothing remained of the *Leabha* (bed), and *Leacht* (pile), and the *Leac* (stone-flag) of Conan, but a shapeless hole of mud and clay, and a few loose stones scattered around the hole on the surface. In vain I looked for the stone, and could not find it. On my return I came into the village of Inagh, and, having told the story of my disappointment there, a man met me and said he knew where the stone was, and that he could tell me all about it, and how it was removed from where I first saw it. As it was then too late to go back to the mountain, I said I would like to hear his story of the removal of the stone. 'Sir,' said he, 'a poor widow in the village of Callan dreamt several times that she would find her own load of gold and other treasures in the bed of Conan, and she went at night to seek the spoils herself and her two sons; and, finding the stone too heavy to be turned off, they plied the crow-bar to an opening in its edge, and split it into two flags, and then cast it off in two parts, and in opening the bed of Conan, where they expected to find the gold, they dug up the whole grave, and left it in a shapeless pit, just as you found it. Now I will tell you about the stone,' said he. 'The under side of it was heavy, and it lodged a good bit down the hill, with its face under, and it is now bedded into the earth and covered with heath, so that you could not well notice it unless you were told about it. The upper, or inscription side was not so heavy. It went much farther down the hill, and

delay, and carried up both parts of the stone to the original site; we then closed the pit (or grave), collected all the small scattered stones, and built up the monument again as near as possible to what it was when first I saw it. We then cleaned and washed the inscription stone, and I compared my copy of the Ogham, which I found so correct that I adopted it as the true reading, and here it is:—

“FAN LIA DÔ LICA CONAF [N] COLGAC COSOBADA [C].”

“UNDER THIS STONE IS LAID CONAF [N] THE FIERCE [AND] TURBULENT.”

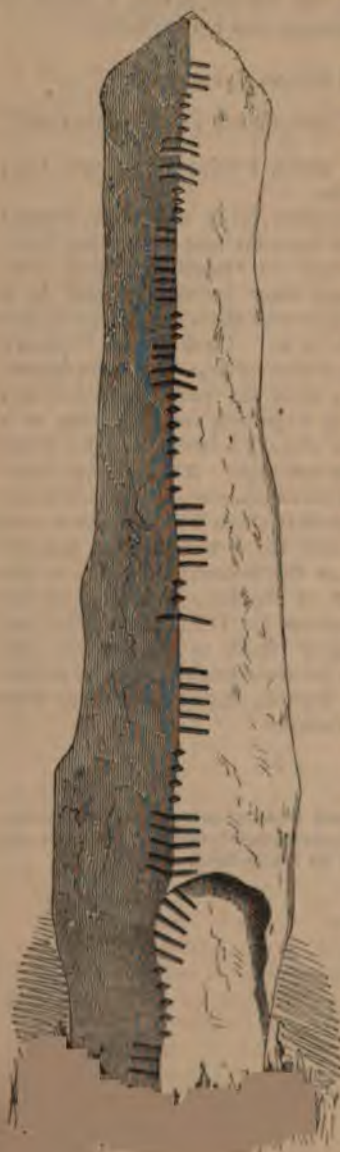
I have supplied the [c] at end, which I suppose to have been lost with the missing corner of the stone.

“The work of restoration and collation being now over, I asked if they knew whether the widow and her sons found anything in it. One man answered that she ‘*did not*,’ or ‘*could not*,’ find anything in it; that the bed was pillaged long before her time by a man named O’Flanagan, who was the first man that ever opened it, and who took away everything he found in it. I asked was it known what he *did find* in it. The man replied that he found two iron spears; one was long, and nearly eaten away with the rust; the other was short and heavy, and with them was a large iron vessel as large as a stone pot, which O’Flanagan called a *clogad* (helmet), and he found with them some small pieces of bone and iron. All those my informant characterized as *cná agus airm catha chonain mhail* (the bones and battle arms of Conan the bald). I asked if there was any person now living who saw those things. He said there was one old man in Breintre who saw them all. I went on the following Sunday to this old man, and he told me he was one of the four men who carried them out to the road on a hand-barrow for O’Flanagan; that he, O’Flanagan, told them he was bringing them to Mr. Burton, and gave them a pound-note between them for their trouble; and he added, “O’Flanagan did not bring them to Burton, but carried them with him into Ennis, and away out of the country.”

[The illustrations referred to in this paper will be found either amongst the drawings and casts preserved at the Academy, or in photographic reproductions which the Committee of Publication propose to publish in the Transactions.—ED.]

XXV.—ON AN OGHAM-INSCRIBED PILLAR-STONE AT MONATAGGART
COUNTY CORK. By RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M. R. I. A.

[Read 14th of April, 1873.]

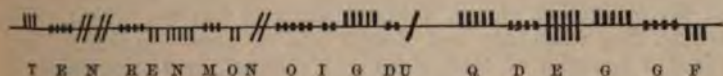


BEING at Monataggart, in the parish of Donoughmore, about fourteen miles N. W. of Cork, on the 17th of March last, I, as usual, made inquiries as to the existence of Standing Stones in the locality, particularly as to those bearing marks or scores on their angles. The farmer, Joseph Twohig, on whose land I then was, informed me that his cousin who held the adjoining farm had taken such a stone as I described, out of a cave, as he termed it, in the corner of one of his fields, and had made a gate-post of it. Though late in the evening, I at once set off to examine it, and arriving at the farm-house of Patrick Cogan, I saw a fine, tapering pillar-stone, forming the left post of a gate leading into his yard. The stone was encrusted with several coats of whitewash, through which, however, I could distinctly see traces of a long inscription. It being late in the evening, I was unable to make a proper examination of the stone or to copy the legend: particularly as it would take some time to remove the whitewash. I therefore left word that I would again visit the place, Joseph Twohig undertaking that it should be cleaned according to my directions, with a hard brush and water, and that his cousin should be in attendance to give me the necessary information as to the finding of the stone.

My second visit was paid on the 29th of the same month, when I was accompanied by Mr. James Brennan, Head Master of the Cork School of Art, who takes a deep interest in this class of our antiquities. I found that the stone had

according to my directions, been thoroughly cleansed, and that the inscription stood revealed, thoroughly legible in every score.

The monument at present stands 6 ft. 3 in. above ground; Mr. Cogan informed me that its entire length was 8 ft. 6 in. It is of irregular form and dimensions. At 2 ft. from the ground it is 18 in. by 12 in., and at the top, 6 in. by 8 in. It is rather wedge-shaped towards the back, where it is but from 5 to 6 in. thick. Its material is the hard, compact, fine-grained clay-slate, so frequently chosen by the artists of these monuments, evidently with a full knowledge of its hardness and capacity of retaining for ages the legends engraved thereon. The inscription is as usual on the left angle of the broader face; it commences at 2 ft. 10 in. from the extreme end, and 7 in. from the present ground level, and finishes within 6 in. of the top. There is a large spawl off the bottom of the stone, but this appears to be original, as the legend is perfect on the angle, and follows the curve of it, as shown on the accompanying engraving from my drawing. The characters are formed in the usual manner, the vowels being oval dots punched on the angle. The inscription is as follows:—



Every score of the legend is perfect, and there can be no mistake about the values of the characters. The first eleven letters are broadly and deeply cut, and widely spaced; the remaining ten are much more finely cut, and spaced much closer, as if the engraver found he had not sufficient room on the angle to complete as he had commenced. Between the sixth and seventh characters there is a blank space of $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., which is perfectly smooth and uninjured, but bears no trace of a letter, and evidently never had any.

The absence of the usual key-word, *magi*, is here noticeable, and raises a difficulty in the rendering of this inscription. The first five letters seem to be separated from the rest of the legend, and may form a proper name *Tenren* or *Denren*, the T and D being commutable. I acknowledge my inability to give a reasonable reading of this inscription, and much prefer making this admission, to attempting a spurious one that might lead others astray. I have no doubt, however, that gentlemen may be found who will not be intimidated, by the difficulties of an obsolete language, or the absence of divisional points, from giving a very off-hand reading of this legend. By the ingenious system of manipulation, and crucial dissection, imported into the study of this class of inscriptions, it may be made to read anything, at the prejudice or caprice of the investigator.

Ogham inscriptions are of the simplest and most straightforward of their class, there is nothing about them either cryptic or mysterious, and if we cannot read a certain number of them, the reason is, that we

are ignorant of the archaic forms of language in which they are inscribed. Far better to acknowledge that ignorance, than by weak and spurious translations to throw discredit upon the study of an important branch of our national antiquities.

The circumstances under which this stone was discovered are very curious. The spot where it was found is in a corner of a field that has a quick slope downwards. In tilling the ground the plough had frequently struck against a stone or flag, and the farmer, anxious to remove the impediment, directed his men to raise the obstacle and remove it. On attempting to do so, they found that it covered a hollow chamber, and the idea of a buried treasure immediately suggested itself to the workmen, who forthwith commenced to excavate it. They found it to be, as they explained to me, like a stone-box, about 5 ft. long by 3 ft. 6 in. wide, and 3 ft. deep, formed by two stones at each side and one at each end. It was covered by two broad flags and a narrow one at the end. The narrow one was the Ohgam-inscribed Stone and the other two were flat flags about 2 ft. to 2 ft. 4 in. wide and 5½ ft. long. Some of the flags are still on the bank in the rubbish, others were taken away and broken up. Mr. Cogan, who was present at the excavation, stated, that the chamber was nearly full of fine earth; that when they had cleared this out, near the bottom, they found a quantity of black earth and charcoal, and some pieces of "crockery," which were thrown into the rubbish and could not be found. I was particular in questioning him about the presence of the charcoal, upon which point he was positive. A young man who was present, and who had been also one of the diggers, corroborated the finding of the rich black earth and charcoal.

I saw the remains of the chamber, which is still open. Two of the large flags were *in situ*, one on each side. The dimensions of it were about what I have stated above. It is situated upon rather an abrupt slope, but close to the top of the hill. There are evident remains of a tumulus around it.

That this was a sepulchral cist there can be no doubt, for its construction, dimensions, and the finding of the black earth and charcoal are sufficient evidence. Whether the pieces of *crookery* were portions of a mortuary urn or not, I am unable to determine, as I have not seen them; but the fact of their being found in the body of the cist would lead to the inference that they were.

The question here arises, had the inscription on the monument I have described any reference to the interment in the chamber of which it was a covering stone? I should say not: the other two flags were broad and flat, and not exceeding 5½ ft. in length; this is 8½ ft. in length, and an ungainly stone for such an object. If it had been intended to complete the covering of the cist with a stone upon which a legend was to be cut, referring to the interment, a handier and more suitable one would have been provided; whereas this must have been a Dallan or pillar-stone standing in some convenient situation, and which, suiting the moment's need, was removed, and used in the

completion of this chamber. That it was a standing monument originally there can be no doubt, from its tapering form, and the fact that nearly three feet of its base is uninscribed. The clean sharp character of the letters gives us evidence of the great length of time that this must have occupied its position on the chamber where it was preserved from injury.

I have in former Papers referred to the fact, that in almost every case where Ogham-inscribed monuments have been found in the souterrains of raths, a Keel, or the site of one, has been found in its neighbourhood; this instance is not an exception, for on the adjoining townland, and only a few hundred yards distant is a fine Keel, of an oval form and large size, with other interesting remains of a pre-historic character. The townland in question takes its name from this ancient cemetery, and is called Kilcullen. There never was a church here, either in memory or tradition. I have no doubt that the Monataggart inscribed stone was removed from the Pagan Ceal I have described, and was used as a building material in the construction of the cist. At what period this appropriation took place, I leave others to conjecture, but this I believe is certain, that the Christian Gaedhil never practised cremation. I commend this inscription to the attention of Irish scholars conversant with the language of our earliest MS. I would also advise them not to be misled by ideas of inversion, concealed meanings, phonetic puzzles, and such like. The ancient race who at Ballycrovane, on the shore of Kenmare bay, procured a huge, rough monolith, 25 ft. in length, and who inscribed on it in bold archaic characters the simple memorial of a revered warrior or chieftain's death, and who at immense labour reared this great monument, still standing 17½ ft. above ground, a memorial for all ages, were not the people likely to mock the memories of the death by such childish devices.

XXVI.—ON THE COMPLETION OF THE BILITERAL KEY TO THE VALUES OF THE LETTERS IN THE SOUTH BRITISH OGHAM ALPHABET. By SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL. D., Q. C., Vice-President.

[Read November 29, 1873].

THERE are three principal groups of Ogham-inscribed monuments in the British islands: viz.—the Irish, the Scottish or North British, and the Welsh and Devonian, which I designate in this paper as the South British.

These last differ from the Scottish examples in this, that they always present their vowels in the form of notches on the angles of the inscribed pillars, and the same is also almost universally the case in the Irish lapidary examples; whereas the Scottish legends—without exception, that I am aware of—present their vowels in the form of digits crossing the arris or stem line. This latter method, singularly enough, is the one universally observed, so far as I know, in Irish manuscripts; and as these are obviously less ancient than most, if not all, of the South British legends, an inference arises that, of the three groups, the Scottish probably is the most recent. What gives to the South British Oghams their claim to this higher antiquity is the almost universal presence of correlative inscriptions in Roman characters, which are recognised as belonging to periods not long subsequent to the Roman occupation. The fact of these Roman epigraphs being found to designate the same names which are commemorated in their Oghamic contexts further gives to the South British Oghams the distinction of being to a great extent self contained, as carrying their key within themselves.

From the time when it was observed that the Oghamic groups on the inscribed pillar at St. Dogmael's, corresponded to the proper names *Sagrani* and *Cunotami* (and in the form *magi* to the word *fili*), inscribed on the adjoining flat surface in Roman letters, it became evident that such a key to the value of all the South British Oghams might be looked for in the probable discovery of other biliteral legends of a like character. This expectation was, to a great extent, fulfilled by the discovery of the Llanfechan and Trallong legends, which exhibit in associated Roman and Ogham characters the names *Trenacat* and *Cunacen*, together with what appears to be in the former the equivalent of *fili* in the Oghamic form *fil*, and in the latter, of *jacet* in the seemingly equivalent bilingual form of *ffeto*, where, not impossibly, the double *ff* may have the power of *j*.

It will be seen from these agreements that the Oghamic letters A, C, E, G, I, M, N, O, R, S, T, U are directly vouched by the same process that identifies the phonetic hieroglyphs of the cartouches with their alphabetic equivalents on the Rosetta Stone; that F and L are inferentially ascertained by assuming *fil* to represent the Latin *fili* (an argument in the case of L which seems corroborated by the presumable

equivalence of *lo* in the *Trenacatus* legend to "*locus*"); and that the force of *q* is inferred from its making up with its associated characters already known the Irish equivalent of *filius* in its form *magi*; but that *p*, *d*, and *b*, remain unidentified.

The fact that so large a proportion of the British Ogham alphabet, ascertained by these independent tests, is found to correspond with the traditionary Ogham key preserved in Ireland would justify the inference that the few remaining unproved characters are also the same in both. But further research, and a closer examination of other Ogham texts remaining in South Wales and Devonshire, enable us to altogether dispense with inference, and establish by evidence as direct in the case of these as of the others, what are their Oghamic equivalents in the alphabets of both countries.

The proofs are derived partly from Ogham-inscribed biliteral monuments in South Wales, the existence of which has been made known by Professor Westwood in his valuable papers in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*; and partly from independent observation in South Wales and Devonshire.

I begin with the letter *p*. It is one of the difficulties which they who contend for the recent origin of Ogham writing have to surmount that, while the Ogham seems to follow the Latin alphabet in giving equivalents for both *c* and *q*, it omits from its regular paradigm the letter *p*,—a character very conspicuous in Latin texts,—and expresses it only by a supplemental combination. Before I had acquired the art of securing the certainty of such texts by making casts in paper, I gave a diligent study to the *Turpill* inscription at Crickhowel, in Monmouthshire, and indicated the result soon after to the Academy. On the arrises of this pillar, now erected in Usk Park, near Crickhowel, there exist the remains of the Ogham legend which formerly gave an echo to the names in the Latin epigraph on the flat of the stone:—*Turpilli ic iacit pverri trilevi Denocati*. This use of the genitive, which will strike most ears as ungrammatical, is so frequent in similar sepulchral texts as to lead to the supposition that the "*hic jacet*" is put in the concrete, and governs the subject name as one noun governs another. *Turpill*, the principal name, may, from the analogy of the other "*biliterals*," be expected to be found amongst the Oghams; and here in fact, the already ascertained letters, *t u r*, followed, after an intermediate character, by the digits, which (if "*fil*" be the equivalent of *filius*), would stand for *xl*, and which again precede the remains of the patronymical formula leading up to another intermediate followed by *nn*, actually occur. The first intermediate characters seem of necessity to be the equivalent of *p*. It is indicated, not as in some of the Irish manuscript keys by a flat *i*, but by the combination of two oblique lines intersecting one another, in form of a St. Andrew's cross, under the line of the arris. The second intermediate, commencing the name of the father, of which *nn* is still traceable, may, with nearly equal confidence, be assumed to be the *p* of *Duncad* or some such equivalent of the Latin *Dunocatus*. I proceed, however, to an identification of *p*, which is more satisfactory,

inasmuch as it is vouched not by fallible observation and oral report of past impressions, but by a cast (made by myself and Mr. Burchett in 1872) of the very monument bearing the inscription, and which for the purposes of this inquiry is substantially of the same authenticity as if we stood before the original, where it now lies in the farm yard of Mr Bowen, at Dygoed, near Newcastle-Evelyn, in Pembrokeshire.

A drawing of this stone, with its inscribed cross and biliteral inscriptions, has been communicated by Professor Westwood to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, where it will be found in the volume for June, 1860, p. 227.

Accurate as the draftsman is, he has failed to take in the concluding portion of the Ogham legend running along the left arris of the stone; and has also omitted to observe the traces of a composite letter or siglum (which may, however, have been taken for the *r* of *filius*), existing on the flat, and, with the Roman characters, *non*, conspicuous in the drawing, completing some form of the name *Dobtac*. This name, the correlative Ogham presents in the form of *obt(a)ceos*, preceded by a character, which must necessarily be the *p* of which we are in quest, being in fact the well known equivalent of that letter in Irish Oghams, but only now independently identified among those of South Britain. Were we looking for the corresponding name in a classical context, we might expect some such form as the *Divitiacus* of Cæsar; but the *ð* of the Latin epigraph is evidently unaspirated, and the composite character of siglum remaining, resolves itself but obscurely into anything more than *TEQ*. Traces exist from which we might believe that the artist had succeeded in rolling into one alphabetic chimera all the letters *TAQEO*, making *Dobtaqueo* in the dative: but the indentations are too much worn for affirming this positively, and indeed are so faint that few eyes could discern them otherwise than by the aid of the cast held in a favorable light. The photogram, however, which I exhibit to the Academy, taken from the cast, so placed as to develop so much of the legend as time has left, places the existence of the siglum beyond question, and justifies the conclusion, that the name conveyed by the Ogham on the arris is the same as that inscribed in the Latin characters on the flat, and is some form in both of *Duftac*, which is all the most critical inquirer will demand to establish the power, as *p*, of the Oghamic initial.

It will be observed that one of the digits of the fifth group on the arris is prolonged across the face of the stone, and that there insist on and depend from it several apparently Oghamic digits, two of which are, in like manner, prolonged towards the cross-inscribed circle at the top. Whether these also may not be phonetic, seems a debateable question, inasmuch as instances are not wanting of digits issuing from digits on other lapidary Oghams. I would refer for examples, to one of the inscribed pillars at Killeen-Cormac, and to the great Ogham inscription at Kilbonane, in Kerry (of which photograms from casts are presented); and notably—but with the caution to be observed in all cases of eye-sketches—to the inscribed bead published by Mr. Williams in the *Kilkenny Archæological Society's Journal* (vol. I., 2nd Ser. p. 339).

But I do not profess to obtain any intelligible result from these Tycoed "Sub-Virgates," which, if they express anything, might be expected to yield the second name in the epigraph, that is *Volengus*, in some such form as *Bolenc*; or, (if Mr. Rhys have succeeded in finding the *Vitalianus* of the *Nevern* inscription (*Archæ. Camb.*, 1873, p. 387), associated with an Ogham yielding the name *Fiteliani*), in the form *Folenc*. Indeed there is some difficulty in saying that the terminal character of the epigraph is not s, and the inscription itself *Dobtego*, or *Dobtageo filius volens*. The pagan formula, however, seems irreconcilable with the Christian decoration of the monument, and I would incline, notwithstanding the obscurity of the terminal vowel, to accept Professor Westwood's reading of *Volengi*, noticing its resemblance to Conang, Dunlang, and other old Irish proper names, having the same termination. That the decoration is Christian cannot reasonably be doubted when we compare the general style of the sculpture with the Aglish Ogham in our Museum, of which a cast and photogram also are exhibited.

The value of this inscription, although unaccompanied by any Ogham, as corroborative of the proofs already adduced, consists in this, that the name or designation which it presents is "echoed," so to speak, in a great number of instances by Irish Ogham texts read by the same key. The first of these, which for many years has been in the Academy's lapidary museum, comes from Corkaguinny in Kerry. It bears the legend *Maggi Decedda* on one side, and *Maggi Catufi(r)* on the other. The second lies in that rich repository of Ogham inscriptions, the disused burying ground of Ballintaggart, near Dingle, also in Kerry. Its legend reads on one side *Magi Deccod(a)*, and on the other *Cagosi Ceccudo(ros)*. The third is at Killeen-Cormac in Kildare; noticed by Mr. Shearman in our Proceedings (vol. ix. p. 253).

This argument has lately been pressed on the attention of Welsh archaeologists by our associate Mr. Brash, who has compared the Irish examples with the legend *io jacet Maccodecetti* at Penros Llygwy in Anglesea. But it has been assumed, that the Penros monument commemorates a known personage, Machutus son of Ecwyd. Such an explanation seems difficult of application to the very Irish sounding *Sarin*, as I would read it, of the *Maccodecheti* monument at Tavistock. What may be the meaning of the name or designation I do not pretend to explain. If it were confined to Ireland one might suppose it to designate a person of a particular family, as in the case, for example, of Duftac Maculugar, the cotemporary of St. Patrick; but it is hard to conceive how the family of the clan Degaid could have spread into Anglesea and Devon; unless indeed it should appear that they were a family in religion, and that the formula indicates an order.

Another echo, so to speak, from a Welsh text, of the formula *magi mucod*, of very frequent occurrence in Irish Oghams, is found on the Bridell inscription also near Clydai in Pembrokeshire. This is a much worn and very faint text, and has exercised the eyes and fingers of many students. The context of a part of the inscription in which

the characters *magi* and *coi* are discernible suggested to Mr. Brash to look for the letters *mu* in the intermediate space; and there do exist there certain digits and notches which may very well be the remains of these characters; and which, I think, ought so to be accepted, adding one further link to the chain of identification.

There remains one other example of this kind of detached "bilateral" in the inscribed stone now in the Lapidary Museum of the Academy from the cave at Glanavullin, near Cork. It is one of the Windel Collection recently acquired by the Academy. It bears the name "*Ulcagni*," being seemingly one of those humiliatory designations to the use of which, amongst the western Christians of the third and fourth century, M. le Blant has drawn attention in the *Revue Archéologique*. Whatever be its signification, its use in this argument depends on the fact that from the south of Ireland it echoes the name *Ulcagni*, found in Roman characters on two of the early inscribed stones of Wales; and although the echo comes from a distance, the inference that the one legend is the Oghamic equivalent of the other can hardly, after what we have seen, be considered less strong than if we had the two texts side by side on the same monument.

The questions remain: Whence came these Oghamic texts among the people of South Britain? Did they impart them to the Irish, or the Irish to them? Are these texts, or some of them, pre-Augustinian and pre-Patrician respectively; or are they the memorials in both countries of the Irish religious zeal of the sixth and succeeding centuries? I do not at present attempt to answer these questions; but I may be allowed to say that it would be difficult to propose a subject more worthy of the consideration of British and Irish scholars.

[On the subject of this paper, see also that which follows next.—ED.]

XXVII.—ON THE COLLATERAL EVIDENCES CORROBORATING THE BILITERAL KEY TO THE SOUTH BRITISH OGHAM ALPHABET. By SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL. D., Q. C., Vice-President.

[Read December 8, 1873.]

On the last night of meeting I referred to six examples of biliteral inscriptions in South Britain, in Roman and Ogham characters, from which I deduced the powers of the several letters in that school of Ogham writing. There are two others which I was prepared to have laid before the Academy, but I abstained from doing so, seeing that the time then at our disposal would probably be better occupied. These I ask leave to refer to now, not only as additional vouchers for the letters E, N, O, R and T, but as suggestive of some collateral considerations which may not be without interest for the Academy.

The former of these exists at the church of Clydai, about eight miles north of Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire. Clydai was also the original site of the *Dufl(a)ceos* stone (of which I exhibited a cast on the last evening). The top of the pillar has been cut down to form a seat for a sun-dial, and the upper portion of the Ogham text (which formerly commenced on one side, ran round the head, and down the site side) is consequently lost. The beginning and ending *Ettern (c)tor*, correspond with the Latin epigraph *Eterni fili victor*. The double consonant of the Ogham is observable here as in the Llanfechan example, where the *Trenacatus* of the Latin text is represented by the Oghamic *Trenecatt*. These differences have been noticed and relied on as arguments for the earlier existence of the Ogham, the suggestion being that some Roman having discovered the key, took this mode of supplying a lapidary gloss; but I feel equal difficulty in accepting this as I do in admitting the other theory, that in some cases a further element was subsequently introduced by the superaddition of the Christian symbols. Where sculptured objects are found together on such a monument, the *prima facie* presumption is that they were executed simultaneously; and the rule of evidence, "*Stabitur præsumptione donec probitur in contrarium*," although it be inelegant in, embodies the experience of mankind in every inquiry after truth; nothing in the way of proof, or even, I think, of probability, has as yet been advanced in support of either suggestion.

Observing on the *Turpill* inscription, I noticed its seemingly ungrammatical structure, of which another example will be noticed below the Cilgerarn "biliteral." The Clydai inscription also invites a like observation. *Victor* in both texts seems to be treated as indeclinable. Mr. Ash, who has accurately read what remains of the legend, conceives that, complete, it would present an Oghamic R as the equivalent of the Latin V. In this I have reason to believe his conjecture is likely to be con-

firmed: for I observe that the discovery of two new "biliterals," in Denbighshire and Pembrokeshire respectively, into each of which the Latin *v* enters, is announced in the October number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*; and, so far as my knowledge extends, the only probable equivalents would be either *f* or *s* aspirated. But I have never seen an Oghamic *h* on any lapidary monument, either of the South British or of the regular Irish type; so that the elements of an aspirated *s*—if that were the equivalent,—do not, so far, appear to exist. I may add this absence of *h*, so far observed, as an additional difficulty in deriving the Ogham from the Latin alphabet; but with the caution, that the negative inference, "*de non apparentibus*," is presumption in its weakest form, and is liable to be displaced by the discovery, at any moment, of positive evidence to the contrary.

The other pretermitted example exists at Cilgerran, about three miles north of Clydai, on the south bank of the Teivy; a spot which will always be interesting to the lover of elegant literature, as the subject of one of Sir William Jones' lyrics:—

"How gay is the circle of friends round a table
Where stately Cilgerran o'erhangs the brown dale."

Here, as at Clydai, Professor Westwood had already noticed the fact that faint traces of Ogham exist on the arris of the great pillar in the churchyard, which bears on its flat the Roman legend *Trenegussi filii Maccutreni ie jacit*. In the summer of 1872 I had this pillar raised, and took the cast of it, of which I now present a photogram. The Ogham is exceedingly faint, even in the fragmentary parts of it that remain. But these fragments are of some value. First, the remains of *a* in the principal name, confirm the sagacious conjecture of Professor Westwood, that the Latin name is *Trenegussi*, although the *g* there is all but illegible. Secondly, enough exists to show that the Oghamic form is, in this case, the short, or, as I may say, the colloquial *Trengus*, as *Angus*, *Hungus*, *Congus*, while the ceremonial form, if I may so express myself, of the name is presented in the inflated Latin *Trenegussus*. This seems an exception to the ordinary practice in Oghamic writing, in which the frequency of such forms as, for example, *Cunagussos* for *Congus*, *Cunacenna* for *Cyngen*, has led the Bishop of Limerick to regard such suffarcinations as peculiar to the system. The form *Maccutreni* in this legend will strike most ears as Irish-Celtic; and in this connection I may observe that, in presence of the historic evidences tending to establish an early Irish occupation of this region of South Wales (*Hist. Nennii*, c. 8, *Pet.* 56), considerable difficulty will probably attend the efforts of those scholars who would ascribe the disappearance of such forms from Welsh literature to the operation of abstract philological laws.

After the direct identifications so far established, it may be thought that corroborative proofs are hardly necessary. But (considering how reluctant some of us still are to admit that a demonstration has been effected) it is better to leave as little room for doubt as possible, where

further confirmation is at hand. It was primarily in search of a monument offering the same form of patronymic as last observed on, that I visited Tavistock last Autumn, when I had the good fortune to discover the missing *b* in the unexpected legend on the stone of Dobrunn, son of Enabarr. Mrs. Bray's "Borders of the Tamar," had acquainted me with the fact that a monument bearing the name *Maccodecheti* existed there in the grounds of the vicarage. I extract the interesting account of its preservation and removal, from the same agreeable letter of Mr. Bray, "From the library to the drawingroom," already used for a like account of the stone of *Enabarr*:—

"Having learnt from Polwhele's 'History of Cornwall' (for I had not then seen his History of Devon), that an inscribed stone existed at Buckland Monachorum, distant from Tavistock about four miles, I went thither on the 28th of September, 1804, with no other clue to its discovery than that it was close to the 'churchyard.' On my arrival at the village I inquired for the sexton, thinking that he was the most likely person to give the information. He . . . smiled, and said, 'I suppose, sir, that must be it behind your back.' I turned round and perceived, within a few paces from me, the subject of my inquiry. It served as a coigne to a blacksmith's shop, adjoining the entrance to the churchyard.

"In the course of the year 1831 (for I have mislaid my memorandum of it), on again visiting Buckland, I found that the blacksmith's shop had recently been taken down, and the stone in question was lying with its inscription exposed towards the street, with the possibility of it being worn, if not obliterated, by every passing wheel. On applying to Sir Ralph Lopez as lord of the manor (intimating that I had in my possession already a stone of probably the same era), he most kindly made me a present of it. I sent, therefore, a waggon with three horses, together with what is here called a jack, an engine for lifting it. But I nearly ran the risk of sending them in vain; for the tenants then assembled at the Court Baron refused to let my servant touch it, till, fortunately, the lord himself arrived, and removed the embargo. It was brought by a circuitous route of more than five miles to avoid some precipitous hills, and erected, as before noticed in my garden. . . . Polwhele is of opinion that (as well

as many other of the same description) it originally stood within the precincts of a pagan temple, where, in consequence of the reputed sanctity of the spot, was subsequently erected a Christian church. I hope, however, that I may not be accused of the guilt of sacrilege in removing it, for it certainly deserves a better fate than to be applied to such 'base uses' as to be a 'buttress' or a 'coigne of vantage' to the 'castle' of any modern *Meleager*; nay, what is worse, than to be laid prostrate in the street. It might, even at best, have been appropriated to the purpose of a gate-post, as is actually the case with another inscribed stone in the neighbourhood; and, indeed (of which more hereafter), this, or something of a similar description, seems to have been its original destination: for even in the midst of the inscription is a cavity, in the form of an oblong square which possibly may have been cut for the reception of a latch or bar. Its obelisk form is more apparent when viewed laterally; as, at the back, which is of smoother and blacker surface (probably caused by the contact of a contiguous stratum), it is rather scarcely gathered to a point; seemingly, however, more by nature than by art.

"Polwhele, even in his 'History of Devon,' presents us only with some few particulars as to the nature and dimensions of the stone, but not with the inscription. As he is not quite exact in the dimensions, I here give them. Its height, as it at present stands, is 7 feet 2½ inches. Its breadth at the bottom is 17, at the top 14 inches. From the top to the beginning of the inscription are 2 feet 1½ inches. And the cavity is 8 inches long and 2½ deep.

"This, and other similar monuments, he imagines to have been Romano-British, and to have been erected to the memory of 'a Christianized Roman.' I should rather consider it as the memorial of a Romanized Briton, previous perhaps to the introduction of Christianity into this island. There is no cross, nor any request to pray for the soul

of the departed, which are so commonly found on the sepulchral monuments of the early, or rather Romanized Christians.

"The inscription may be read (*sepulchrum sive memoria*) *Sabini filii Maccodecheti*; of which the translation, I conceive, may be (the grave, the gravestone, or to the memory) of Sabinus the son of Maccodechetus.

"From the cavity or mortise, above alluded to, nearly in the centre of it, and calculated to receive a bar, I am inclined to think that this might be one of the stones of an ancient barrier, erected, not improbably, at a spot set apart for the celebration of public games.

"We first hear of this stone, where, perhaps, it was originally placed, at Buckland Monachorum, or Monk's Buckland, and close to the churchyard. I think it could not have been converted to the purpose of a gate-post (as is another stone in that neighbourhood), subsequent to the inscription; as the letters, by being lessened in size, have been made to accommodate themselves to the interruption occasioned by the cavity. Nor is it likely that so large and lofty a stone would originally have been selected for a common gate-post, whilst, on the other hand, its size and height would naturally have recommended it in constructing a grand barrier to regulate the public games."

It now remains to account for the letter *b* only, in order to have a complete identification by "biliteral" phonetic values of all the characters that make up the South British Oghamic alphabet.

This has been accomplished through the discovery, in August of the present year, of a new biliteral at Tavistock, in Devonshire, about fifteen miles from Fardel, in the same county, where was found, many years ago, the great Romano-Oghamic inscription now deposited at the British Museum, and hitherto regarded as the only English example outside the principality. The Fardel stone is rich in Romanized names—*Sagrani*, *Fanoni*, *Maquirini*—but its associated Oghams, save to the extent of the *Magi*, are uncomformable, and contribute nothing further to the key. Not so the Tavistock example. Its original site was in the neighbourhood of Buckland Monachorum (already well known for its inscriptional riches), within about ten miles, across Dartmoor, from Fardel, on the western outskirts of Roborough Down.

The Latin inscription on the stone, which I shall call the Buckland biliteral, was observed upwards of forty years ago, by the Rev. E. A. Bray, Vicar of Tavistock, and described by him, in a letter "from the library to the drawingroom," by way of contribution to his wife's charming account of the borders of the Tamar and Tavy, which was published in the form of a series of letters addressed to the poet Southey in 1836. Mr. Bray's account of this and of the other inscribed stones he describes is highly interesting, not only as a contribution to learning, but as an example of investigation pursued with delight alike to the inquirer and the reader.

He says:—

"There is a stone, which may be found by following the lane leading from the rock on Roborough Down to Buckland Monachorum till you come to a turning on the right hand that will bring you to a field, of which it forms the gate-post. I am thus particular in my directions, as, in searching for it myself, I rambled without success for miles, and that, too, for several days, having received no further information than that it was a stone in a hedge near Roborough Down.

"The inscription contains three names; but it may be doubted whether they all are the names of individual persons, or whether one may not be of a professional, and another a local description.

"Various interpretations have suggested themselves. Some of these I shall mention and leave the reader to determine for himself.

"The grave-stone—' of Dobunnius Faber, the son of Enabarrus.'

— ' of Dobunnius the smith,' &c.

— ' of Faber, one of the Dobuni,' &c.

"If, instead of being a variety in spelling, the reduplication of N signifies the gen. pl., namely Duboniorum, the figure Ξ might purposely be used for two instead of II, but the latter should be taken for the gen. sing. of a person. As there seems to be some trace of letters at the end of the first line, these might indicate that he was of the second cohort of the Dobuni.

"Whether, therefore, the name on this stone be that of an individual or of a nation, it certainly is of British origin. It is by no means improbable that the spot near which it stands (in the vicinity of Roberorough rock) might have been a military station for the Romans or their auxiliaries and allies, as, from its elevation, it commands an extensive horizon, including the beacons of Brent Tor, and other Tors on Dartmoor, and is also within a few miles of Tamerton, probably the ancient Tamare.

"In order to get what, I believe, is technically called 'a rubbing,' I have gone over and over again to the spot where the stone is situated, amply provided with silver paper (it ought, I am told, to have been tea paper), black-lead, and brushes of various kinds. But, sometimes owing to the wind, and sometimes to the rain, I was never able to take anything like an impression, and was forced, therefore, to content myself with different sketches in pencil, of which I have tried to select the best.

"With a hope of succeeding better at my leisure, and perhaps, also, with the assistance of the sun, when at a certain point in its course, it would illumine only the surface and throw the letters into shade

I set on foot a negotiation for its transfer to my garden, as a companion to my two other stones. But though antiquarian covetousness was seconded by beauty, in the person of one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Buller, who resides near the spot, the farmer was inexorable, and it there remains as a gate-post to his field.

"I must be allowed to state that on the reverse of the inscription may be seen G. C. It will add but little to the presumption of my former conjectures, if I venture to suggest whether this may not stand for *Galba Cesare*."

Following the indications given by Mr. Bray, I found that the stone was no longer in the place described, and what had become of it was unknown; but it was known that another Buckland Monument, bearing the inscription *Sarini fili Maccodecheti* also described by him, (and of which hereafter) had been removed to the vicarage grounds at Tavistock, and as the latter had even greater interest for me than the stone of Dobunnius, I proceeded thither. In the vicarage grounds I was fortunate enough to find both, and while examining the *Maccodecheti* legend, my companion—Mrs. Ferguson in fact, to whose better eyes I owe almost all my discoveries in this way—detected the remains of the Ogham hitherto unnoticed on the "biliteral." The stone is greatly worn, but the substantial part of the name *Enabarr* is still traceable both in the Roman epigraph and in the associated Oghams on the aris. Here then was the long sought completion by the Rosetta process of the values of all the letters of the Oghamic alphabet as formerly in use in South Britain.

The inscription is remarkable as being all in Roman capitals, a criterion thought to bespeak a higher antiquity than where capitals and minuscules are intermingled, as is the case in most of the "biliterals" of South Wales.

I present a cast and photogram of this interesting monument.

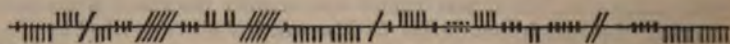
XXVIII.—ON TWO OGHAM-INSCRIBED STONES FROM TINNAHALLY, Co. KERRY. By RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M. R. I. A.

[Read December 8, 1873.]

THE Megalithic Department of our Museum has recently received some important additions, through the instrumentality of our respected brother Academician, Dr. Samuel Ferguson, consisting of a number of Ogham-inscribed stones, lately in possession of the widow of the late Mr. John Windele. Two of these memorials I have now the honour of bringing before the notice of our Academy. In 1848, Mr. J. Windele, being on an antiquarian tour in Kerry, stopped at Mr. Foley's inn, at Kilorglin, where he was shown by the proprietor an Ogham-inscribed stone, which he stated had been found in a rath on his farm at Tinnahally, parish of Kilorglin (Ordnance Map, sheet 57). Subsequently, another was found in the same spot; and both were removed by Mr. Windele to his residence, near Cork, where I first saw and copied them. The rath was named Lisnareabah.

No. 1.

This is a fine monolith, of a hard, compact clay-slate, measuring 7 ft. 6 in. in length, 15 in. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. at bottom, and 13 in. by 9 in. at top. The inscription commences on the left angle, continues round the head, and down the opposite angle of the same face. The characters are all well cut and legible, with a few exceptions, as follows:—


 ANCMFUR UDDR AN NMAQUICULIG ENN

The first score of the *inmagi* is on the left angle, close to the top, and the other four were on the head of the stone, and are obliterated; the *c* which follows is also on the head of the stone, very much worn, and now scarcely traceable, at least in the light afforded by their present location in the crypt of the Academy House. When I copied it in the open air at Mr. Windele's residence, this letter was quite legible. Between the *c* and *e* is a space of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, now void, and showing a spawl knocked off. This may have been an original fracture, and may have been passed over by the engraver. The entire reads as follows:—

ANCM FURUDDRANN THE SON OF CULIGENN

The first four characters are a *crux*. The formula *AN* and *ANM* have

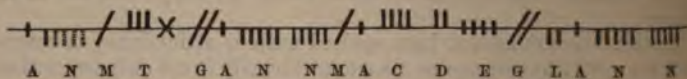
been found on several monuments, and have been supposed to be the initials of *anam*, which signifies "life," "soul." I cannot, however, perceive what bearing this word can have upon such inscriptions as the above. They are more probably the initials of *anaim*, which expresses "to wait, stay, remain, dwell, rest" (O'Reilly, *Ir. Diet.*); and equivalent to our modern "here rests," or, "here lies." We have also "*Ann*, there, therein, in the said place" (O'Brien). This *ANCM*, however, is a solitary instance, and I cannot offer any conjecture as to its meaning.

The name *FURUDDRANN*, here spelled with a redundancy of consonants, is a very interesting one, as we can identify it not only on another monument from the same locality, but also in our annals and hagiologies. In 1849, an Ogham-inscribed stone was discovered at Gortamaccaree, and on the ascent of Knocknagappul mountain, which bore the inscription *NOAR MAQI FARUDRAN*. The "*Annals of the Four Masters*" have the following notices of persons bearing this name: A. D. 642—"Furadran, son of Bec, son of Cuanach, chief of Ui-Mic-Uais, died." A. D. 901—"Furadhran, son of Garbhan, Prior of Cill-Achaidh, died." A. D. 962—"Furadhran, son of Bece, Lord of Dearlas, was slain by the Cinel-Eoghain." The death of "Furadran, son of Bec, son of Cuana," is noted in the "*Chronicon Scotorum*," at A. D. 643. This individual was descended from Colla-Uais, A. D. 336, according to a genealogy quoted by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, in his *Ecc. Ant. of Down and Connor*, p. 297. In a topographical poem by John O'Dugan, published in the collection of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Societies, we find the name of O'Furadhran mentioned as chief over Fionnros, and in a note, No. 213, the editor states: "*Fionn-Ross*.—This was the original name of the district now called The Rosses, situated in the barony of Boylegh and county of Donegal. O'Furadhran is now made Farren or Forren." The above is a remarkable instance of the succession of the same names in a family, as we find Furadhran and Bec at the dates 642 and 962. I cannot presume to identify the name in this legend; such an attempt would be futile, seeing that it was one widely diffused, from the remote wilds of Kerry to the northern highlands of Donegal.

The patronymic appears to me to read *CULIGENN*. The characters forming the name are quite distinct; and, as I have before remarked, there is a blank space between the letters *e* and *r*, which at present shows no scores, the angle appearing to be damaged; and it may have been occupied by a second *e* (double consonants being almost the rule in Ogham names), or, as I before observed, the damage may have been original, and the artist may have passed the space over when engraving the legend. I think, however, there can be little doubt but that the name is *Culigenn*, an archaic form of *Coligan*, a name still frequent in the south of Ireland, and found in the "*Annals of the Four Masters*," in the forms of *Colcenn* and *Colgan*.

No. 2.

A pillar of clay-slate, rough and irregular in form, 7 ft. 4 in. in length, 18 in. by 9 in. at bottom, and 15 in. by 14½ in. at top. The inscription commences on the left angle, 2 ft. 6 in. from the lower end, and is completed on the front angle of the head, as follows:—



The principal part of this inscription is perfect, boldly and deeply cut, the first four characters alone being partially damaged. The *a* is perfect. Only one score of the *n* remains, the rest being carried away by a fracture. The *m* is perfect, and also the *t*. A copy made by Mr. Windele previous to its removal shows the formula *ANM* as then perfect. It is probable that seventy miles of land-carriage, from Kilerclin to Cork, on a common cart, over hilly roads, and rough handling with crow-bars, may have damaged the inscriptions on these venerable monuments. We have next the *x* character, fulfilling no function that I can discern excepting that of dividing the inscription, as after it we have the name of the individual commemorated, *GANN*, a name of the mythic period. He was a king of the Firbolg dynasty, and one of the five chiefs of that people when they invaded Ireland. They were brethren, and their names are given as *Slainge*, *Ruraidhe*, *Gann*, *Geanann*, and *Seangann*. They were sons of *Dela*, the son of *Loich*, and their pedigree is given in the Book of Lecain, up to *Neimhid*.

A passage from the Book of Ballymote, as translated by the late Professor Connellan, states, that *Gann* and *Seangann* landed at *Inbher Dubhglaise*, in the county Kerry, with 2,000 men, and that in the division of Ireland among the five chiefs, the province of Munster fell to the lot of *Gann* and *Seangann*; the former possessing the land from *Comar-na-attri-n-Uisge*, "The Confluence of the Three Waters," now Waterford Harbour, to *Bealach Conglais*, now Cork Harbour; and the latter having his dominions from thence to Limerick (B. B. fol. 16, L. L. fol. 277). The bardic traditions thus connect the name of *Gann* with the southern districts of Munster; and as it probably became a usual one, we need not be surprised at meeting with it on one of these archaic memorials.

It will also be remembered that in a paper read before the Academy on January 23rd, 1871, "On an Ogham-inscribed stone at Kilbonane, county of Kerry," I gave some evidence of the existence of the name *Gann*, in one of the inscriptions to be found on that remarkable monument (R. I. A. Proc., Ser. ii. vol. 1, p. 27). The name is also preserved in several land denominations, as *Seartagannon*, near Doneraile, county Cork. In the Index Nominum of the "Annals of the Four Masters" we meet the name but once in the above form.

that of *Mac Cann*, it occurs frequently. As McCann and McGann, still a living one, often met with. We can recognise this in the Gaulish forms of Ganna (*Gruter*, 853, 9), and Gannica (*ibid.*, 201).

We have here *Mac*, the nominative case, in place of the usual *re*, *Maqi*. The patronymic is *Deglann*, a well recognised name associated with the province of Munster. Declan or Deglan was the saint of the Decies, and flourished at Ardmore, in the fifth century. It is curious that there is no notice of this remarkable name either in the "Annals of the Four Masters" or in the *Icon Scotorum*."



XXIX.—ON AN OGHAM-INSCRIBED STONE FROM MOUNT MUSIC

By R. R. BRASH, M.R.I.A.

[Read February 23, 1874]



THIS interesting monument, in the annexed engraving, drawing, was discovered by Mr. John Windele, of Corl in a small rocky field on the of Knockourane (*Cnoc-oran*, Hill of Song"), in the parish of Michael, about five miles south of Macroom. The locality was on the Ordnance Survey No. 82. Mr. Windele's first impression of this stone was received from M. O'Driscoll, P.P., in the year 1847. In that year he visited it, and by the late Mr. Abraham Abell and again in 1848. It was subsequently purchased by Mr. Windele, farmer on whose ground it was removed to his residence. It is now in the possession of his widow.

It is a nearly square pillar of hard-grained clay-slate, five feet six inches in length, and nine inches at the centre. The edges are not sharp, being slightly rounded, probably from weather wear and rubbing of cattle. The inscription occupies one angle, commencing about six inches from the bottom of the stone and is continued close to the top. It contains twenty-five letters, all perfectly legible with the exception of the stone letter, the vowel A, which is worn and not expressed. The characters are generally broadly and deeply cut, and the extreme hardness of the material will account for the present condition of an inscription which is supposed to have always stood in the open air.

There can be no doubt but that the engravers of Ogham inscriptions had a thorough knowledge of the nature of the material on which they worked.

invariably selected the hardest stones. This I can testify after personal examination of 140 of those monuments. It is quite evident that this knowledge must have been the result of extended experience.

The inscription obviously reads:—

ANNACCANNI MAQUI AILLUATTAN =

(Stone) of Annaccann the son of Ailluattan.

ANNACCANN. The name of the person here commemorated we can identify under the form of *Aenagan*, in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at A. D. 878, 893, 898, and also in the form of *Eignechan*, an ancestor of the O'Donnells. *Eignechan*, the son of *Dalach*, their progenitor, died in the year 902, or, according to the "Annals of the Four Masters," in 901. Welsh bardism gives us a mythic personage, *Einagan Gawr*. An examination of the proper names found on Ogham-inscribed monuments, will throw considerable light on the archaic forms of many names to be found in our historic annals. The modern forms are *Hannagan* and *Hanigan*, a name frequently to be met with in the south of Ireland.

AILLUATTAN, the other name in the inscription, appears to equate with one remarkable in the Tuath de Danaan pedigrees, *Ealladan*, or *Eiathan*; he is described in the "Book of Lecan," fol. 280, as the son of *Dealbaoth*, the son of *Neid*, the son of *Indai*, the son of *Allai*, the son of *Thait*, the son of *Tabairn*; and he is stated to have been the father of the five great chiefs or demigods of that mysterious people, namely, "Ogma, the sun-worshipper; Alloth, the charming; Breasal, of the victorious wreath; Delbaoth, the undaunted; and Dagda the great." Dr. O'Curry gives us "Ogma of the sun-like face:" "Lectures," p. 289.

Names with the prefixes *Al* and *Ail* are very usual in our indices; but I have not met with any example of the exact form found in this legend.

This monument is remarkable as having a well-defined Maltese cross deeply cut on the original base, where a clear space had been left, below where the inscription commenced; this will be evident from an examination of the accompanying sketch. When discovered, the cross end was uppermost, and the original head of the stone, with a portion of its inscription, was buried in the earth. It is quite evident from this circumstance that the cutting of the cross was subsequent to the cutting of the inscription, and that those who appropriated this memorial to a Christian purpose were either unacquainted with the nature of the Ogham or held that class of monument in no manner of reverence, until sanctified by the sacred symbol. The exact same mode of appropriation has been applied to most of our genuinely cross-marked Ogham memorials, as Aglish, Ballinahunt, and Gowran, in Ireland; and Trallong and Tycoed in Wales; on all of which the cross has been cut on the original bases of the stones.

(See next paper.)

XXX.—ON AN OGHAM-INSCRIBED STONE FROM MOUNT MUSIC, CO. CORK.
A letter addressed to the Secretary of the Academy by SAMUEL
FERGUSON, LL. D., Q. C., Vice-President.

[Read 23rd February, 1874.]

20, NORTH GREAT GEORGE'S-STREET,
Dublin, 2nd Feb. 1874.

DEAR SIR,—My friend Mr. Brash has sent me the enclosed paper on an Ogham-inscribed stone from Knockauran, now in the possession of Mrs. Windele at Cork, which I wish you to be kind enough to procure Council's permission to read at the next meeting of the Academy.

It is possible I may not be able myself to attend the meeting, as the inscription is one on which I am able to add something that seems to me to be of interest, to what Mr. Brash communicates, I will so far trespass on your goodness as to ask you, after reading Mr. Brash's remarks, to read also the following from me:—

I agree that the principal name is *Annaccanni*, although to some eyes it might appear as *Annaccasni*, the difference being due to the obscurity of one digit in the antepenultimate group. Supposing it to be the representative of the *Aenagan* and *Eigneghan* of the manuscript, it will be for philologists to say whether the Oghamic form, according to their conceptions, betokens an earlier or a later date. On this subject I may observe that, within the range of my own observation, I have nowhere met a distinct example of the letter *h* in any lapidary Ogham text; and that if the vocalic change of *ae* or *ei* into *a* should be held to tell a tale of modern innovation, the absence of the *h* would seem to point the other way. I invite the consideration of philologists to this topic, because in the Ogham text last submitted by Mr. Brash to the Academy [*ante*, p. 188], the form *Declenn* drew attention, from its apparently evidencing a change posterior to the use of the name as found in manuscripts, that is in the form *Deglan*; and I would wish to ask is it true that *a* in the one case or *e* in the other can be shown, on any settled phonetic principles, to be more modern respectively than *ae*, *ei*, and *g*? for, if so, we ought, in these characteristics, to have a pretty certain guide to the dates of the objects.

More difficulty attends the group of characters which Mr. Brash takes to be the patronymic. I conceive that what is taken for the two distinct groups *u* and *a* (three notches and one notch separably) is the single vowel of five consecutive notches, *i*, and think I discern all the members of the group on the paper cast to which I refer. This would yield so far the combination *Aillitt*—and it seems not improbable to me that what remains is the termination of some form of *Ailiter*—seemingly spelled *Aillittar*, “a pilgrim.” Certainly, I would find excessive diffi-

culty in accepting it as the supposed proper name *Ailluattan*. I agree that the penultimate *a* is indistinct, but I think I see it also, and that the penultimate group itself in its terminal digits looks more like *n* than *r*; but I observe—what makes it impossible that it should be *n*,—that its initial digits extend far across the aris, and that so definitely as to force the conclusion that these are either the *rudera* of an original *r*, or some combination of *g* with three following digits not capable of any rational assimilation (unless possibly they be meant, collectively, for *gal*); and I think there are examples of the terminal *r* elsewhere, inscribed in its initial parts distinctly across the stem-line and running off in its terminal parts to one side of it.

If this be a form of *Ailiter*, we shall be under no necessity to tax our powers of imagination to account for the accompanying cross. It is only necessary for me, on this part of the subject, after what I have already put forward, here and elsewhere, to say that I do not concur in the theory, that this cross—or the cross in general, on such monuments—is otherwise than of contemporaneous origin with the associated inscription; and that I do not conceive that any evidence has been adduced to show that this particular monument was designed to stand otherwise than it appears to have been standing when first found. As a pillar, one end or the other must have been buried in the earth to such a depth as to conceal some of the characters; and that this should be so need excite no surprise when we remember that the Ogham on the pillar-stone of Eochaid Arghthach was inscribed on the end of the pillar that was *fo talamh*, “under the ground.”*

The Maltese Cross appears to be associated with other commemorations of pilgrims. Two such crosses are appended to the Maumanorigh inscription near Dingle, the concluding characters of which seem to read *Natiller*; and a cross of the same character occupies the field of the circle representing the terrestrial globe over which the pilgrim paces, with his staff in his hand, in the curious design copied by Mr. Du Noyer from a sculptured stone at St. Gobinet's, in Cork.

I have as yet said nothing of the intermediate group, read *Magi*, but take this occasion to indicate something observable in it, which, if my eyes do not deceive me, is also observable in the group which has been read *magi* on the “Furudran” Tinahally pillar. [*Ante*, p. 186]. I refer to the apparent protraction, in finer lines, of the digits which, if not prolonged across the aris but confined to its upper margin, would sound *q*; but which, if carried over and extended beyond it, would have the force of *r*. In the Tinahally example the prolongations are more definite than in the case before us, and that half of the composition which would yield *q* being boldly and distinctly cut, suggests very persuasively that some double or alternative reading is intended. Here the distinction is not

* Another example of a buried reading is found in the Breastagh monument. See *post*, page 201.

so marked. The protractions are sufficiently visible at the commencement of the group, but become less distinct at its termination. Still they are there; so that, in at least one course of reading, the group bears the appearance of having been intended to sound *Mari*, a sound that may have more signification if we associate with it the vowels immediately following, *Mariai*. But, in doing so, we should trench on the commencement of *Aillittar* (or whatever other sound the last combination of digits may represent), unless it be that in this, as in other kinds of sepulchral and titular writing, the use of "iterates" has been practised, that is of letters serving the double purpose of terminating one word and beginning the next, as, in numismatics, *Edgar* = *Edgar Rex*. Then, whether *Mari* alone should serve to express the name, or whether a double reading be intended, the tenor of the whole, assuming that some form of *Ailiter* is before us, would go to commemorate some "Pilgrim of Mary," or "Pilgrim of the Son of Mary," viz:—

Annacanni Maqi Mari Aillittar = *Annaccann[us] Filii Mariæ Peregrinus*.

This interpretation will disclose more clearly the sense in which I some time ago—although to an audience who did not seem to apprehend its relevancy—suggested the *Maqi* to be used, in the equally significant legend:—

Togittacc Maqi Sagarettos,
Togitacus Filii Sacerdos.†*

I submit a cast, and a photogram from the cast, of the original, that the Academy may judge with its own eyes whether the peculiar features I have described really exist or not; and I invite such of the members as may be willing to venture into the crypt at this season, to make a careful inspection of the group of digits on the Tinahally stone, which I conceive exhibits the same singularity of arrangement. The Tinahally pillar will be found rested on the further trestles in the first bay on the right. It will also be proper to compare the reproductions

* This name, *Togittacc*, appears in a great variety of Oghamic forms, the study of which might possibly give grounds for determining whether these or the MS. forms, *Toictheg* and *Toicthuic* are the earlier. See observations on the name, in a letter addressed by the writer in 1872 to Mr. Prim, and published in the *Journal of the Royal Hist. and Archæol. Assoc. of Ireland*, 4th ser., Vol. II., p. 229, to which I would add a further example of its application to a female, furnished by the acuteness of Mr. Khyz, who, in his recent inspection of inscribed stone monuments in Wales (including no less than fifteen Oghamic biliterals), clears up the old *Tunc Cetace uszor Daari hic jacit*, at St. Nicholas, near Fishguard, by observing:—"The stone reads *Tuncetace uszor Daari hic jacit*. This lady's name would now be Tynghedog. . . . The attempt to reduce *tunc*, taken to be the Latin adverb, to a compatibility of tense with *jacit*, is quite uncalled for." I cite the reprint from the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald* of November 29th, and December 6th 1873, and take this occasion of expressing my respect for the great learning and zeal exhibited in this valuable contribution to British palæography.

† If *Sagarettos* be a genitive, the foundation of this speculation fails, so far as it rests on the Cahirnagat legend. Are these as terminations, genitives or nominatives?

of the inscription more immediately under our notice with the drawing which accompanies Mr. Brash's paper. I can assure the Academy that this drawing is as close a representation as any hand-drawn copy they are ever likely to receive can well be expected to be. Yet they will, if they see with my eyes, observe how very differently the digits look in the conventionalized form given them in the one, and in their genuine shapes, degrees of distinctness, and relations to the stem-line, as disclosed in the other. Were it not that a criterion so indisputable lies before us, I would not venture to question a line of the drawing without the profoundest self-distrust; for, if I have learned anything in these investigations, it is the knowledge, ever present to my mind, of my own fallibility, and a high respect for the impressions of other and more experienced observers.

I say "if," because, while the reading I suggest is reconcilable with the appearances, it may be erroneous. All that I venture positively to affirm respecting the inscription is that, to my eye, the *q* of the supposed *Maqi* appears like an abraded *r*; that the vowel before *tt* seems distinctly enough to be *i*; and that the final group is not reconcilable with the reading which would make it represent *n*.

I may add as a curious pendant to this communication that the reason why this Knockauran inscription is not now among the Academy's collection is, that the late Mr. Windele, in his lifetime, expressed a wish that it should be erected over his own grave. His family designing, at some time, to comply with that desire, have consequently retained it out of the general collection which they disposed of to the Academy. Mr. Windele does not appear himself to have regarded the inscription as at all decypherable; but his imagination was taken with the appositeness of the cross associated with the written mystery; and if the accompanying inscription really bear the meaning which I have ventured to suggest, it will not be doubted that a more appropriate monument could hardly have been found for this earnest and pious-hearted antiquary.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

SAMUEL FERGUSON.

XXXI.—ON AN OGHAM-INScribed PILLAR-STONE, AT BALLYCROVANE, CO. CORK. By RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M. R. I. A.

[Read April 27, 1874.]



THIS remarkable monument is situated on the shore of Ballycrovane Bay, an inlet at the entrance of the great estuary of the Kenmare river, in the townland of Faunkil-and-the-Woods, barony of Bere, Co. Cork. (Ordnance Map, Sheet 101.)

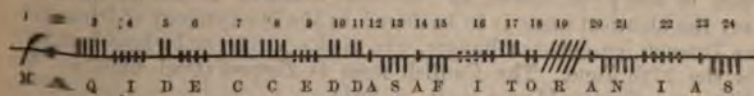
I visited this locality under the guidance of the Rev. John Halahan, rector of Castletown. Starting from the latter place, our road lay through the mountains for a distance of six miles, which brought us to a high elevation overlooking the bay of Kenmare. Here the scenery was exceedingly grand and impressive. To the left towered the lofty range of Slieve-Miskish, stretching along the bay and appearing to rise almost from the water's edge; to the right, the Caha Mountains, tending away towards Ardgroom; beneath us, the sheltered and almost land-locked bay of Ballycrovane, its wavelets sparkling in the sunbeams, and its encircling shores looking grim and rocky with patches of bright green between its stony ridges. Not a tree, and scarce a shrub, was to be seen in the entire of the extensive landscape spread out before us, which gave the whole an appearance of loneliness and seclusion peculiarly oppressive.

Descending the mountain road we came to a stone-built fort, or cashel, on the left hand, situated in the townland of Bofickill. It is about 50 feet in diameter, and was enclosed by a rampart of dry-stone-masonry, now much dilapi-

dated, but in some portions showing work of a good character. About the centre of the internal area we found an entrance to underground chambers, but, having no lights, we were unable to examine them. Turning off the Kenmare road, about half a mile below the fort, we took a narrow, rugged trackway, scarcely passable for a car, leading down to the coast-guard station, which stands at the extremity of the bay; and, as we descended, we had our first view of the great monument, an engraving of which, from my drawing, is given on the opposite page.

It stands on a flat-topped, rocky knoll, about a furlong from the shore, and which has an elevation of about 40 ft. The stone is in height $17\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above ground; breadth, near bottom, 3 ft. 6 ins.; thickness, 1 ft. 6 ins., tapering to 1 ft. 10 ins. by 6 ins. at top. It is a rough, unhewn monolith of hard compact clay-slate. One of the coastguards, a most intelligent man, named Fox, who procured us ladders and assisted me in measuring, assured me that he had dug to the bottom of the stone and found that it was eight feet under ground, and resting on the natural rock. Around its base are several loose stones. At present it leans considerably out of the perpendicular; its inscribed face looks towards the bay, the point of the compass being S. S. W.

The legend, which is cut on the left hand angle of the same face, commences at 3 ft. from the ground level, and occupies a length of 8 ft. 3 ins. The characters are, with two exceptions, quite legible; and, though much weather-worn, they appear to have been originally deeply cut, and are as follows:—



The first four characters are perfectly distinct. The second score of the fifth (n) is faint, but legible. Letters 6, 7, and 8 are also distinctly marked. Two of the vowel digits of the 9th are much weather-worn, and scarcely discernible; but as the space exists for them, and as that space could be occupied by no other letter than an *i*, which also is necessary in the proper orthography of a name which we at once recognise, I am fully justified in restoring it to its original value. Letters 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 are perfectly legible. Between 15 and 17 is a space of eight inches, at present occupied by two vowel digits. Five inches of the angle next 15 is rounded and weather-worn. This space would exactly contain the three missing digits of the vowel *i*. That this was the value of the character there can be no doubt, for the vacant space could not have been occupied by a consonant, as the angle is so slightly worn that such could not have been obliterated; and also, where we find *i* repeated on other parts of the angle it occupies exactly the same space. Besides the value *I* have

with which he was regarded must have been powerful indeed to have induced them to encounter the great labour of procuring a stone of such ponderous magnitude, $25\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in length, to convey it to this spot, and to drag it to the top of this rocky knoll. The labour of erecting it must have been a herculean one. Even with all our modern engineering appliances it would be a serious work; how much more to a people who had little aid beyond brute force. There can, I think, be no question that the people who erected this great memorial pillar came from seaward, and were a colonizing race.

In this picturesque land-locked bay of Ballycrovane they came ashore, and probably made their first settlement. Why did they select this wild, remote, and rocky district? Perhaps, because the more fertile districts were thickly inhabited, and they may not have felt themselves powerful enough to make a hostile descent upon a populous shore. At that period the now bare mountains and coasts were forest-grown. These supplied them with game, the sea teemed with fish, and from thence they could reconnoitre the more inviting neighbourhoods, previous to pushing their way inland. Here probably their great chief and lawgiver died; perhaps he was the leader of their expedition, and here, on the spot of their landing, looking out on the sea, which had borne them to their new homes, they appropriately erected the huge memorial pillar of him they so much venerated.

The bay of Kenmare, upon the shore of which this great monument stands, is stated by many authorities to be the *Inbher-Sgene* of the bardic legends, famous for the landing of the Milesians or Gaedhil. Whether this estuary, or that of Dingle, was the scene of this transaction, there can be no doubt that the former was the theatre of remarkable events connected with the early occupation of the south of Ireland. On the western side, and near the mouth of the bay, on Derrynane strand, stands an Ogham-inscribed pillar-stone; higher up, at the same side, and nearly opposite Ballycrovane, is the great prehistoric stone-built fortress of Staigue; higher up still, and about three miles from the shore, stands the stone circle of Derrygurane, with its great overthrown Ogham-inscribed pillar; and numerous other remarkable megalithic remains are to be found along both shores of the bay, nearly up to the town of Kenmare.

A drawing of it illustrates a paper contributed by him to the first vol. of "The Ulster Journal of Archaeology." The drawing is not very correct, and the inscription less so. He gives it (as may be seen at page 43), omitting the second score of the fifth letter (p), as also the double n and the final s, with other errors.

In Mr. G. V. Du Noyer's collection of Drawings, in the Academy's library, Vol. I. No. 38, will be found a drawing of this monument, from a sketch by the Right Rev. Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, the inscription on which is substantially the same as my own copy, the only differences being that I have given the vowel value *e* to the ninth character, and the value of *i* to the sixteenth, the reasons for which I have already stated. The difference of the reading given by the Bishop is scarcely of any moment; he gives DECCODDA for my DECCEDDA, and SAFA for my SAFI.

Decced became a great tribe-name in Munster. Our bardic Annals gives us the forms Deag and Deagad. The Clanna Deagaid became a powerful people in West Munster, and gave two kings, Eiderscel and Conaire Mor, to the throne of Tara. I have much to say on this interesting subject, but must defer it for the present. This much we must admit, that this remarkable and warlike tribe have left their venerable monuments rather plentiful in the south of Ireland, particularly in their native seat, Munster.

I should have before remarked, that this name has been found in several other localities in a slightly different form. Thus, in that wonderful megalithic library in the Cave of Dunlo, near Killarney, we find a lintel stone 9 ft. long, having a lengthened inscription, which gives us DEGO MAQI MUOR, &c. Upon a great monolith, 12 ft. long, now standing near St. Olan's Well, county Cork, we find no MAQI DEGO. This fine pillar-stone was taken out of a rath-cave on the townland of Coolineagh, parish of Aghabullog. Again, the great find in the cave at Drumlohan, county Waterford, present us with an inscription, which gives us DEAGO MAQI MUO(1). The old scribes we know used *c* and *g* commutably.

By the help of these last three examples we can trace the Degadi from their first landing in the extreme south-west of Munster, through the counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, up the valley of the Suir, into Kilkenny, and from thence to the borders of Wicklow, at Killeen-Cormac. So far we can identify their progress by their Ogham-inscribed memorials; but we can trace them still farther. We find them on the sea coasts of Wicklow, as we know that the mouth of the Vartrey river was anciently named *Inbher Degaid*; and that two tribes named *Ui Deagha Mor* and *Ui Deagha Beg*, were located on the same shores. Did they not cross into Anglesea, and cannot we thus account for the inscription at Penrhos Lygwy?

There can be no question as to this great and truly venerable monument having been erected to perpetuate the memory of some very remarkable personage. The feelings of affection and veneration

western side, and the force of six men with three powerful levers applied to the other. The dimensions of the stone will account for the force employed. It is, in its extreme measurement, nearly twelve feet long by two and a-half feet broad, and two feet thick; solid contents, about sixty cubic feet; approximate weight, four and a half tons.

Its position is not elevated or otherwise remarkable. In relation to the Cromlech on the north, and to Mullaghnacross and the small denomination of Fallataggart, on the south, it is in a hollow. Neither does there appear any trace of a surrounding enclosure or of adjoining interments: but it lies over what seems to be a grave, at the southern end of which it has formerly stood, as may be inferred from the remains of the cavity at that end, from the friable nature of the soil which was excavated, and from the position of a slight elevation marked by lines of stones, lying north and south, on which it rested.

The cavity in which its base had formerly been planted was covered over with the vegetable soil which, before the stone was turned, covered also one-fourth of the whole upper surface. An iron screw-bolt, with its nut, was found in removing the earth; but was explained by the bystanders that a forge had formerly stood at a little distance, from which, as the bolt was turned up within a few inches of the surface, it probably proceeded.

The extent of inscribed arris at first visible was four feet: when, by turning the stone, the under angle was brought to light, and the whole length of both arrises exposed, traces of Ogham were observable through a total length of not less than eighteen feet, being by far the longest legend yet discovered in that kind of writing: but, unfortunately, throughout much the greater portion of its extent, so worn and abraded as to be almost, and, indeed, in considerable parts, altogether illegible.

The inscription, as the stone originally stood, occupied the two arrises of the eastern face. On that to the north, it begins at four feet from the bottom, and reads in the usual manner upwards. No traces now remain from which it can be said to have been continued over the top: but along the opposite or southern arris it exists, either as a continuation or as an independent legend, from end to end, through an extent of nearly eleven feet.

Out of such a copious display of material, it is mortifying to have to state that the only portion of which I can offer an absolutely clear exposition is the commencement of the legend on the northern side:

MAQ CORRBRI MAQ A * *

Nothing can be clearer than that the person commemorated is one of the family of Corbri, son of some one whose name commences with the letter A; and it is also plain that this initial A is followed by two oblique digits crossing the arris, which may either stand conjointly for G or separately for MM.; for they are twice as widely spaced as a normal G might be expected to be found here, having regard to the spacing of the other associated groups of stem-crossing digits; and, if the artist

desired to express *mm*, there is no other way of doing it, so far as I know, than by engraving the two constituent digits of *e* with a sufficient distance between to show that they are to be separately regarded. What will weigh, however, more than a possibly accidental disparity in the spacing, is the fact that these digits are followed by others certainly expressing *lla* or *llo*; and that no Irish proper name is known to commence with the letter-collocation *agll*. Were this an Anglo-Saxon legend, one might accept *aglllo* as a probable beginning of some such name as Agilbert for Egilbert; and indeed the name, whatever it be, terminates with *τ*. But the great unlikelihood of an Egilbert having left a son Corbri throws us back on the duplicated *m* as the more acceptable reading.

What, then, shall we make of *ammlllo*, followed by the imperfect digits and erosions of the surface which occupy the next nine inches of space leading up to the terminal *τ*? The name which will at once present itself for identification, is Awley in its ancient form of *Amalgaid*. But, to educe a corresponding sound from the text, we should have a vowel before the duplicated *m*; and in the text there is no trace of any other letter, nor, indeed, room for a single notch between the duplicated *l*'s and *l*'s which follow the initial *a*. And this difficulty holds equally if we compare the Ogham with another form of the name of Awley found in Tirechan's annotations, viz., *Amolngid*; and if the matter rested here, one would be almost driven to recoil from the half-opened doorway. But the forms of this singular name are not yet exhausted. Donald Mac Firis, in his "Genealogies of the Saints," in tracing the pedigree of Cronan Mac Aengusa, derives him from Sedna, son of *Amalongda*, being *Amalongad* in the genitive, and adds, "otherwise 'Amalgaid,' son of Fiachra, &c." Here, if we adopt the characteristic taste of our Irish "Rune-smiths," of duplicating the consonants, we have *ammllongad* in comparison, with *ammlllo τ* of the Ogham, and it only remains to inquire whether the traces still existing in the hiatus of the latter text be consistent with the presence there originally of the digits and notches equivalent to *ng*, together with some vowel, probably *a*. In all the MS. keys to the Ogham, the sound of *ng* is represented by a group of three oblique digits crossing the line; and, in fact, one such group exists in another part of the inscription before us; so that, most probably if *ng* were formerly here, we might reasonably look for remains of such oblique digits in the interspace. I know how deceitful is the vision of an investigator where the image already exists in the retina of the mind's eye, and go no farther than to declare my inability to discern any traces not reconcilable with the actual presence of such digits followed by the notches expressing the vowel *i* before the *τ* of the termination. And this *τ*, it appears to me, is duplicated, giving the resultant *ammllongitt*, as against the *amlongad* of the author transcribed by Mac Firis.

But it may have occurred to my hearers to ask why I do not rather turn to the opposite side of the pillar, where the name of the child or descendant of this Corbri may be expected to be found; for, if it be

Cairbre, son of Awley, whose name we have before us, we know that he had a daughter, called by Mac Firbis "Serc," and a son Ninnidh, and if either of these can be found in the introductory part of the legend, *cadit questio*. Alas, I have been compelled to begin with "Corrbri," because his name is the only part of the text that affords footing of any substantial solidity. The true commencement of the legend has been long buried underground, and is now, for a distance of nearly six feet from the bottom of the pillar, where the name of the subject might be expected to be found, hopelessly erased. In one course of reading, faint traces, not inconsistent with remains of EEC, may still be distinguished, but preceded by two digits only making L, or possibly BB, where our quest would require four, making S; and these two digits are so well marked that it is hard to believe they ever had associates which could have so entirely disappeared. Independently, therefore, of the *Maq*, which I would at present suppose to imply a son, and not a daughter, and the probability that Serc would be entombed at her own oratory at Rosserc, and not here in a seemingly unconsecrated place, I am compelled, if not to discard, yet to lay to one side, the idea of Serc, daughter of Cairbre, son of Awley, being the person here commemorated. Neither do the traces which remain show more than one possible x; so that Ninnidh seems conclusively out of the case. What then remains? There are still four and a half feet of the text of the south aris comparatively uninjured; and this, if we were sure of the course of reading, might reasonably be expected to yield something intelligible. But, in the absence of the usual catch-words, there is nothing to inform us whether it is to be read from below upward, or from above downward, or from a stand-point to the right, or from one to the left, of the line. It will also be borne in mind that there are no word-divisions; and that the text may begin with part of one word and end with part of another, or even with part of a letter; also that it may be part of a string of proper names, or possibly may contain some designation or name of office. I fancy it cannot be part of a pedigree; for, if it were, some form of *Maqi* would be present, and at once give the clue to the course of reading. There seems, therefore, no means of getting at the sound but the expedient, clumsy as it is, of trial by position, viz. :—

1st. From top	{ From right of aris: LASCENGED[U]LC.
downward.	{ From left of aris: DACSENGEL[U]DS.
2nd. From bottom	{ From right of aris: CL[U]DENGECAL.
upwards.	{ From left of aris: SD[U]LENGECAD.

The last seems the likeliest result. It reads upwards, and from the same side as the opposite line of digits, where we have the help of *Maq* to guide us; also in the same course as LERC. It looks Irish, and possibly might, rejecting the s, be made to yield a signification; but in the presence of those better qualified to judge, I hesitate to tread further on ground so slippery. It will be seen that the several vowels, and the *ng* are constant. This arises from the vowel-notches undergoing no alteration by change of the reader's position in reference to the stem-

line, and from the three stem-crossing digits = *no* sounding alike either way. In this view, the *s* might be the terminal of a preceding name in *IAS*; and, bearing the analogy of *ERCIA*s in mind, one cannot but cast a wistful glance on *SERC* in that form.

However this may be, I may observe that this is the first time in my experience that I have seen the *no* of the MS. keys in a lapidary inscription; and that I now desire to withdraw the mark of interrogation over that combination of digits in the lapidary alphabet which I have published.

I have but to add, for the guidance of any one who may essay the task of extracting another, and possibly a truer, meaning from these digits, that the space occupied by the vowel *u* is wide enough to have been originally filled with four or five additional notches, and that the terminal character at the top is faint, and may have been a duplicate of the penultimate.

I own my first impression was, that the *ENGEL* of the second reading gave the key to the rest of the text, and that it was either ecclesiastical (*engel*), or national, and referred to the country of some Egilbert disguised under those strange combinations which follow the second *Maq*. The considerations which have led me to dwell in preference on the interpretation looking to the house of Awley, and the period of the second generation from him, which would bring us to the beginning of the sixth century, rest mainly on the name of *Cairbre*, which certainly is not a likely name to have been bestowed by an Anglo-Saxon on his son, even in those ages when Mayo was so frequented by students of that nation as to earn the designation of "Mayo of the Saxons."

While this pillar bears the longest Ogham legend yet discovered, it is itself second in bulk only to that great monument at Ballycrovane, in West Cork, lately described to the Academy by Mr. Brash. (See *ante*, page 196.) It carries the examples of Ogham writing an additional step northward, and is remarkable as having part of its inscription, like that on the "*Coirthe*" of Fothad *Airgthech*, on the end which was in the ground. It is worthy of note that, in the story of Mongan, the locality of Fothadh's pillar was in Antrim. Mr. Wakeman has found an Ogham in Fermanagh, and I have heard of others in Longford and Sligo: so that probably we may yet have contributions to this curious chapter in palæography from every county of Ireland, as well as from the Shetland and Orkney islands, from Scotland, Wales, and Devon.

I cannot but recall the pleasure I have experienced in travelling through the region between Ballina and the site of the Ogham-inscribed stone of Breastagh. Leaving Ballina, one passes, on the wayside to the right, the Well of Patrick, in which he baptized Eochaid, son of Dathi, cousin of Cairbre, of whom I have been treating; and, turning a couple of hundred yards to the left, passes under the ruined walls of Kilmore-Moy to the rock of Liag, and sees

on its western face, as indicated in the Tripartite, the very cross inscribed in the circle, which the Irish text states was "made" by Patrick. Proceeding towards Killala, we see to the left Mullaghfarry, the *forradh*, or assembly-place of Awley, where Patrick baptized that prince, his sons, and multitudes of his people. Then comes on the right Cross Patrick, the scene of his contest with the Hy-Fiachran Druids, with its *Ail na n' áhruidh*, where the lives relate the fall of his antagonists. Then comes Killala; and passing onwards towards Fersad Tresi, we see on the right of the road, opposite the demesne of Castle-rea, the remains of Kilgobbin, with what the people allege was the lime-kiln of the Goban Saer, by whom the round tower of Killala was built. But they say that, although the master-mason prepared the topstone for the tower, it was never set up, but remains to this day beside the lime-kiln, where certainly there is a stone of a truncated conical shape, having a circular cavity on the top, as if for the reception of some finial, though possibly it may be the rude font of the primitive church, from which the place takes its name.

In all these peregrinations one moves in what our oldest books allege to be the footsteps of Patrick, and everywhere meets the same pious and gentle-mannered people as those whom he may be supposed to have gone amongst more than fourteen hundred years ago. Such excursions give occasion to various kinds of learning, not the least valuable of which is the knowledge and love of the people. The preservation of monuments likely to attract men of literary and general culture to distant parts of the country, is an object as valuable in a social as in a scholastic sense. Two of the monuments referred to in this Paper are eminently attractive, and equally imperilled. The sculpture reputed to be from the hand of Patrick, at Liag, and of which I exhibit a cast, will soon be overlaid by interments, which already partly cover the top of the rock that bears it. The Ogham-inscribed stone of Breastagh, if exposed on the flat for another winter, may be split by the wedge of the frost, if it escape the crowbar of the churl. I appeal to the ecclesiastics, who can control the burials at Liag, to prohibit further interments against the face of the rock which bears the reputed sign-manual of the Irish Apostle; and I appeal to the Royal Irish Academy to re-erect, and take steps for the future preservation of the magnificent Ogham monument now lying prostrate on the lands of Breastagh.

[NOTE.—Steps have been taken by the Academy to secure the re-erection of the Breastagh monument.]

In order to bring together the several papers on the subject of Oghamic writing, read in the Sessions 1872-3 and 1873-4, so as to issue them in one number (= pp. 157-206), some of the other papers have been necessarily displaced from their proper chronological sequence. They will now follow in order.—ED.

XXXIII.—ON AN OGHAM-INSCRIBED STONE (No. 1.) AT MONATAGGART, CO. CORK. By SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL. D., Q. C., Vice-President.

[Read November 9, 1874.]

THIS legend, which was the subject of Paper XXV. of the current volume of the Academy's Proceedings (*See* p. 172), has been thought to be illegible; and the same failure which attended the endeavour to decypher it in the ordinary course of reading, from left to right, upward, has been predicted for any one attempting its solution by any other method. In my opinion, the text does not warrant that apprehension. On the contrary, it appears to me to be one of the "inverted" class of legends, like that at Camp, and to be read in the same manner. In forming this opinion, I have not been in any degree influenced by what has been written on the subject. I was not present at the reading of the Paper referred to; and knew nothing of the views expressed in it until I read it for the first time in the recent issue of the Academy's Proceedings. But, observing the diagram which had been used in illustrating the Paper, and which remained for a few days after the meeting of 14th April, 1873, chalked on the demonstration-board, I perceived that the failure to educe anything articulate from the characters arose from their being read with values the opposites of those which, I conceive, were intended. In fact, the inscription, ought, as it occurred to me, to have been read from the other side of the stem line, and from right to left, in like manner as that at Camp, in which course of transliteration it yielded the sequence of characters:—

A X B H E D N O D O I O I A N T E D O E L

That is, in direct transliteration:—

FEQREQMOQOIGLUNLEGGET.

The familiar formula *moqor*—familiar at least in sound, although slightly varied in the spelling—served both to fix the course of the reading, and to separate the other constituents of the text. *FEQREQ* preceding it, appeared to me, without doubt, to be the genitive of *Fiaehra*; and *GLUNLEGGET*, which follows and completes the legend, I took with some confidence to be a name in religion.

Considering, however, that what I had before me was derived from a hand-drawn sketch, I thought it more prudent to reserve this communication till I should have an opportunity of verifying it by comparison with the original. Having now had that opportunity, I am satisfied that the text is correct as conventionally presented in page 173 of the Proceedings. I am also satisfied that, in it, we possess an entire epigraph, certain in all its characters, and perfectly reliable as an example of the orthography of the Oghamic school of writing.

FEQREQ will, I dare say, appear a strange disguise under which to recognise the *Fiachrach* of our later manuscripts. But Adamnan has used it in substantially the same form. In l. ii., c. 17, of the *Vita S. Columbae* (Reeves, p. 45) he relates an incident, "*de Colcio Aido Draigniche filio, a nepotibus FEQREQ orto*," and the learned editor identifies this descendant of *Fecureg* with Colga, son of Aed, son of Aed, son of Lugaidh, son of Dathi, son of Fiachra Foltsnathac, *a quo HI FIACHRACH*, adding that the pedigree illustrates the admirable agreement of the biographer with the Irish genealogies. The name occurs again at iii. 20, in the same connexion (p. 225) "*alia itidem nocte, quidam de fratribus, Colgius nomine, filius, &c., de nepotibus FECHREG, cujus in primo fecimus mentionem*," &c.; and, in Codex B (pref. xxiv.) the corresponding text presents the name in the still closer approximation to the FEQREQ of the Ogham, in the form FECHRECH (p. 225, n. 4), where the aspirations only distinguish the one from the other.

Indeed, it might be allowable to inquire whether the q's of the text may not be, in fact, aspirated c's: but, though the number of digits would suit that theory, their collocation is unfavourable to it; and the groups must, I apprehend, be taken as q's. In reference, however, to the possibility of the seeming q being c aspirated, I may observe that my experience as to the occurrence of an Oghamic n is now more extended than when I last wrote on that subject (*ante*, p. 192). I have recently met a distinct example of n, in an Ogham text discovered by Mr. Rhys, in Caermarthenshire, the detail of which I hope soon to lay before the Academy.

It will be remembered that the forms of *Fiachra* used by Adamnan are in the genitive. We may reasonably infer that the *moqoi* associated with the FEQREQ of the text is in the same case. But whether *moqoi* here is the *maqi* of ordinary occurrence, and to be read "son of," or whether it be a form of *mucoi*, a distinct word, the meaning of which can only as yet, be guessed at, is a question which I do not here pretend to solve. If the former, the purport of the legend would be: [THE STONE OF] FIACHRA, SON OF GLUNLEGGET. If the latter, it would bear some such meaning as this: FIACHRA'S GLUNLEGGET [LIE HERE,] *Fiachra* being distinguished by whatever designation is implied by *Mucoi*.

I have nothing material to add to what I have stated, both as to this form of description and as to the possible meaning of *Mucoi*, in my letter to Mr. Prim, published in the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland beyond this, that new examples continue to present themselves of *Mucoi* being used in contexts which appear to distinguish it from any form of *Mac*, "son;" that the idea of all those so designated having been swineherds becomes daily more difficult to be maintained; and that the probability of its indicating the *status* of the person, in some religious or cenobitical connexion, is somewhat fortified by its association with what seems to be a name in religion—GLUNLEGGET—in the present instance.

GLUNLEGGET is formed, as are several other Irish proper names, on *Glun*, "a knee," associated with some adjectival or participial element: such, for example, as *Glunfin*, *Glunsalach*, *Gluniaran*, *Glunmerach*, *Gluntradna*. The *legget* associated with it, in this case, appears to be a participial form of *leigim*, "I cast," "I let go," which is the word in common use to express the act of kneeling; as *leigeadh u fein ar a glúinib*, "he casts himself on his knees." In this sense it would be represented by the Latin *genustratus*, or perhaps more accurately *genusternens*. The word itself shows no sign of inflexion, and, unless it be indeclinable, which I would conceive to be unlikely, strengthens the idea that this is the subject name, and *Fiachra* the patronymic. If otherwise, GLUNLEGGET would be the *adnomen* of *FIACHRA*, and *moqoi* his description; or—which appears to exhaust the category of possible meanings—GLUNLEGGET would be the *adnomen* of *FIACHRA*, and *moqoi* the object of his genuflexions.

In whatever grammatical dependence the constituents of the legend are to be taken, one consideration of much moment, in reference to its probable age, will have occurred to the minds of any Irish scholar who may hear me. If *FEQREQ* carries us back to the days of Adamnan, what shall we say to the *g*'s of GLUNLEGGET, as contrasted with the *c* of *leicim*—the form in which the verb shows itself in the "Gray's" Book, and in the Book of Leinster? It is, I apprehend (if I except the case of *Deglann* = *Declan*, to which I lately referred), the first occasion of an Ogham text furnishing a means of comparison between lapidary and manuscript forms which might offer a feasible ground for predicating the age of the former. But it will be noticed that the *g* is duplicated in the Ogham, and that supposing this and the Latin *lego* to be parent and off-shoot, or even that they are branches of the same stem, it may be asked, does not *g* carry us farther back towards the root than the *c* of the mediæval manuscripts? On these points I offer no opinion of my own, but venture to express my belief that, when the establishment of philological laws shall have been completely effected, the material this text contributes may possibly invite to their profitable application.

Such is this Monataggart legend, and such the considerations to which it gives rise in the mind even of an uncritical reader. That it has been read, I apprehend no one who sees it with the Ogham alphabet beside it will for a moment doubt; and I will add the expression of my hope that the fact of its having been read will serve as an encouragement to Ogham decipherers not to despair when the more obvious methods of transliteration are found ineffectual; but rather to accept the embarrassment as an assurance that the true meaning is to be arrived at by a different application of the key.

Dr. Ferguson read a letter from the Right Rev. Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, which follows next, as Paper No. XXXIV. See also No. XXXV., and papers read December, 1874.

Dr. Ferguson also read extracts from a letter addressed to him by Mr. Rhys, of Rhyll, who expressed his concurrence with Dr. Ferguson as to the reading. He writes:—

"Perhaps you should read *ch* for *q* throughout. I wish I could compare with it all the other inscriptions reading in this manner; I can, however, only find that of Glan Fais: *Connacatt moqi Connuri*. I should be inclined to suppose none of these to be early, and I am confirmed in this by the absence of the genitive endings usual in the earliest type of Oghamic inscriptions. As to the Monataggart stone, I should be inclined to ascribe it to the 7th or 8th century: the oldest trait is *e* (i. e. *ê*) for the modern *ia* of *Fiachrach*.

"On the whole, I would regard the Oghamic method of reading, common to Ireland and Wales, as the earliest; the other methods as later, probably also as local.

"I take *moqi* to be in the genitive, and to mean the *pronepos* which occurs in Roman characters in Wales. I am not sure but that *Glunlegget* should be read as *Glunlenget*, with *gg* = *ng*, and be compared with *Gaileng*, and the Welsh *Evelyn* and *Corbalengi*. If I were you, I would be very sparing in references to *Latin*, *lego*, &c. It is altogether a difficult class of words; the representatives of several Japhetic roots having assumed forms which are often difficult to distinguish."

NOTE. The inscribed stone above referred to, together with two others from the same crypt, subsequently discovered by the Rev. Dr. Quarry, is now deposited in the Lapidary Museum of the Academy. (See *post*, papers read, December, 1874.)

Dr. Ferguson begs attention to the following ERRATA in his papers in this volume of the Proceedings:—

- (1) At line 14, of page 178 (*ante*) for *obt(a)ceos* read *oft(a)ceos*.
- (2) line 6 of page 201, for Millaghnacross, read Mullaghnacross.
- (3) line 20 of page 211, for *millaghnacross* read *mullaghnacross*.

~~XXXIV.~~—REMARKS ON THE OGHAM INSCRIPTION (No. 1.) AT MONATAGGART. Extracted from a Letter addressed to S. FERGUSON, LL. D., Vice-President, by the RIGHT REV. DR. GRAVES, LORD BISHOP OF LIMERICK, &c.

[Read November 9, 1874.]

IF you had not commented upon the Ogham-inscribed monument found at Monataggart, I should have been tempted to do so, for many reasons. In the first place, the inscription being complete and perfectly preserved, no room is left to the decipherer for fanciful conjectures. He must take the characters as he finds them; he must explain the inscription as it stands; or give up the attempt to explain it. Moreover, I venture to assert that this particular monument will be found to indicate, in a very remarkable manner, the nature and purpose of Ogham inscriptions in general.

I had no sooner looked at the woodcut (Proceedings R.I.A., Ser. 2, Vol. I., p. 172), than I perceived, as you did, that the Ogham legend was to be read upwards, and from right to left. Taking it in this way, one is led inevitably to divide it as you have done; and thus we obtain the reading:—

FEQREQ MOQOI GLUNLEGGET.

Happening to be quite fresh from the study of Reeves's edition of Adamnan's Life of S. Columba, I at once identified the first name, *FEQREQ*, as the genitive of *Fiachra*; and I was confirmed in this conclusion by the variety of spellings which appear in the manuscripts of Adamnan.

In what you say with respect to this proper name, I entirely agree. But I speak with less reserve than you do, as to the power of the Q-symbol in the Ogham alphabet. It stands commonly, as we are told in the Uraicept, for *cu*. But it is also occasionally used to stand for *ch*. We find the Ogham *c* followed by the Ogham *h* on the Clonmacnoise Ogham, in the word *bocht*; in one of the Oghams in the S. Gall Priscian, in the word *minchasc*; on the leaden inkbottle in the museum of the Academy, in the name *meich*: and on the Ballyspillane brooch, in the names *Cnaemseoch* and *Ceallach*. But again, we have the Q-symbol standing for *ch* in the name *Cillmocholmog*, on the leaden inkbottle, and also on the Ballyquin monument bearing the inscription *Catabar Moco Firigor*[*b*]. For my own part, I suspect there was little difference in old Irish between the sounds of *q* and *ch*. Remember that *Ech* = *Equus*, and that *sech* = the *seq* in *sequor*.

I do not share the doubts which you express as to the interpretation of the word *moqoi*. I feel quite certain that it = *magi*. In support of this view, I must remind you that the MSS. of Adamnan constantly exhibit the form *mocu*; and the Ballyquin stone, to which I have already referred, gives us *moco*. If I am right, the name *mucui* finds

no place here: and I entirely withhold my assent from your suggestion that the genitive of the proper name occurring in the beginning of this and other Ogham inscriptions might be regarded as grammatically depending upon a nominative case following it.

As for *GLUNLEGGET*, your first analysis of the epithet is clearly right. It means "a kneeler;" and here again I venture to speak with more confidence than you do; not believing that the Latin *lego* will give us any help in the interpretation of the word. On the other hand, we find the double *g* in the words meaning to lie or lay in many of the Teutonic languages.

In ancient times there were four classes of penitents who were subjected, under the discipline of the Church, to different degrees of penance, as an atonement for great and notorious crimes. They were named, respectively, (1) Weepers; (2) Hearers; (3) Kneelers; and (4) Bystanders. The (1) Weepers (*Flentes, προσκλαίοντες*) used to lie in the church porch, weeping and begging the prayers of all who entered. The (2) Hearers (*Audientes, ἀκροῶντες*) were allowed to stand in the narthex at the reading of the Scriptures and sermons; but were forbidden attendance at common prayer or communion. The (3) Kneelers (*Genuflectentes, γονυκλίνοντες*) knelt in the nave, near the ambon, and joined in the prayers. The (4) Bystanders (*Consistentes, συνιστάμενοι*) were admitted to stand amongst the faithful, though they were not allowed to partake of the Eucharist. *Audientes* and *Genuflectentes* were also the names of classes of catechumens who were going through a course of instruction preparatory to their baptism.

It appears, then, that the epithet *Ghunlegget* points either to a person who had not yet been baptised; or, what seems more probable, to one who, for some great crime, had been subjected to the severities of Church discipline. Canonical penance was in general imposed only in cases where persons had been found guilty of idolatry, homicide, or adultery.

I need not direct your attention to the fact that the backward mode of writing used in this inscription is essentially cryptic. It shows an intention to perplex decipherers by placing an additional difficulty in their way; and we have had occasion to observe that this end has actually been attained.

Neither is it necessary for me to notice the conclusion to be drawn as to the date of this inscription, if my explanation of the meaning of the epithet of *Ghunlegget* be correct.

XXXV.—FURTHER REMARKS ON THE MONATAGGART OGHAM INSCRIPTION, No. 1. By RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M.R.I.A.

[Read November 9, 1874.]

DR. SAMUEL FERGUSON having, with his usual consideration and courtesy, forwarded me a copy of his intended observations on the Monataggart Ogam inscription (p. 207)—an account of the discovery of which I had the honour of laying before the Academy last year (see p. 172)—I have availed myself of the opportunity afforded by his kindness to make a few remarks thereon.

I give that gentleman every credit for his detection of the true reading of the inscription, which I had most certainly missed, not having, like him, looked at both sides of it, as I believe this is only the second instance on record of an undoubtedly ancient Ogam inscription reading from right to left. This fact will, I am sure, not be forgotten in the future investigation of apparently unreadable legends. Dr. Ferguson's proposed reading I believe to be the true one—

FEQREQ MOQOI GLUNLEGGET,

that is—" (the stone of) Fiachra son of Glunlegget."

FEQREQ is evidently the genitive case of *Fiachra*: genitives in *ae* and *eo* being frequent in archaic names.

MOQOI, I believe to be a form of *Maqi*, as this genitive has been found in various forms in Ogam legends as Maqqi, Mocui, Mage. Indeed, from its position in the legend, there can be no question as to its being the usual key-word.

Dr. Ferguson hazards a conjecture that this form may be analogous to the word *Mucoi*, found so frequently in these inscriptions; but I should think not. Firstly, because it would not give a fair and distinct reading, or indeed any reading but a speculative one. Dr. Ferguson proposes "Fiachra's Glunlegget (lies here);" the word *Mucoi* being understood to be a designation of *Glunlegget* (who thus becomes the person commemorated), and not the patronymic, as in the former reading. This formula appears to me overstrained and contrary to the almost universal structure of these legends. In the second place, out of fourteen instances of the use of this term in Ogam inscriptions, the form is *Mucoi*, with the exception of one, where it appears as *Moccoi*. In the third place, I am not aware of its occurrence in any Ogam legend unless preceded by the genitive *Maqi*. This curious name or title, as the case may be, occurs both as a proper name and as a title on one of the Drumloghan find, where we have, "*Dego Maqi Mucoi*." On a stone from Laharan, "*Maqi Mucoi Cuerai*." On one from the county of Cork, "*Dgenu Maqi Mucoi Curitti*." In the latter instance it is evidently a title of *Curitti*, and one I believe of honour or distinction.

Dr. Ferguson's remarks on the name *GLUSLEGGET* are very learned and ingenious, but I cannot look upon it in any other light than that of a compound proper name. He has given several illustrations, as *Glunfin*, *Glunialach*, *Gluntradhna*, &c., showing that the prefix "*Glun*" signifies "the knee." Such names as *Glunfin*, *Glundubh*, *Gluniarn*, simply mean "White-knee," "Black-knee," and "Iron-knee." *G.unlegget* is a name of a similar formation. May not the patronymic here be a form of *Lugad*, with the prefix *Glun*: the T and D being used commutably, as also the vowels?

Dr. Ferguson remarks on the double G. This duplication of consonants is very frequent in our Ogam inscriptions. On a stone from Kilgobinet, we find "*Gonnggu*."

Upon the whole, I am of opinion that Dr. Ferguson's first interpretation of the inscription is the true one, and that he may safely rest on it.

XXXVI. ON ANCIENT HISTORIC TALES IN THE IRISH LANGUAGE. By BRIAN O'LOONEY, ESQ., M. R. I. A., F. R. H. S., Professor of Irish, C. U. I.

[Read November 11, 1872].

OLD tales and romances, whether embodying real historical events or merely creations of the imagination, are precious mines for the poet and the historian. Every literature, ancient or modern, worthy of the name, affords examples of the use which poets have made of such materials. To the historian, though not so directly suggestive, they are not less valuable. They afford him vivid pictures of the manners and customs of every class of the people, and give him an insight into their habits of thought. In a word, they enable him to give a background to his pictures and to present his historical personages as they really lived.

No other country in Europe possesses, I believe, such a wealth of romance as Ireland,—possessing too the great advantage of being, with few exceptions, as yet unused by the poet or painter. Professor O'Curry, who has done so much for Irish literature, attached great importance to our ancient tales, and drew largely from the immense store of them contained in Irish manuscripts materials for his lectures. He has published from the Book of Leinster the rules which regulated the number and character of the various tales which the *Ollamh Fide* and *Seanchaidhe* were required by ancient laws and usage to know and recite for kings and people at *Oenachs*, feasts, and other public assemblies. He has also published, from the same MS., a valuable list of 187 such stories and identified a considerable number of them. There is a similar

list in MS. H. 3. 17., in the LIBRARY OF TRIN. COLL. DUBLIN.

This was described by Dr. O'Donovan, in his Catalogue of the College Manuscripts, as follows:—

“Col. 797. A curious list of stories in ancient Irish literature, which the poets were accustomed to recite in the presence of kings and chieftains. They had seven times fifty stories, that is five times fifty principal or chief stories, and twice fifty stories of an inferior class. The following are the chief stories, viz.:—Destructions, Cattle-Spoils, Courtships, Battles, Caves, Navigations, Voyages, Tragedies, Feasts, Sieges, Adventures, Elope-ments, and Plunders. I shall here transcribe the names of the

chief stories, that it may be ascertained by a comparison of them with the index of this Catalogue how many of them are still preserved in this library. This list is exceedingly valuable as showing what stories are ancient, and what modern."

I have transcribed this list, which forms an independent piece in the MS., and here append it with a Translation, adding notes with a view to identify the several tales as far as possible, and to indicate the Manuscripts in which they are to be found.

[In these notes, the abbreviations "Lib. T. C. D.," and "Lib. R. I. A.," refer respectively to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and to that of the Royal Irish Academy.]

Do néimiciguo fileo i rcelais ocur a congnib inoro rr
via nairneir do rugaib ocur flaitib .i. un. l. rzel .i. u. l. do
piumigelaib ocur va .l. do forgelaib ocur ni h-airmivoea na
forgeal ro aet va ceithrib gnaoib .i. Ollam ocur Anruth
ocur Cli ocur Cana ocur ir iao ro na piumigela .i. tosla
ocur cana ocur tocmara caitha ocur uata ocur imrama
ocur oirre ocur feara ocur forbara ocur eachtraoa ocur
arao ocur aighe.

"Of the qualifications of poets in stories and synchronisms follow here, to be related to kings and chiefs, *i. e.*, seven times fifty stories—namely, five times fifty prime stories, and twice fifty secondary stories; and these secondary stories are assigned but to two grades only: the Ollamh and Anruth, and Cli and

the west of Erin), *Fionnghuala* (daughter of *Lir*), said to her brothers, "It is time for us now to return to *Sid Fionnachad*, where *Lir* is with his household, and with all our people (family)." "We agree to that," said they, "and they at once went forth till they came to *Sid Fionnachad*, and they found the place deserted before them, and nothing remained but unroofed green *Raths*, and forests of nettles, and the place was without a house, without a fire, and without a residence; and the four (children of *Lir*) drew close together, and they raised three shouts of lamentation aloud, and *Fionnghuala* made a lay," lamenting the fall of her father's house.

Ṭuinnre tigi buipeo.—"Possession of the House of *Burach*."

Smutgal tigi Dumač.—"Smutgall' of the House of *Dumach*."

Deochaire tigi Casáda.—"Contention of the House of *Casad*."

Togail tigi Nechtain.—"Destruction of the House of *Nechtán*."

This is an episode of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, and is well preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, and in the Book of Leinster. In the latter (folio 153, b. a.), there is a poem of twenty-three quatrains on the same subject. Some curious details of this place are also preserved in the *Dindsenchas* of *Dun Mac Nechtain*.

Togail bpuirne Da Deapga.—"Destruction of *Bruiden Da Derga*."

This is preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan, Class H. 2, 16, Lib. T.C.D. It relates the destruction, by British and Irish outlaws, of *Da Derg's* mansion, near Tallaght, Co. Dublin, and the slaughter of *Conaire Mor*, monarch of Erin, A. M., 5160.

Togail bpuirne Daile.—"Destruction of *Bruiden Daile*."

Togail bpuirne bpanain maic bpuin.—"Destruction of the *Bruiden of Branan*, son of *Brun*."

Togail bpuirne Da Choca.—"Destruction of *Bruiden Da Choca*."

This is preserved in the manuscript classed H. 3, 18, Lib. T.C.D. It relates the destruction of the mansion of the two *Cogas*, which was situated near *Sliabh Mallow*, Co. Westmeath, where *Cormac Condlonges*, son of *Conor Mac Nessa*, King of Ulster, was killed by the mercenary forces of *Ailill* and *Medb*, King and Queen of Connaught, about A. D. 33.

Tana tpa innio .i.—"TAINS (COW-SPOILS) HERE NOW, I. E."

Tain bo Cuailgne.—"Cow-spoil of *Cuailnge*."

This is well preserved in the Library of T.C.D.: in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan, Class H. 2, 16. The

oldest copy I know of the tale is that preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, which is, however, imperfect at the end.

ΤΑΙΝ ΤΕΟΡΔ Ν-ΕΡΙC Ν-ΕΔCΗΔC.—“Plunder of the three cows of Eochad.”

This tale, which gives an account of a raid made into *Ceann Tìre*, now Cantire in Scotland, by *Cuchulaind* and his Ultonian comrades, is preserved in the British Museum in the manuscript classed Egerton, 88.

ΤΑΙΝ ΒΟ ΡΟΥΡ.—“Cow-spoil of Ros.”

ΤΑΙΝ ΒΟ ΡΕΓΑΜΑΙΝ.—“Cow-spoil of Regaman.”

This is a pre-tale of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, and one of the oldest of its class, being referred to in all the older copies of the *Táin*. *Regaman* was an affluent chieftain of that part of ancient Corcomroe now called Burren, in the County of Clare. His seven daughters, with all his herds and chattels, were carried away by the seven *Manes*—sons of *Ailell*, and *Medb*, King and Queen of Connaught, when they were preparing for the expedition of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. This tale is curiously summarized in the Book of Lecan, in the *Dindsenchas* of *Ath Cliath Meadraidhe*, which is said to have its name from a circumstance recorded in this tale. The Cowspoil of *Regaman*, and another tale under the same title, relating to the interview between *Cuchulaind* and the *Mor Rígu*, are well preserved in the Yellow Book of Lecan Class H. 2, 16, Lib., T.C.D.

ΤΑΙΝ ΒΟ ΦΛΙΔΑΣ.—“Cow-spoil of Flidas.”

This is another of the pre-tales of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, and its antiquity is shown by its being mentioned in all the older versions of the *Táin*. It is preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan, Lib. T.C.D., and a still older copy, a little imperfect at its commencement, will be found in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, Lib. R. I. A. *Flidas* was the beautiful wife of *Ailell Find*, or the fair, an affluent *Brugh* and warrior chief of West Connaught, who was alike renowned for her personal beauty and her wealth in cattle. She was carried away with all her cows and chattels, and her husband killed by *Fergus Mac Rogh* and his Ultonian exiles, aided by *Ailell* and *Medb*, King and Queen of Connaught, when they were preparing for the expedition of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*.

ΤΑΙΝ ΒΟ ΦΡΑΕCΗ.—“Cow-spoil of Fraech.”

This is also a pre-tale of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, and one of the oldest of its class. It is well preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan (Lib. T.C.D.), but the two versions differ somewhat in details. This curious tale is as much a *Tochmarc* as a *Táin*, and in reality it is both. It is chiefly devoted to the courtship of *Findabar*, daughter of *Ailell* and *Medb*, King and Queen of Connaught, by *Fraech*, son of *Fíad*, a Damnonian warrior of *Irrus Domnan* in the west of Connaught. When *Fraech* had returned from *Cruachan*, his mother informed him that his wife, children, and cows, had been carried away by a band of plunderers from the Alps, who had visited his place in his absence. *Fraech* went forth and complained to *Conall Cearnach*, who espoused his cause, and with a small band of

followers they pursued the plunderers till they reached the mountain of the Alps, where they succeeded in recapturing the spoils, through the agency of a woman from the Province of Ulster, who had been previously carried off by the same party, and kept by them in bondage attending to their herds on the Alpine mountains.

While *Fraech* was engaged in his love adventure at *Cruachan*, he received an invitation from *Trebland*, daughter of *Fraech*, son of *Aengus* of the *Brugh*, who then lived with her foster-father, *Cairbre Nia Fer* at *Tara*, asking him to come to meet her, as she was deeply enamoured of him, and anxious to become his wife. *Fraech* proceeded from *Cruachan* to meet *Trebland* before he returned home, and while thus engaged in this double love adventure, the plunderers had ample time to drive away his cows, and carry off his plunder.

This latter tale is not mentioned in the preceding list of *Historic Tales*, or in the list in the Book of Leinster, but it is preserved in the Book of Fermoy [Lib. R. I. A.], under the title of *Tochmarc Treblainne*—"Courtship of Treblainn;" and I have no doubt it is a genuine old tale, hence I have included it in my translations as a sequel to *Táin Bó Fraech*.

Táin bó Feithir.—"Cow-spoil of Fithir."

Táin bó Faillin.—"Cow-spoil of Faillin."

Táin bó Gae.—"Cow-spoil of Gae."

Táin bó Dartad.—"Cow-spoil of Dartad."

This is a pre-tale of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* and appears to be one of the oldest of its class. It is mentioned in the body of the *Táin* itself, and a small fragment of it is preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*. The subject is the plunder of the cows of *Dartad*, daughter of *Eochaidh Beg*, king of *Chiaich* (in the present county of Limerick), by the forces of *Ailell* and *Medb*, when they were preparing for the expedition of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. The tale is well preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan (Lib. T. C. D.)

Tochmarc innro.—"COURTSHIPS (OR WOOINGS) HERE."

Tochmarc Neime.—"Courtship of Neim."

Tochmarc Emer.—"Courtship of Emer."

This is the celebrated story of the Courtship of Emer, daughter of *Forgall Manach* of *Dun Forgaill*, near Lusk, Co. Dublin, by the Ultonian champion *Cuchulaind*. Two imperfect copies of this tale are in the Academy's Library: one in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, and another in the Mulcanny MS. N. 23, 10. The whole tale is well preserved in the British Museum in the MS. classed Harl., 5280, from which O'Curry made the copy now preserved in the Library of the Catholic University.

Tochmarc Ailline.—"Courtship of Aillin."

This relates the Courtship of *Aillin*, or *Ailbhe*, daughter of *Cormac Mac Art*, monarch of Erin, by the famous champion *Fínd Mac Cumhaill*. An abstract of this tale will be found in MS. H. 3. 17. Lib. T. C. D.

Tochmarc Éadaine.—“Courtship of Edain.”

This tale relates the Courtship of *Étain* by *Eochaidh Airem*, monarch of Ireland (A. M. 5070-5084), by whom she was wooed and won. Her subsequent abduction by the fairy chieftain *Midir* of *Breg Leith*, and her pursuit and capture by the monarch *Eochaidh*, form the principal features of the piece. Copies of this tale are to be found in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, Lib. R. I. A., and in the Yellow Book of Lecan, and in the MS. classed H. 3. 17., Lib. T. C. D.

Tochmarc Fea.—“Courtship of Fea.”

Tochmarc Feirbe.—“Courtship of Ferb.”

A good copy of this piece—a little imperfect at the commencement—is preserved in the Book of Leinster. This curious tale relates the Courtship of *Ferb*, daughter of *Gerg* of *Gleann Geirg* in Ulster, by one of the *Manes*, son of *Ailell* and *Medb*, King and Queen of Connaught. It also contains *Fis Conchobair*, or the Vision of King Conor of Ulster, and its interpretation by his Druid *Cathbath*, and *Togail Duin Geirg*, or Destruction of *Dun Geirg*, the residence of *Gerg*, which had been plundered and demolished by King *Conchobar* on this occasion.

Tochmarc Finnve.—“Courtship of Finind.”

Tochmarc Sneine Finnve.—“Courtship of Grian the Fair.”

Tochmarc Sneine Dúinnve.—“Courtship of Grian the Brown.”

Tochmarc Sarobe ingene Seircino.—“Courtship of Sadhb, daughter of Sescind.”

Tochmarc Físiu ocus Dairine na ingein Tuathail.

“Courtship of Fithir and Dairine, the two daughters of Tuathail.”

This tale relates the Adventures of the two daughters of *Tuathail Techtmar*, or *Tuathal* the legitimate, monarch of Ireland, who was slain in A.D. 106. His two daughters were courted and betrayed by *Eochaidh Ard Cheand*, King of Leinster, whence arose the war which caused the infliction of the *Boreamh Laigen*, or Boromean tribute on the people of Leinster, about A.D. 90. Copies of this tale are preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in the Book of Lecan (Lib. R. I. A.). The facts of

to speak to her. As the evening approached, she stood up and proceeded to do all the business of the house, as would well become an industrious housekeeper. She made a good *bairgin*, or cake of bread, and placed it before him for his dinner, and dined with him herself. *Crund* admired her good qualities and proposed to her to become his wife and remain with him for good. She consented, and they lived happy together till the next great annual *Oenach Emna*, or public fair of the Ultonians. She went to this fair with her husband, and here the altercation took place which caused the *Ceasnaoiden*, "child-birth pains," and debility of the Ultonians. This and the story of the *Ceasnaoiden* itself are two of the Introductory Tales of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* mentioned in my list.

Tochmarc Eithne Uathach ingene Cremthainn.—"Courtship of Eithne Uathach, daughter of Cremthand."

This story was devoted to the Courtship of *Eithne* the daughter of *Cremthan* King of Leinster, who was wooed and won by *Aengus*, son of *Natfraech*, King of Munster. They were both killed in the battle of *Cill Osnad*, Co. Carlow, in the year 489. No detailed account of this courtship has come down to us, but there is a curious and interesting account of the Princess *Eithne* and her espousal by *Aengus*, son of *Natfraech*, in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, in the story of the cause of the banishment of the *Dessi* out of Tara, which is, perhaps, the best account of this couple that has come down to us.

Catha d'an 'innro .i.—"BATTLES NOW HERE, I. E."

Cath Mungí Turro.—"Battle of Magh Tured."

There are two distinct pieces under this title, for some account of which see my list of translations, near the end of this paper.

Cath Tailten.—"Battle of Tailten."

This battle was fought at *Tailten* (now Teltown, in Meath), between the Milesian Brothers and the *Tuatha De Danann* about A.M. 3500, and in it the latter were subdued. The mere fact of the occurrence of the battle is mentioned in the Book of Invasions. Some details of the battle are given in MS. H. 4, 22, Lib. T. C. D., and in the story of *Altrom Tigi da Medir*, in the Book of Fermoy, Lib. R. I. A.

Cath Mungí Muchroma.—"Battle of Magh Muchroma."

This battle was fought between *Art*, the monarch of Erin, and his nephew *Mac Con*, a Munster Prince, in which the former was slain, A. D. 196. Several paper copies of the tale are preserved in the Libraries of the Royal Irish Academy, and Trinity College, Dublin. There is a good copy made by Andrew Mac Curtin, about the year 1710, in the O'Curry manuscripts in the Catholic University, and another in my own possession.

Cath Opomms Daloch d'ar Oithaig cuithnec.—"Battle of Drom Daloch, in which the Picts were slaughtered."

Cath Mungí Rath.—"Battle of Magh Rath."

This battle was fought between the monarch *Domnall* and *Congal*

Claon, A. D. 634, and in it the latter was defeated. This tale was published by the Irish Archæological Society in 1842, and edited, with an English translation and notes, by the late Dr. O'Donovan.

CATH CORAIND.—“Battle of Corand.”

CATH CLAIRI.—“Battle of Claire.”

CATH BOINDÉ.—“Battle of the Boind.”

CATH TEMPASH.—“Battle of Teamair.”

UATHA IMOPPO IMHO .I.—“CAVES NOW HERE, I. E.”

UATH AINGEOD.—“Cave of Ainged.”

This story is preserved in T. C. D. in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan, under the title of *Táin Bó (or Bè) Aingen*. Though *Táin Bó (or Bè) Aingen* is not mentioned in this list of Tales, or in that published by O'Curry, it is nevertheless referred to in all the old copies of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, and generally presumed to be one of the oldest tales of its class. It is included in my translations of the *Táin Series of Historic Tales*. It is one of those mythological tales in which the personages and incidents of life are mixed up with the supernatural agencies and attributes of the *Sid*.

It sets forth how *Ailell* and *Medb* King and Queen of Connaught, were celebrating the feast of *Samain* one November night, in their palace of *Cruachan*, in the present county of Roscommon.

Two culprits were hung upon a tree at *Cruachan* on the previous day, and left suspended from it till the night of *Samain* should have passed off—for on that night it is stated that all the *Sid* of Erin were left open for ingress and egress to all. It was then, as now, supposed to be a wicked and a dangerous thing to meddle with the remains of the dead, as the demons and the people of the *Sid* were at large over the world on the night of *Samain* (or November), and both were supposed to pay particular attention to the bodies of the dead and to surround the places of their deposit.

To test the valour of his household, *Ailell* offered a reward of a gold-hilted sword—the emblem of knighthood—to any young warrior who would go out and tie a gad, (or coil of twisted twigs), upon the leg of one of the culprits who were still hanging from the gallows-tree. Several ambitious young men tried the test and failed, being all disheartened by the legions of the demons and men of the *Sid*. At length *Nera* went out and performed the feat, and thus commenced the “Adventures of Nera.”

The culprit, we are told, came to life, and imposed a variety of injunctions on *Nera*, with all of which he had to comply. On his return, however, he saw the palace of *Cruachan* all in a blaze, and met a host of strange men on the way; those being the mysterious host of the *Sid*, who were after plundering and burning the palace of *Cruachan*. He was anxious to know who they were, and followed them till he went into the cave of *Cruachan*, and into the *Sid* of the cave. The nobles of the *Sid* observing the stranger—*Nera*—had him

seized and brought on trial before the King and magnates of the *Sid*, who sentenced him to remain in their own service—as it were in penal servitude—assisting one of their female attendants, and carrying in firewood to the mansion of the *Sid*. In this office *Nera* remained, and got married to the woman of the *Sid*, and thus became acquainted with all the concerns of the place. One fine day he broke his parole, and managed to return home to *Ailell* and *Medb*, with such information regarding the *Sid* and its treasures as tempted them to plunder it. This they did on a succeeding *Samain*, and among the treasures carried away on that occasion were the *Cetach Loeghaire*, and *Emeach Dunlaing*, and the *Barr Briuinn*, the three prime jewels of Erin.

Uath Egarín in Comair.—“Cave of the Church of the Comar.”

Uath Belais Conglais.—“Cave of Bealach Conglais.”

There is a curious account of this cave, and of *Cu Glas*, from whom it is named, preserved in the *Dindsenchas* of *Bealach Conglais*, in the Book of Lecan, folio 234, b. b. *Cu Glas* was the seventh son of *Don Dessa*, King of Leinster, he was fostered by *Eterscel Mór*, monarch of Ireland, and succeeded to the office of Master of the Hounds to his son, *Conaire Mór*. When his six elder brothers joined *Ingeel Caech* and his followers in rebellion against *Conaire Mór* (whom they killed in the assault and destruction of the *Bruiden Da Derga*, A. M. 5160), *Cu Glas* remained faithful to his master and continued in his service. He went out with the King's hounds one day from Tara, and passed on to the place subsequently called *Bealach Conglais* (now Baltinglas, Co. Wicklow). Here they started a wild hog, and worsted him in the chase till he took shelter in the cave. *Cu Glas* and the hounds pursued him and were lost in the cave, and they have not since returned; and hence the place is called the cave of the pass of *Cu Glas*. There is a poem of four quatrains on this subject in the Book of Leinster, folio 155, a. b.

Uath Lice Bláta.—“Cave of Leac Blath.”

Uath Muig Bolg.—“Cave of Magh Bolg.”

Uath Beinne Heodair.—“Cave of Bend Etair.”

This was the celebrated cave of *Etair*, at Howth, in which *Diarmait* and *Grainne* took refuge after their elopement, when pursued by King *Cormac*, the father, and *Fínd Mac Cumall*, the affianced husband of *Grainne*. There is a good deal of romance concerning this cave to be found in our Irish manuscripts: but of this tale I only know one original copy, that in the British Museum, MS. Harl., 5280, of which there is a copy in the O'Curry MSS. in the Catholic University.

Uath Lochs Lurgan.—“Cave of Loch Lurgan.”

Uath Dearc Fearn.—“Cave of Dearc Fearn.”

I am not aware of any existing copy of this tale. *Dearc Fearn* was the ancient name of the cave now known as the Cave of Dunmore, Co. Kilkenny, respecting which see the Academy's Proceedings, Ser. II., Vol. II., p. 168. In the Book of Leinster there is an ancient poem enumerating the triumphs and great deeds of the men of

Leinster, and the graves of heroes who were killed by them. Among the great achievements recorded in this poem to the credit of the Leinstermen is the trampling to death of some sort of monster called *Luchtigern* in the mouth of this cave. The quatrain is as follows:—

Ro co-a-sg in nua-dail-sg.
 Ro-bá-ro for Lá-r-a be-ba:
 Ro-sal-ca-n for in Lu-chi-gern,
 In-do-or De-er Fe-rna.

They detained the *Rond Chillech*,
 They drowned her in the middle of the *Berba*;
 They trampled upon the *Luchtigern*,
 In the door of *Dere Ferna* (Cave of Ferna).

Uath Uama Cru[á]chan.—“Cave of the Cavern of Cruachan.”

I am not aware of any existing copy of this tale. O'Curry believed it to be the story in the *Táin Bó Aingen* above noticed. There are, however, several other legends and tales of the cave of *Cruachan*, which may be also considered under this head. One is preserved in the *Dindsenchas* of *Loch Erne*, now Lough Erne, which sets forth how *Erne*, daughter of *Burc Buiredach*, who held the office of mistress of the maidens, and keeper of the combs, caskets, and robes of Queen *Medb*, and her maidens, were frightened by a contentious man named *Urhas* (which simply means bearded), who came forth from the cave of *Cruachan*. He gnashed his teeth and shook his beard at them, and so hideous was he that *Erne* and her maidens fled precipitately from him till they were overwhelmed in the waters of *Loch Erne*: whence the name.

There is a poem in the Ossianic style, preserved in the O'Curry manuscripts in the Catholic University, which gives an account of a foot-race between Find MacCumall and an unknown knight who challenged him to a foot-race. The challenge was accepted, and the race terminated in the stranger running into the cave of *Cruachan*, pursued by *Guille*, son of *Bann*, one of the sons of *Uisne*.

Ua Corra" comes next in the list of Historic Tales in the Book of Leinster, but it is omitted in the present list from MS. H. 3. 17. The tale is, however, well preserved in the Book of Fermoy, and well described by O'Curry in his Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History.]

Imram Luinge Murchertais Mac Éreca.—"Navigation of the ship of Murchertach Mac Ére."

A short sketch of this *Imram* or voyage is preserved in MS. H. 3. 17., Lib. T. C. D. *Murchertach Mac Éreca*, the hero of this tale, was grandson of *Eogan*, from whom *Tír Eogain* is so called, and from whom the *Clanna Neill* are descended. For some account of him see the Irish version of Nennius (Ir. Archæol. Soc.), and the account of his death preserved in the Yellow Book of Lecan (Lib. T. C. D., H. 2. 16).

Loinger bhu Leith.—"Navigation (or Exile) of Bri Leith."

I have not been able to find any trace of this tale. Perhaps it may be the *Longas* or exile of *Bri Bruach Breac*, daughter of *Midir*, who is stated in the *Dindsenchas* of *Brigh Leith* to have fled to that place with her sweetheart, *Liath*, son of *Celtchair* of *Cualand*: hence the name *Brigh Leith*. See Book of Lecan, folio 262, a. a., and MS., H. 3. 3., Lib., T. C. D.

Loinger bpscaim.—"Navigation (or Exile) of Braccan."

This tale is quoted as an authority in the *Dindsenchas* of *Coire Breacain*, the well-known eddy of that name between the north-east coast of Erin and *Ceann Tíre* (now Cantire) in Scotland. In this account *Braccan* is stated to have been the son of *Partholon*, who came towards Erin before his father, and who was drowned in the *Coire*, i. e., the boiler or whirlpool, called after him *Coire Braccain*, i. e., *Braccan's Boiler*. Cormac MacCullinan quotes an abstract of this tale in his Glossary, *sub voce Coire Breccain*, where it is stated that *Braccan*, from whom *Caire Braccain* is named, was the son of *Mane*, son of all of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland, A. D. 379-405.

Loinger Eithne Uathach.—"Navigation (or Exile) of Eithne Uathach."

This tale is not mentioned in the list of Historic Tales in the Book of Leinster. It belongs to the time of Saint Patrick, and relates the *Longas* or Exile of *Eithne Uathach*, daughter of *Crimthan*, King of Leinster, who was carried away by the *Desse* into Munster immediately after her birth, and nursed and fostered by them till she became the wife of *Aengus*, son of *Natfraech*, King of Munster, who was converted by Saint Patrick. The courtship of this lady is also mentioned in our list at p. 221, and noticed above, but I am not aware of any complete independent version of either of the tales. The story of the Banishment of the *Desse*, and their settlement in Munster, is preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, and gives a very fair idea of both stories.

Loinger Labrad.—"Navigation (or Exile) of Labrad."

This is the story of the exile and adventures of *Labrad Loingsech*, or Labrad the exile. This tale, or at least a good portion of it, is preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan, Lib. T. C. D. The substance of the tale is well summed up in a

beautiful poem on the Leinstermen and their progenitors, attributed to the royal bard Find, son of Ross, King of Leinster, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in the MS. styled *Psaltar na Rann*. Of this I possess a good copy. Dr. Keating, in his *History of Ireland*, gives a good account of the adventures and exile of *Labrad Loingsech*. It is also well described by O'Curry, in his *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History*.

Longer Fothad.—“Navigation (or Exile) of Fothad.”

This tale is not known to me, but it probably refers to *Fothad na Canoine*, and the exile or temporary banishment to which he subjected himself when he abducted the wife of Oilell, son of Eogan, which forms the subject of another story mentioned in our list, and of which there is an abstract in Lib. T.C.D., MS. H. 3, 17. See p. 233.

ΔΙΘΕΘ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΗΓΟ.—“TRAGEDIES (DEATHS) NOW
HERE.”

ΔΙΘΕΘ Curoi.—“Death of Curoi.”

This is the story of the fate of *Curoi Mac Dare*, the famous warrior, King of Westmunster, who fell by the hand of the Ultonian champion, *Cuchulaind*. Keating gives a detailed account of the death of *Curoi Mac Dare*, and his quarrels with *Cuchulaind*. The tale is preserved in the Brit. Mus. Lib. in Egerton, MS., 88, and in the Book of Leinster. The *Amra Conroi*, or “Elegy of Curoi” *Mac Dare*, by *Fercertne* the poet, is also preserved in the former, and in Lib. of T.C.D., MS., H. 3. 18.

ΔΙΘΕΘ Conculaind.—“Death of Cuchulaind.”

This story, which relates the circumstances of the death of *Cuchulaind*, by the necromantic arts of the children of *Cailitin*, in the *Brisleach Mor Maighe Muirthemne*, or Great Battle of *Brisleach* in *Muirthemne*, is preserved in a paper manuscript, No. 1. 1., Lib., R.I.A. The story of the fight of *Cuchulaind* with the sons of *Calatin*, and his death from the effects of the envenomed wounds which they inflicted on him in the battle of *Brisleach* in *Murthemne*, is an episode of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, and is well preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in MS. H. 3. 13., Lib. T.C.D.

There is a still more detailed account of the adventures and death of *Cuchulaind*, preserved in the Book of Leinster, commencing, imperfect, at folios 76. a. a. It consists of three parts, that already mentioned, and the *Siaburchobrad Conculaind*, and *Nuall Ghuba Emer*, or “Loud wailing of Emer”: one setting forth the frenzy and raving repentance of *Cuchulaind* when about to expire; the other describing the manner of his death, and how the *Liathmacha*, *Cuchulaind*'s favourite steed, went to forewarn his master's beautiful wife *Emer* of his death, and the manner in which she received the intelligence of her husband's death, and mourned him.

ΔΙΘΕΘ Fiadman.—“Death of Fiadman.”

ΔΙΘΕΘ Conall.—“Death of Conall.”

This tale, which relates the death of the champion *Conall Cearnach*,

and how he fell by the three Red Heads of Munster, is preserved in the MS. H. 2. 17. Lib., T.C.D. *Dubthach Ua Lughair* says in one of his poems (preserved in the Book of Leinster), that *Conall Cearnach* fell by the hands of the three "Red Heads," whom he regards as Leinstermen; but it is distinctly stated in the ancient copy of the tale to which I have referred, that *Conall Cearnach* fell by the three "Red Heads" of Munster, and it is added they were of the *Érnans* of Munster.

ΔΙΘΕΟ ΒΛΑΘ ΒΗΜΥΣΑΘ.—"Death of Blad Brugad."

ΔΙΘΕΟ ΛΑΙΓΔΑΙΡΗ.—"Death of Laeghaire."

ΔΙΘΕΟ ΦΕΑΡΓΥΡΑ.—"Death of Fergus."

This tale, which tells the fate and tragic death of the renowned champion, *Fergus Mac Roigh*, one of the most prominent figures in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*—I might say in the whole cycle of our heroic literature—is preserved in the Book of Leinster.

ΔΙΘΕΟ ΚΕΛΤΕΧΑΙΡ.—"Death of Celtchair."

This story, which relates the death of the Ultonian warrior, *Celtchair Mac Uthathir*, is preserved in the Book of Leinster.

ΔΙΘΕΟ ΚΟΝΚΟΒΑΡ.—"Death of Concobar."

This story, which relates the fate and tragic end of *Conchobar Mac Nessa*, King of Ulster, and the manner of his conversion to the Christian faith, is preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in MS. H. 3. 17. Lib. T.C.D. See Note at p. 250.

ΔΙΘΕΟ ΦΕΡΔΙΑΣ.—"Death of Ferdiagh."

This story, which relates the fate of *Ferdiadh*, and his death by the Ultonian champion, *Cuchulaind*, is an episode of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, and is well preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in MS. H. 3. 13. Lib. T.C.D. It has been recently published with an English translation in the Appendix to O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the People of Ancient Érin*, edited by Dr. W. K. Sullivan.

ΔΙΘΕΟ ΜΑΙΛΕΦΟΘΑΡΤΑΙΣ [ΜΑΙΛΕΦΟΘΑΡΤΑΙΣ—MS. H. 2, 18,] ΜΑΙΕΚ ΡΟΝΑΙΝ.—"Death of Maelfodartach [Maelfothartach], son of Ronan."

This story is preserved in the Book of Leinster, under the title *Fingal Ronain*, i. e., "Fratricide of Ronan," and sets forth how *Maelfothartach* was slain at the instigation of his father, Ronan, King of Leinster, who died A.D. 610.

[The next piece mentioned in the list is *Aided Fithail*, i. e., "Death of Fithal," a tale of which I know nothing. It is not mentioned in the list of tales in the Book of Leinster.]

ΔΙΘΕΟ ΦΙΝΟ.—"Death of Find."

ΔΙΘΕΟ ΤΑΔΟΥ ΜΕΙΚ ΚΕΙΝ.—"Death of Tadg, son of Cian."

This was Tadg, son of *Cian*, son of Oiloll Olum, King of Munster, A.D. 266, who was killed by a deer on the brink of the River Boyne. The tale is not known to me.

This is the last tale mentioned under the title of *Aided* or "Tragic deaths" in my list, but in the Book of Leinster list it is followed by *Aided Mac Samain*, "Fate of Mac Samain," a tale of which O'Curry says he knew nothing. I know no tale corresponding to the title.

Feasta imoipno annro .i.—“FEASTS NOW HERE, I.E.”

Feir tige Fírbliad.—“Feast of the House of Ferblad.”

O'Curry says (1861), that he knew nothing of this tale, but ^{he} must have discovered it afterwards, for it is now preserved in his MS. collection in the Catholic University, and with it another tale of the same class not mentioned in his list or in mine. It is headed Feir tige Bec Foltach.—“Feast of the House of Becfoltach,” which forms an interesting sequel to the fragment of the story of Cuchulaind's birth, quoted in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* (p. 128) from *Leabhar Droma Snechla*.

Feir tige Bicaire.—“Feast of the House of Bicaire.”

Feir tige Tulcain.—“Feast of the House of Tulcain.”

Feir tige Creitrim.—“Feast of the House of Creitrim (Trichim).”

Feir tige Li.—“Feast of the House of Li.”

Feir tige Linne.—“Feast of the House of Linn.”

Feir tige Guir.—“Feast of the House of Gud.”

Feir tige Gnair.—“Feast of the House of Gnair.”

Feir tige tri mac n-Deamaincath.—“Feast of the House of the three sons of Demancath.”

Feir tige Uiscle.—“Feast of the House of Uiscle.”

Feir tige Meallodalach.—“Feast of the House of Meallodalach.”

This is followed by the Feasts of the Houses of *Emain*, *Aillen*, and *Temair*, the royal residences respectively of Connaught, Ulster, Leinster, and Tara; I am not aware of any tale of any particular feast which took place at either of those places, but feasts were so essential to the organization of ancient Gaelic Society, and so frequent in the royal homes of Erin, that we find them frequently mentioned in our MSS.

Feir tige Cruachan.—“Feast of the House of Cruachan.”

Feir tige Amna.—“Feast of the House of Amna (Emain).”

Feir tige Tailith.—“Feast of the House of Tailith.”

Feir tige Temair.—“Feast of the House of Temair.”

this tale in the Book of Leinster list; and O'Curry, evidently supposing the tale to be lost, refers to the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 593, for some account of *Dun Buicced*. There is, however, a tale in the Book of Leinster, commencing at folio 197 b. and headed *Ḃuicceda*, which may be translated the "Gala or festivity of the house of *Buicced*." The entertainment appears to have included feasting, banqueting, music, songs, and stories, and certain amusements in which ladies and gentlemen had a like share, and which savoured very much of the character of a general dance, to which I have never met any allusion elsewhere in our very ancient tales. *Buicced* appears to have been an affluent man of the *Brugh* class, who kept open house at a place now called *Dunboyk*, in the parish of Hollywood (Co. Wicklow), where the remains of his *Dun* are still to be seen. *Dun Buicced* was burned by *Bran Dubh*, King of Leinster, A. D. 593.]

Fopbair annro .i.—"SIEGES (FOLLOW) HERE, I. E."

Fopbair Feppalga.—"Siege of the Men of Falga."

Falga appears to have been an ancient name for the Isle-of-Man, and the siege against it was by *Cuchulaind* and the men of Ulster. An obscure and over-condensed version of the tale is preserved in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 5280. I have in my own possession a detailed account of the invasion of *Manand* by *Cuchulaind* and *Curoi Mac Dare*, when they plundered and demolished the court of *Pill*, King of *Manand*, and carried away his beautiful daughter *Blathnat*, for whose possession they had so many quarrels afterwards. On this occasion *Cuchulaind* saved the lives of three gigantic warriors of the *Fer Falga*—men of *Falga*, or Man—and brought them home to Ireland in "living caption," and gave them as hostages to the King of Erin. They afterwards formed part of the retinue of *Conaire Mor*, monarch of Ireland, and are described among his company at *Bruighen Da Dearg*. See *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, page 95, col. 2.

Fopbair Eodair.—"Siege of Edair."

Edair or *Bin Edair* was the ancient name of Howth. Some account of the siege of *Edair* will be found in the story of *Athairne*, preserved in the Harleian MS. 5280 (Brit. Mus.), and in the Book of Leinster. See also *Dindsenchas*, and Poem on *Etair's Grave*.

Fopbair Oicil.—"Siege of Oicil (*Acaill*)."

Fopbair Dun Barc.—"Siege of Dun Barc."

Fopbair Dun Binne.—"Siege of Dun Bind."

Fopbair Fear Fioda.—"Siege of the Men of Fioda."

O'Curry supposed this siege to be the Battle of *Ardleinnachta*, now Newmilk Hill, Wexford, fought in the reign of Eremón by *Crimthan Sciatháel*, a *Firbolg* chief, against a tribe of Britons who infested the forests of that country. This circumstance is referred to in the *Dindsenchas* of *Ardleinnachta* in the Book of Lecan, but the tale itself is not known to me.

Fopbair Liffe.—"Siege of the Liffey."



Forbair Ladran.—“Siege of Ladran.”

Forbair Druime Damghaire.—“Siege of Drom Damghaire.”

Drom Damh Ghaire, which literally means the “Hill of the Ox-Bellowing,” was the ancient name of the place now known as “Knock-Long,” County Limerick. The siege was laid by the monarch *Cormac Mac Airt* against *Fiacha Muillethan* King of Munster, about the year 220. The story, though strictly historical in its leading facts, is full of wild incidents, in which *Mog Ruth* the famous Munster Druid, and *Cithruadh* and *Colptha*, the Druids of the monarch *Cormac*, are made to act a most conspicuous and curious part. The tale is preserved in the Book of Lismore in the Academy’s Library, and in the Irish MS. Collection in the Catholic University, and is well described by O’Curry in his Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History, and in his Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the people of ancient Ireland.

Eachtara imorrio anorjo rir a.—“ADVENTURES NOW FOLLOW HERE, I.E.”

Eachtara Neara.—“Adventures of Nera (Nera).”

This is, probably, the adventure related of *Nera* in the *Táin Bó Aingen* already noticed at p. 222.

Eachtara Fiamain.—“Adventures of Fiaman.”

Eachtara Curoi.—“Adventures of Curoi.” See p. 226.

Eachtara Conculainn.—“Adventures of Cuchulainn.”

There are two tales specially devoted to the adventures of *Cuchulainn* preserved in the Book of Leinster. See p. 247. O’Curry supposed this tale to be the story of *Cuchulainn’s* journey to Scotland to finish his military education with *Scathach*, and his adventures and exploits while abroad. If so the story is included in the tale of the Courtship of Emer already noticed, p. 219.

Eachtara Conaill.—“Adventures of Conall.”

O’Curry supposed this to be the tale of the adventures of the Ultonian warrior *Conall Cearnach*, of which we know nothing more than that it is mentioned in the account of the Battle of *Ross na Righ* in the Book of Leinster. There is, however, a story of the adventures of *Conall Cearnach* in MS. H. 3. 18., Lib. T.C.D. Possibly the story referred to is that of the Adventures of *Conall Claringech*, of which there is a copy in the MS. No. 205, in the Lib. R. I. A. There is another story corresponding to this title, of which there are several copies in the T.C.D., and R. I. A. Libraries. It is *Eachtara Conaill Sulbain*—“Adventures of Conall Golbain,” who was the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland, A. D. 379-405.

Eachtara Find a n-Deirc Fearna.—“Adventures of Find in Deare Farna.”

I am not aware of any existing copy of this tale, which purported to relate the adventures of *Find Mac Cumall*, in the Cave of Dunmore, Co. Kilkenny, anciently called *Deare Farna*. See “Caves,” p. 223.

Eachtra Concobair.—“Adventures of Concobar.”

Eachtra Crimthainn Nia Nar.—“Adventures of Crimthand Nia Nar.”

Eachtra Macha ingin Aeda Ruadh.—“Adventures of Macha, daughter of Aed Ruadh.”

This was *Macha Mong Ruadh*, daughter of *Aedh Ruadh*, King of Emania, whose adventures during her wars with the sons of *Dithorba* formed the subject of this tale. An abstract of the story is preserved in the Book of Leinster, where her journey to, and adventures in, Corcomroe, are well summed up, showing how she triumphed over the sons of *Dithorba*, and how she subsequently founded the palace of Emania, called after her *Emain Macha*. Her story is told in Keating's History of Ireland, and references to it may be found in all the Irish Annals.

Eachtra Neachtain [maic] Alfrond.—“Adventures of Neachtan [son of] Alfrond.”

Eachtra Eilcino maic Amalgados.—“Adventures of Eilcind, son of Amalgad.”

Eachtra Aedain maic Gabrain.—“Adventures of Aedan, son of Gabran.”

Aedan son of *Gabran*, was King of Scotland about the year A. D. 570. It was he who had the misunderstanding with *Aedh*, son of *Ainmerech*, monarch of Ireland, concerning the possession and allegiance of the Dalriads, which, among other important questions, was settled at the great convention of *Drom Ceat*, A. D. 590. I am not aware of any existing copy of the tale, but we have an interesting account of some of Aedan's adventures and of the troubles of his time, in the story of the death of *Cano*, son of Gartnan his grand-nephew, who fled for shelter into Ireland, about A. D. 687. The story of his adventures and death is included in my translations, with reference to which see p. 249 of this paper.

Eachtra Maile timsa maic Baedan.—“Adventures of Mael Uma, son of Baedan.”

Eachtra Mongan maic Fiachna.—“Adventures of Mongan, son of Fiachna.”

Mongan was the son of *Fiachna*, son of *Boedan*, King of Ulster, who was slain A. D. 621. This story is preserved in the Book of Fermoy, Lib. R. I. A. It opens with an account of the visit of *Fiachna*, son of *Boedan* (Mongan's father), to the land of *Lochlain* (Scandinavia), and his adventures there, but in reality the tale is a history of the life and adventures of *Mongan* himself. An abstract of the tale is preserved in Trinity College Library. There are many other tales of *Mongan* preserved in some of our best and oldest manuscripts, e. g. one in the Book of Leinster, and three others in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*.

Διττιο ιμορρο ανηρο ι.—“ELOPEMENTS NOW
HERE, I. E.”

Διττιο Μυμαινε πε Φιαδαινε.—“Elopement of **Mumain**
with **Fiadain**.”

Δεττο Δειρομιννε πε μακαιβ υιρνετ.—“Elopement of
Deirdrind with the sons of **Uisnech**.”

This tale is preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of Lecan, Lib. T. C. D. There are several versions of later dates, more or less imperfect or irregular in details. It has been twice published with English translations and notes: once by the Gaelic Society of Dublin in 1808, and again, by Professor O'Curry, in the *Atlantis* for July, 1860.

Διττιο Αιφε ινζιν Εογαν πε Μειροεαδαν.—“Elopement
of **Aife**, daughter of **Eogan**, with **Mesdeagad**.”

Διττιο Ναιφε ινζεν Φεργυρα πε Νεαρταχ μακ Κυλειν.—
“Elopement of **Nais**, daughter of **Fergus**, with **Neartach**, son of
Cuilen.”

Διττιο μνα Γαιαρ μεικ Δεργ πε Γλαρ μακ Κυμαιτ.—
“Elopement of the wife of **Gaiar**, son of **Derg**, with **Glas**, son of
of **Cim[b]aeth**.”

Διττιο βλατναιτε ινζεν Παλλ μακ Φιγατ πε Concho-
bairi.—“Elopement of **Blathnait**, daughter of **Pall**, son of
Figach, with **Conchobar** [**Cuchulaind**].”

This is the tale of the elopement of *Blathnat* with *Curoi Mac Darr*, on the occasion of the siege of *Fer Falga*. O'Curry supposed this to be the same as the story of *Aided Conroi*—“Death of *Curoi*,”—above noticed. This, however, is not probable; *Blathnat* was twice abducted: first, from her father's palace in *Falga* (Isle of Man), by the united efforts of *Curoi MacDare* and *Cuchulaind*. She then became the wife of *Curoi MacDare*, and lived with him at his palace

Find Mac Cumall, has supplied the legendary origin of the title *Leaba Dhiarmada agus Ghrainne*—"Bed of Diarmait and Grainne," applied to many of the *Cromleacs* in this and other countries. A current version of the tale, edited with an English translation by Standish Hayes O'Grady, was published in 1857 by the Ossianic Society, under the title *Torruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghrainne*—"Pursuit of Diarmait and Ghrainne."

Διθιρ Μυρε πε Δουβριρ.—"Elopement of Muire with Dubruis."

Διθιρ Ρυιθχεαρνν πε Κυανα μαρ Καλκιν.—"Elopement of Ruithcearnn, with Cuana, son of Cailcín."

This story is preserved in the Book of Leinster. *Ruithcearn* was the daughter of *Aed Benen*, King of Westmunster about A. D. 600, and wife of *Mac Lonan*, the poet. *Cuana*, son of *Cailcín*, with whom she eloped, was King of *Fearnmuige*, now Fermoy, Co. Cork. For some account of *Cuana*, son of *Cailcín*, see Irish Life of St. Molaga of Timoleague, patron saint of Fermoy, who was his contemporary.

Διθιρ ειρε ινγεν Λογερνν πε μυρεοαχ μαρ Εογαν.—"Elopement of Eire, daughter of Logarnn, with Muredach, son of Eogan."

This tale is preserved in MS. H. 3. 17., Lib. T.C.D. *Ere* was daughter of *Loarn*, King of Scotland, A. D. 503. *Ailell* was the son of *Eogan*, ancestor of the *Cineal Eoghain*. See Irish Nennius (Ir. Archæol. Soc.)

Αθαρσ Κυρε πε Λαιγνεν.—"Elopement of Cred [Dighe] with Lagnen."

Διθιρ μνα Οιλίλλα μαρ Εογαν πε Φοθαδ Κανανν.—"Elopement of the wife of Oilill, son of Eogan, with Fothad Canann." (See under "Loingeas Fothad," p. 226.)

Αιρνε ιμορρια ανηρσ οον .ι.—"SLAUGHTERS NOW FOLLOW HERE, I. E."

Αιρσιν Μυγι Σεταλα.—"Slaughter of Magh Cetala."

Αιρσιν Οιννα Ραιγ.—"Slaughter of Dind Righ."

This is the tale of the Destruction of *Dind Righ*, near Carlow, by *Labradh Loingsech*. It is preserved in the Book of Leinster, and is quoted in the *Amra Colum Chille* in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*.

Αιρσιν Αθα Κλιαθ.—"Slaughter of Ath Cliath."

Αιρσιν Ουινε Οελγα.—"Slaughter of Dun Delga."

Αιρσιν Τουρ Κοναινγ.—"Slaughter of Conaing's Tower."

This is the story of the Destruction of *Conaing's Tower* on Tory Island, off the coast of Donegal. It was a triumph of the Nemedians over the Fomorians, and is told in the Book of Conquests.

Αιρσιν Νερσ μαρ Ινδαγ ι ν-Αιλεαδ.—"Slaughter of Neid, son of Indach, in Ailech."

Neid was a *Tuatha De Danann* chieftain who was surprised and slain by the Fomorians in *Ailech Neid*. The facts of this tale are recorded in two poems in the Book of Leinster, and in the *Dindsenchas* of *Ailech Neid*, but I have not been able to identify the tale itself.

Δρῖδων Belcon βῖ[ι]τῖbne. — "Slaughter of Belchu Brithne."

This tale, which relates the death of *Belchu Brefne* and his sons, who were surprised and slain by *Conall Cearnach*, is preserved in MS. H. 3. 17., Lib. T. C. D.

Δρῖδων Cairbre Cind Cait for ræp Clansib Ereno. — "Slaughter of Cairbre Cind Cait upon the free Clans of Erin."

This is devoted to a history of the Revolution of the *Aithetich Tuatha*, or "Atticotts," under the leadership of *Cairbre Ceann Caitt*, and the slaughter by them of the free clans of Erin, which took place, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 10. It is contained in MS. H. 2. 17. in Lib. T. C. D.

Δρῖδων Eochad for a macab. — "Slaughter of Eochaid upon his sons."

This story, which relates the slaughter of his sons by *Eochaid Feid-look*, monarch of Erin, A. M. 5058-5069, is preserved under the title of *Catá Atha Cennair*, or battle of *Ath Cennair*, in manuscript No. 1. 1. of the Hodges and Smith collection in the Academy's Library, and in the Book of Leinster and Yellow Book of Lecan, Lib. T. C. D.

Δρῖδων Cuile Conaill. — "Slaughter of Cuil Conaill."

This title is somewhat obscure. In the list of tales in the Book of Leinster, it is made *Cuille Conaill* — "of the Wood of Conall," but I have not been able to find the tale under either title.

[In the Book of Leinster list, the next tale mentioned is *ogam conaill* — "Slaughter of *Dunan* of Eg." It purports to give an account of the martyrdom of Saint *Dunan* of Eg, an island in the Hebrides. It is mentioned in the Library of *Angus Cole De*, and in the *Folere*, or *Folere*, of *Angus*, 7th April, at the feast of St. *Dunan* of Eg.]

same errand from *Conchobar Mac Nessa*, King of Ulster. *Mac Datho* saw in this coincidence an opportunity of drawing the two neighbouring provinces into a war which would weaken the power of both; and believing that the weakness of the northerns would be the strength of the southern, he told the messengers of the two kings respectively, that he had already promised the hound to the master of the other, and that he saw no way of getting out of the difficulty but to ask both kings to come to his court, with their nobles and choicest warriors, to partake of a feast which he proposed to prepare for them, and where he hoped to be able to arrange between them so as to get himself out of the difficulty.

The messengers of both kings accepted the invitation for their respective masters, and when the appointed time came, the northern kings, with their choicest nobles and warriors, arrived at the court of *Mac Datho*, which appears to have been situated in the southern extremity of the present county of Carlow. The generous host, *Mac Datho*, had killed for the occasion his famous pig. The company having sat down to the feast, a difficulty arose as to which of the northern provinces should have the cutting and distribution of the great pig. After a sharp contest in a comparison in the relative military merits of the two provinces, carried on chiefly by *Cet*, son of *Magach* of Connaught, and *Conall Cearnach*, the famous Ulster champion, the cutting and distribution of the pig was conceded to the latter. *Conall* sat at the pig's tail, and distributed it liberally to his own countrymen; but when he thought at last of his neighbours of Connaught, he found that he had nothing remaining but the pig's two fore-legs, and these he threw to them disdainfully, and with a sneer which indicated that they were emblematic of the speed with which the Connaughtmen fled before the men of Ulster. A fierce conflict ensued, blood was spilled in abundance, and the Connaughtmen retreated northwards. The hound was then let loose by *Mac Datho*, and let into the battle fray to choose for himself between the rival candidates for his possession. He joined the men of Ulster in pursuit of the Connaughtmen, and coming up to the chariot of *Ailell* and *Medb* on their retreat, sprang furiously upon it. The charioteer struck him on the neck with his sword, so that the head fell into the chariot, and the body to the ground. The hound's name was *Ailbhe*, and it is stated in the story that it was from it the place was called *Magh Ailbhe* (or *Ailbhe's plain*). This plain, where *Datho's* hound was killed, is believed to have been situated on the confines of the present counties of Carlow and Kildare, but within the border of the latter, and a short distance north of the present town of Carlow.

The king and queen continued their course northwards to *Bealach Mughna*, of old *Roerin*, now Ballaghmoon, Co. Kildare (where *Cormac Mac Cuillenain*, King and Archbishop of Cashel, was killed, A. D. 903), over *Ath Midbinni*, to *Maistin*, now *Mullagh Maisten*, or *Mullemast*, Co. Kildare, past *Druim Criagh*, which is now called *Cill Dara*, or Kildare, past *Rath Imghain* (Rathangan), to *Fid n-Gabla*, the wood of

the *Gabal*, or fork of the two rivers which meet at Clonsost, in the north-east corner of ancient *Ui Failge*, or Offally, and of the present King's County, north-west of *Rathangan*; to *Ath Mic Lugna*, the ford of the son of *Lugna*—which ford must have been upon the north-east branch of the *Gabal*—past *Druim Da Maighe*, "The hill of the two plains," now Drumcaw, in the parish of Ballinakill, in the north-east corner of the King's County, over *Droichet Chairpre*, or Bridge of Cairbre, on *Tochur Chairpri*, or Cairbre's Causeway (a place lying south of *Cluain Irard*, now Clonard, along which the boundary line of Meath and Leinster passed to *Geisell*, near Tullamore, in the King's County. *Cairpri's* Bridge was over the *Boind*, or Boyne, in the present barony of Carberry, in the northern corner of the county of Kildare), to *Ath Chinn Chon*, the ford of the hound's head, in *Feara Bile*, now the barony of Farbill in Westmeath. Here *Ailell's* charioteer cast the hound's head out of the chariot, and hence the name *Ath Chinn Chon*, or ford of the hound's head, has adhered to the place, which appears to be that now called Kinnegad.

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΜΑΙΟ ΜΑΓΑΧ.—"Slaughter of the sons of Magach."

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΣΙΔΑ ΝΕΝΤΑ.—"Slaughter of Sid Nenta."

This was the Fairy Mansion or *Sid*, situated on the hill, called from it *Mullach Shee*—"Fairy Hill" (near Lanesborough, Co. Roscommon), of which *Sigmall* was chief. *Sigmall* was charged with having aided Midir of *Brigh Leith* in his love enterprises with Queen *Elain*, wife of *Eochaidh Airem*, monarch of Ireland, and in her abduction from *Tara*. The monarch *Eochaidh* pursued his wife and recaptured her, and he is stated to have, in revenge, demolished every prime *Sid* or Fairy Mansion in Erin, and *Sid Nenta*—the *Sid* of *Sigmall*—among the rest. Hence, the enmity of the *Sid* followed the race of *Eochaidh Airem* ever after. *Sigmall* was again charged with the murder of *Eochaidh* in the year A. M. 5084, and it was by the action of the *Sid* of *Brigh Leith* the destruction of his *ua*, grandson, *Conaire Mór*, was wrought at the *Bruiden Da Derga*, A. M. 5160.

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΡΑΤΑ ΚΛΥΑΤΑ.—"Slaughter of Rath Cluath."

In the list in the Book of Leinster this is made *Strath Cluada*, and O'Curry supposed it to refer to *Strath Clyde* in Scotland. *Rath Cluata* is, however, mentioned in the Book of Leinster as one of the primitive *Raths* of Erin.

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΣΛΕΙΒ ΣΕΛΓΑΧ.—"Slaughter of Sliabh Sealgach."

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΡΑΤΑ ΡΙΓΒΑΙΡΟ.—"Slaughter of Rath Righbard."

This was one of the first *Raths* built by the Milesians in Ireland. The tale of its destruction has not been identified.

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΡΑΤΑ ΡΙΓ ΣΥΛ.—"Slaughter of Rath Righ Guil."

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΡΑΤΑ ΤΥΑΙΓΕ.—"Slaughter of Rath Tuaiqe."

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΡΑΤΑ ΤΥΑΙΛΕ.—"Slaughter of Rath Tuaisle."

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΡΑΤΑ ΤΟΒΑΧΤΑ.—"Slaughter of Rath Tobachta."

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΡΑΤΑ ΤΙΜΙΛ.—"Slaughter of Rath Timill."

ΑΡΓΑΙΝ ΡΑΤΑ ΚΥΝΓΕ.—"Slaughter of Rath Cuinge."

Αῖγαν Ραῖα Cuillind.—“Slaughter of Rath Cuillind.”

Αῖγαν Ραῖα Cruachan.—“Slaughter of Rath Cruachan.”

Αῖγαν Καῖραδ Boirce.—“Slaughter of Cathair Boirce.”

Professor O'Curry identified this place with the present *Cathair Boirce*, in the County of Down, and believed the tale to be part of *Cathréim Chonailhlár Cingeach*—“Triumphs of Conall Claringech,” of which there is a copy in Hodges and Smith MS. (R. I. A., Lib.) No. 205.

Αῖγαν Ραῖ Conla.—“Slaughter of Rath Conla.”

Αῖγαν Ραῖa Guanla.—“Slaughter of Rath Guanla.”

Αῖγαν Ραῖa Uillne.—“Slaughter of Rath Uillne.”

Αῖγαν Ραῖa Naiss.—“Slaughter of Rath Naiss.”

Αῖγαν Benne Ce.—“Slaughter of Beind Ce.”

This is made Αῖγαν Ραῖa benne ce—“Slaughter of the Rath of Binn Ce,” in the Book of Leinster list. I do not know the tale, unless it be the story told in the *Dindsenchas* of *Loch Ce* in the Book of Lecan.

Αῖγαν Ραῖa Σραναιρο.—“Slaughter of the Rath of Granard.”

Αῖγαν Ραῖa Burach.—“Slaughter of Rath Burach.”

Βηστανς Scone.—“Treachery of Scone.”

This appears to have been a Scotch or Pictish tale, and has not been identified.

Αἰσθεῖς Αῖτουρι.—“Visitation of [King] Arthur.”

Ἡ ἀμαίλ πρῶμπελ βον ἀμμιθερὶ νὰ ἴρεατὰ ἵο ἵρ ἱ.
 Τογμαῖομ οἰυρ ἴρ οἰυρ Σεαῖα οἰυρ Σλυσεαυα οἰυρ
 Τοχομῖαυα—“IT IS AS PRIME STORIES THESE TALES WHICH
 FOLLOW HERE ARE ENUMERATED—NAMELY, IRRUPTIONS, AND
 VISIONS, AND LOVES, AND EXPEDITIONS, AND PROGRESSES,” [I. E.]

Τογμαῖομ Λοῖα Εαῖα.—“Irruption of Loch Eachach.”

This story is preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* under the title of *Aided Echach Maic Mairda*—“Death of Eochaid, son of Mairda,” and in the *Dindsenchas* of *Loch n-Echach*, now Loch Neagh. It is included in my translation of *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*.

Τογμαῖομ Λοῖα Εἴρνε.—“Irruption of Loch Eirne.”

This story is preserved in the *Dindsenchas* of *Loch Erne*. An abstract of it is published in the Academy's Proceedings, Irish MSS. Series, Part I., p. 186.

ἴρ μνα Nemid.—“Vision of the wife of Nemid.”

ἴρ Concubair.—“Vision of Concobar.”

This is preserved in the Book of Leinster, and has been already noticed. See under *Tochmare Feirbe*, p. 220.

ἴρ Cuinn ἱ. Baile an Sgaíl.—“Vision of Conn, i.e., Baile an Scail.”

This is the vision or prophetic furor of *Scal*, which sets forth in a curious rhapsody the import of a vision in which the monarch Conn

of the Hundred Battles, had a foresight of coming events. It is preserved in the R. I. A., and T. C. D. Libraries, and is well described by Professor O'Curry in his Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish history.

Fir [F]ursa.—“Vision of [F]ursa.”

This is the vision of Saint *Fursa* of Perona, of which there is a condensed version in the Irish Life of St. Fursa preserved in the British Museum, MS. Egerton 91. This, however, appears to be a translation from Bede, who is twice quoted in the body of the Irish Life.

Seapc Caille Bepa oo Fothad Canand.—“Love of Caillech Bera for Fothad Canand.”

This was *Fathad na Canoine*, who abducted the wife of *Ailell*, son of *Eogan* already noticed at p. 233.

Seapc Dubhlaca oo Mongan.—“Love of Dubhlocha for Mongan.”

Mongan was King of Ulster, and was slain A. D. 622. The tale is preserved in the Book of Fermoy, Lib. R. I. A.

Seapc Gormlaith oo Niall.—“Love of Gormlaith for Niall.”

This was *Gormlath*, daughter of *Flann*, King of Leinster, and her husband *Niall Glun Dubh*, monarch of Ireland A. D. 900-946, was the object of her affections. Our Irish manuscripts contain many pieces in prose and verse, preserving curious details of this lady's adventures, and her love for *Niall*, but I am not aware of any existing copy of the full tale. The principal events of her life are well summed up by O'Curry in his Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History.

Sluaigíora tpa anoro .i.—“EXPEDITIONS HERE
NOW, I. E.”

Sluaigíeo Dathi co Sluab n-Éalpa.—“Expedition of Dathi
to the Alpine Mountain.”

An abstract of this tale is preserved in *Leabhar na h-Éire* in the

about the year A. D. 405. The tale is preserved in the Book of Armagh, Lib. R. I. A.

Sluaigeo Fiachna maic Baedan go Dun n-Éusaige i Saxcon-
obocurppum lusaigeo Eren a si ceana.—"Expedition of Fiach-
na, son of Baedan, to Dun Guaire in [the land of the] Saxons,
and the prime expeditions of Erin also."

The expedition of *Fiachna* son of *Baedan*, who was King of Ulster in the sixth century, is preserved in the Book of Fermoy, Lib. R. I. A., but it states that he visited other places as well as *Dun Guaire*.

[Tocomlaða tñā āndro rñ .i.—"PROGRESSES NOW
FOLLOW HERE, I. E."]

Tocomlað Paictalain uocum n-Érenn.—"Progress of
Partholan into Eriu."

This and the five following tales relate to the early colonization of
Ireland, and are accounted for in the Book of Conquests.

Tocomlað Neimí uo h-Éirinn.—"Progress of Neimid into
Eriu."

Tocomlað Féar m-bolg.—"Progress of the Ferbolgs."

Tocomlað Tuata De Danann.—"Progress of the Tuatha
De Danann."

Tocomlað Mile mac Bile co h-Éirpáin.—"Progress of
Mile [Milesius], son of Bile, to Spain."

Tocomlað Milro a h-Éirpáin co Érin.—"Progress of [the
sons of] Mile from Spain into Ireland."

Tocomlað Cruithneádo ota Triaicia co bñeactnaib ocu
co h-Éirinn.—"Progress of the Cruithneans [Picts] from Thrace
to Britain and to Erin."

In the List in the Book of Leinster this title runs thus:—"Pro-
gress of the *Cruithneans* (or Picts) from Thrace into Eriu, and their
progress from Eriu into Alba."

Tocomlað [Fep] Nepeñ co h-Albain.—"Progress of [the
men of] Eriu to Alba."

Tocomlað Longrí Féarγura a h-Ullao.—"Progress of
the Exiles of Fergus out of Ulster."

This story relates the progress of *Fergus MacRogh* and the Ulto-
nian exiles who renounced their allegiance to King *Conchobar* for his
having violated their right of *Comairce* or protection, by having killed
the sons of *Uisnech* while under their *Faesam* or protection. The
Ultonian warriors thus insulted left Ulster and went into Connaught
to *Ailell* and *Medb*, where they were known by the title of *Longes
Ulad*, or "Ultonian Exiles." They subsequently joined the Con-
naught forces in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. The story is preserved in the
Book of Leinster.

Tocomlaon mupcraige do mās breag.—“Progress of the ‘*Muscraighe*’ into Magh Breagh.”

Tocomlaon na n-veiri o Teampal.—“Progress of the Dessi from Temair (Tara).”

This story is preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, and has been already noticed under *Longes Eithne Uaithaige*, p. 225.

Tocomlaon Clainne Eadach Muirneoin .i. a mīoe.—“Progress of the sons of Eochaidh Muirneoin, i. e., out of Meath.”

I am not aware of any detailed prose version of this story, but the facts are related by *Flann Mainistrech* in an historical poem preserved in the Books of Lecan, Leinster, and Ballymote.

Tocomlaon Cein a Cairr.—“Progress of [Tadg, son of] Cian, from Cashel.”

This story is preserved in the Battle of *Crinna* in the Books of Fermoy and Lismore, Lib. R. I. A. There is also an interesting story of the Adventures of *Tadg* son of *Cian*.

Tocomlaon Dalriada i n-Albain ocuṛ in ní po oṛc ocuṛ po bith ocuṛ sobach ní fuil mas [Fili nāo] congne vācāp-naio na rṣela uille. Finir.—“Progress of the Dalriada into Alba, and all that were slaughtered and killed, and those who died. He is not a poet who does not synchronize and harmonize all these stories. Finis.”

There is an interesting abstract of this tale of the progress of the Dalriads into Scotland in the historical preface to the *Amra Coluim Cille*, now restored to its place in the Academy’s edition of the *Leabhar Breac*, page 238 c.

The important use which O’Curry made of these ancient romances, and the suggestion thrown out by him and Dr. O’Donovan, that it

nected series of tales, probably because no one cared to undertake the laborious task of copying and translating them without any immediate hope of their publication. I have, however, undertaken the task, and I now venture to report to the Academy the result of my labours up to this, in order to enable it to judge of the amount of success which I have had, and also in the hope of creating a greater interest in those tales than they receive at present.

It is needless to say that I am not about to read an essay on the character of our romances, or compare them with similar tales in other literatures, for even were I able to do so, the more humble but still useful labour of collecting and translating them must be done before any literary analysis can be attempted.

The existing tales represent various phases of ancient Irish history, but the great majority refer to two principal periods, which Mrs. Ferguson has happily distinguished as the heroic and the Fenian. Although, according to the usually received chronology of our annals, their periods are supposed to have been separated from each other by an interval of only about 200 years, the tales of each period are widely different in character and value. The latter, for some reason, have received more attention than the former, and a Society,—the Ossianic,—was established for their publication. Some of those tales published by that Society are no doubt taken from modern copies; others are, however, to be found in old manuscripts of good authority, e.g. *Imtheacht na Trom Daimhe*, or the Adventures of the great Bardie Company, which is found in the Book of Lismore and other vellum manuscripts of good authority, and the pursuit of Diarmaid and Graine, which is mentioned in the list of ancient stories in the Book of Leinster—a good authority for the antiquity of the tale—under the title of *Δίτεο Σπιννε πε Οϊαρμαϊο*—Elopement of Graine with Diarmaid. I may also mention the poem of Ossin on the death of his son Oscur, in the battle of Gabhra, which was copied and translated by Professor O'Curry from the Book of Leinster.

Of the tales of the heroic period which are in every respect the best we possess, as well as the most genuine and archaic, very few have as yet been made accessible to the public. Among those I may mention the Battle of Magh Rath, edited by Dr. O'Donovan and published by the Archaeological Society, the Sick Bed of Cuchulaind, and the Fate of the Children of Uisneach, published by Professor O'Curry in the *Atlantis*, and a few others.

There are also some important tales which do not belong to either of these two categories, such as those relating to the early colonizations of the country, and the wars of the rival races, and some too of a mythological character. Of this class the only ones published are—The Fate of the Children of Tuireand, and the Fate of the Children of Lir, published by Professor O'Curry in the *Atlantis*, No. viii. Those tales, with the Exile of the Sons of Uisneach, already mentioned, are called *Tri Truagh na Scealuigheachta*, or the Three Sorrowful Tales of Story-telling.

The list of tales given in the Book of Leinster, and printed by O'Curry, and in the preceding list from the MS. H. 3, 17, referred to in the passage which I have quoted from Dr. O'Donovan's Catalogue, is classified according to the following categories:—

Τογλα.—“Destructions.”	Φορβάρρα.—“Sieges.”
Τανά.—“Cattle-Spoils.”	Εαχτηρα.—“Adventures.”
Τοχμαρρα.—“Courtships.”	Αιθερα.—“Elopements.”
Καθα.—“Battles.”	Αιγνε.—“Slaughters.”
Υαθα.—“Caves.”	Τομασμα.—“Irruptions.”
Ιμπαμα.—“Voyages.”	Φιριβ.—“Visions.”
Λονγερα.—“Exiles.”	Σερα.—“Loves.”
Οιτε.—“Tragedies.”	Σταδισι.—“Expeditions.”
Φερρα.—“Feasts.”	Τοχομλαρα.—“Progresses.”

All our tales, no matter to what period of our history they belong, may be conveniently classified under these categories, and I shall accordingly follow it in submitting the tales which I have translated.

Τογλα, or Destructions. Of this class we have very important specimens in the *Bruiden Da Dearga*, and *Bruiden Da Choga*, both of which belong to the heroic period. Of the story of the Destruction of *Bruiden Da Dearga*, and death of *Conaire Mor*, Monarch of Ireland, A. M., 5091–5160, we possess two good copies on vellum. One in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, defective at commencement; and a perfect copy in MS. H. 2, 16, T. C. D. I made independent copies and translations of this tale from both manuscripts, and having collated them and made an index of the various readings, and a glossary of the obsolete and archaic words found in them, I submitted the whole to the Academy with my translation of *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, which the Academy has kindly accepted with a view to its future publication.

I now submit the very ancient and valuable tale of the Destruction

regarded as preparatory episodes of the great cattle-spoil, and are hence called *Remscelaib na Tána*, or the Pre-tales of the Táin.

The oldest copies of the Táin known to us are those preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, and in the Book of Leinster. The former is not so full as the latter, and it is also imperfect at the end, while the version in the Book of Leinster, which is nearly of the same age as *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, is perfect. I have made copies and translations of both. The former I submitted to the Academy with my translation of *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*. The latter, with its prefaces and Pre-Tales, I have collected into this book, to which I have given the following title:—

“TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE: translated from the original vellum manuscript known as the Book of Leinster, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. To which are added the ancient Prologues, Prefaces, and the stories of adventures which preceded the principal expedition or Táin, from various vellum manuscripts in the Libraries of Trinity College and the Royal Irish Academy.”

In the story of the discovery of the Táin Bó Cuailnge, preserved in the Book of Leinster, the titles of twelve of the Pre-Tales are given as follows:—

Ír h-é tuíem pempcéla tána bó Cuailnge .i. a vo véc .i. ve gabail in t-íosa, ve Aíling in Maic Oic, ve Cópur na Da Muccra, ve Tháin Bo Regamoin ve Ectra Neraí, ve compeit chonchobair, ve tócmairc * * *, ve compeit Conculainn, ve Tháin bó Flidair, ve tócmairc emire. atberaid tána ír vi pempcélaib: ve Thect Conculainn vo Thairg Culainn Cernoa, ve gabail gairc vo Chomculainn, ocuī dia vul i cappat, dia luro Cuchulainn vo Emain Macha coīna maccu áct ír i cuīp na tána doīadatar na tui pceoil de venés ro.

“This is the number of the Pre-Tales of the Táin Bó Cuailnge, namely, twelve, i. e., of the Taking of the Sid, of the Vision of the Mac Occ, of the Contention of the two Swine-Herds, of the Táin Bó Regamon, of the Adventures of Nera, of the Conception of Conchobar, of the Courtship of * * *, of the Conception of Cuchulaind, of Táin Bo Flidais, of the Courtship of Emer. It is said also that [the following pieces] belong to the Pre-Tales: Of the visit of Cuchulaind to the house of Culand Cerd, of the Taking of Arms by Cuchulaind, and of his going into a chariot and of his visit to Emain Macha, to the youths, but it is in the body of the Táin these three last stories are told.”

In this volume, then, are translations of all the Táins which are to be found complete in ancient Irish manuscripts. Perhaps

then, the best way to give the Academy an idea of what it contains would be to read the titles of the several episodes of which the Táin Bó Cuailnge consists, and of the Introductory Tales, Pre-Tales, Prologues, and Prefaces, which complete its story:—

INTRODUCTORY TALES.

Cro via m-bói longer mac n-urnis.—“What was the cause of the exile of the sons of Usnech.” Cause of their exile, etc.

Fochon loingre Fergus Mac Rois.—“Cause of the exile of Fergus Mac Ragh,” &c.

Toémarc mná Crund.—“Courtship of the wife of Crund.” And cause of the “Cesnoiden” or child-birth pains of the Ultonians.

Noíoen ulao Cro via Ta.—“Noiden (infant or child-birth pains) of the Ultonians why so called.” Story of the “Cesnoiden”—child-birth pains and debility of the Ultonians, which gave Medb and her forces an opportunity of successfully invading their country and carrying away their spoils.

PRE-TALES.

Táin bó Regamon.—“Táin Bó Regamon.”

Táin bó Regamon.—“Táin Bó Regamon.” Another story under the same title, in which the Mor Rigu forewarns Cuchulaind of the dangers and disasters of the Táin Bó Cuailnge.

Táin bó Flidais.—“Táin Bó Flidais.”

Táin bé Aingen.—“Táin Bé Aingen.” See p. 222.

Táin bó Dartad.—“Táin Bó Dartad.”

Táin bó Fraech.—“Táin Bó Fraech.”

PROLOGUES.

Incipit Táin bó Cuailnge.—“Incipit Táin Bó Cuailnge.”

Sligi na Tána iḡ.—“Way of the Táin, etc.” This piece relates the progress and adventures of the hosts of Ailill and Medb, and the names of the places through which they passed on their way from Cruachan Aí into the territory of Cuailnge in Ulster.

Incipiunt mac Snimiasa Conculaino.—“Incipiunt Boy-Deeds of Cuchulaind.” Under this title there are three stories—the present and two following pieces—of the Boy-exploits of Cuchulaind, related to Queen Medb and Ailill by three of the Ultonian Exiles” namely, Fergus MacRoigh, Cormac Conngais, son of Concobar, and Fiacha Fir Aba.

Teacht Cuchulaino do Thais culaino ceirḡa.—“Visit of Cuchulaind to the house of Culand Cerd,” and how he got the name Cuchulaind.

Do gabail ḡarḡo do Choineulaino oḡur na nḡl i carpat.—“Of the Taking of Arms by Cuchulaind, and of his going into a chariot.” And his first day's achievements.

Táin bó Cuailnge.—“TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE.”

In iḡeḡ foveḡḡin iḡ nḡ aḡo foveḡḡa.—“The story itself [i. e., the Táin] is what is now related here.” The progress and adventures of the forces of Ailill and Medb, from Cruachan Aí in Connaught, to the territory of Cuailnge in Ulster, and the fights of Cuchulaind with Nathchrandal, Redḡ, the satirist, Cur, son of Oaloth, Ferbaeth, Larine, son of Nos, Loch mor, son of Mofemiss, and many more of the warriors of Ailill and Medb's forces, are told under this heading without any special title.

Burleḡ maige Mupthemne.—“Breach of the plain of Murthemniu.”

In carpat ḡeḡa.—“The sickled chariot.”

Impol belais Eoin.—“Mishap of Beallach Eoin.”

Tuige im Thamon.—“Dress upon Tamon.”

Compac Fergusa.—“Fight of Fergus.”

Cinnit Fepcon.—“Head place of Ferchu.”

Compac Calatin oḡar a clainve.—“Fight of Calatin and of his children.”

Compac Fíḡeas.—“Fight of Ferdiadh.”

Anmanḡa abano legiḡ Conchulaino i Conaille Mupthemni.—“Names of the healing rivers of Cuchulaind in Conaille Murthemni.”

Calad gleo Cethern maic Fintan acur fuile Cethern.
—"Heroic Fight of Cethern, son of Fintan, and blood-wounds
of Cethern." His blood and wounds examined by Finghin Fath
Liag, King Conchobar's physician.

Fiscalgleo Fintan.—"Tooth Fight of Fintan."

Ruadpucco minn.—"Red wounding of Mind," son of Sal-
cholgan.

Arrecur n-arav.—"Assault of the Charioteers."

Bangleo Roead.—"White (i. e., bloodless) Fight of
Rochad."

Mellgleo n-iliac.—"Grinding Fight of Iliach."

Oirliag Amargin i Taltin.—"Flag Fight of Amargin in
Tailtin."

Sin pobuo Sualtam.—"Constant warning of Sualtam."
His warning to King Conchobar and the Ultonians of the im-
pending disasters. His alarm and death.

Tinól acur Tochorul ulav.—"Collecting and assembling
of the Ultonians." King Conchobar awakes from his "Ceas-
noidean," prepares to pursue and recover the spoils of his coun-
try. Enumeration of all the Tuatha and tributary kings called
to arms by King Conchobar to meet the hosts of Queen Medb
and Ailill in the "Battle of the Táin Bó Cuailnge."

Buáruir Celteair.—"Alarm of Celteair." The prophetic
furor of *Celteair Mac Uthathir*, *Cormac Condlonges*, and *Dubthach
Doel Ulad* on the eve of the Battle of the Táin Bó Cuailnge on
Slemain Mide and the muster of the Ultonians in pursuit of the
Táin follow here.

Caé na Táná a Slemain Mide.—"Battle of the Táin in
Slemain Mide." Under this section there is a chain of descrip-
tions, without any distinct titles, which may be summed up as
follows:—Muster of the Ultonians on the hill of Slemain Mide.
Description of the various tribes and bands by Mac Roth (the
herald). Laegh describes the various companies and the order
and array of battle to Cuchulaind. Fight of Fergus Mac Roigh
and King Conchobar. Story of the "Calad Bolg"—sword of
Lete. Cuchulaind rushes from his "Othur Lige," or bed of
sickness; appears in the battle wounded and blood-streaming;
attacks Fergus, compels him to retreat, and defeats Medb's
forces.

Imcurá Donn Chualnge.—"Adventures of Donn Chualnge."
his exploits on Magh Ai, his fight with the Find Bennach Ai,
death of Bricriu, and fate of the two bulls.

Seo ego qui scripsi hanc hystoriam.—"Sed ego qui scripsi"

anc *historiam*." A curious Latin memorandum by the Scribe adds my list of the Táin Bó Chuailnge series.

I have, however, a few other pieces belonging to the heroic period, most of which may be regarded as biographical sketches of the heroes of these tales, and as they help to show the true character of those heroes, and the circumstances and manners and customs of their times, they may be conveniently added here by way of addenda:—

Compeit Conchobair.—"Conception of Conchobar Mac Nessa."

Ropo reu amra aineva in ti Concobair mac Nessa.—"A noble, illustrious man was Conchobar Mac Nessa." This treats of the parentage, education, and early life of King Conor.

Ba móir an oirdean do Conchobair, hi cno rect m-
laidna iar na zenemain iir ano no sab nize nula.—"It was a great honour to Conchobar; it was at the end of seven years after his birth he assumed the kingship of Ulster." This piece sets forth how King Conor obtained the sovereignty of Ulster, &c.

Ba móir in airmittu tpa do patpat ula do Concobair.—"Great indeed was the reverence the Ultonians gave to Conchobar." This piece treats of the economy of King Conchobar's reign; and of his prohibitions and privileges among the Ultonians.

Aireo Conchobair.—"Death of Conchobar Mac Nessa."

Compeit Conculaino.—"Conception of Conchulaind."

Compeit Conculaino van in ni ri rior, reo alior i. reir
Bec Foltach.—"Conception of Cuchulaind is what follows here too, *sed alias*, i. e., Feast of the House of Bec Foltach." Another version of the conception and birth of Cuchulaind.

Zeira ocu ilbreca bitir for Comculaino, for Cloe
na ccaem Cproebusve.—"Prohibitions and divers injunctions were upon Cuchulaind, upon the illustrious youth of the Craebh Ruadh' (Red Branch)." This piece relates the adventures of Cuchulaind, and his prohibitions, privileges, and exploits among the Ultonian heroes of the Red Branch, and its true title may be inferred from its concluding words: Comrohi rin aireo Duill maic Carbad ocu aireo Dairb Duill nize.—"And that is the fate of Goll son of Carbad, and the fate of Garb of Gleam Righ."

Siaburcoba Conculaino illaitiu a eitrecta.—"Spirit-penitance of Cuchulaind on the day of his death."

Δνεο Concúlaino.—“Death of Cuchulaind.”

ηυαλλ ζυβα εμπε.—“Loud Lamentation of Emer,” her wail on hearing of the death of Cuchulaind.

Τοόμερις Φερβε.—“Courtship of Ferb,” by Mane, son of Ailill and Medb. Under this title is also:

Φιρ Conchobairi.—“Vision of Conchobar.” And

Τογαιλ ουιν Σειρς.—“Destruction of the Court of Geirg in Gleann Geirg.”

Δνεο Conaill Cernaiς.—“Death of Conall Cernach.”

Δνεο Dubtairς.—“Death of Dubthach.”

Διουο Célτchair mac Utaithir.—“Death of Celtchair Mac Utaithir.”

βαι ζοβα αμρια ιν υλταιβ .i. Ecetsalach ζαβα α αιμμ.—“There was a noble smith in Ulster, namely, Ecetsalach, the smith was his name.” This piece treats of the parentage, birth, and exploits of Amergin, son of Ecetsalach.

Thus far I have collected and beg to submit the Táin series as far as I found complete versions of them in old Irish MSS.

I have another collection of Táins, and tales connected directly or indirectly with them, from more modern manuscripts, to which I will refer presently, but in this volume I have included none but complete versions, from our oldest and best books.

Τοόμερις.—“Courtships.” Besides the courtship of Béc Fola, already published in the Irish manuscript series of the “Proceedings of the Academy,” I have given in my translation of *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* the important tale of

Τοόμερις εμεπε.—“Courtship of Emer” and Cuchulaind, as far as it is preserved in that manuscript, and the complete version of the tale from a vellum MS. Brit. Mus. (Harleian, 5280). I now submit two other tales of the same class:—

Τοόμερις treblaine.—“Courtship of Treblan,” by Fraech, son of Fidad, which may be regarded as a sequel to Táin Bó Fraech; and

Τοόμερις φερβι.—“Courtship of Ferb,” by Mane, son of Ailill and Medb, which I have already mentioned in my Addenda to the episodes of the Táin Bó Cuailnge.

Caeta.—“Battles.” In my translation of *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, I have given the Battle of Carn Conaill as an example of this class of Tales. I now submit the two battles of Maigh Tuireadh:—

Caet maige tuireo Cunga.—“Battle of Moy Tura of Cong.”

From a vellum manuscript in the Lib. T. C. D. (Class H. 3, 17); and the second, known as the Battle of Moy Tura of the Fomarians, from a vellum manuscript in the British Museum (*Harleian*, 5280), where it has the following heading:—

Cæt mairge túreab an rceal ro rir, ocur geneamam bneas mic Elatán ocur a ruge.—“This story which follows here is the Battle of Magh Tuireadh, and the begetting of Brease, son of Elatan, and his reign.”

Impam.—“Voyages, or Wanderings on Sea.” In my translations of *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, I have given as an example of this class of tale:—

Impam cupais maircoun.—“Wandering of Maeldun's Boat.” To this I have now to add the curious tale of:—

Impam cupais na corra.—“Wandering of the boat of the sons of Ua Corra,” and the story of the exile and death of Cano, son of Gartnan, and grand-nephew to Aedh Mac Gartnan, king of Scotland (circa 620), a contemporary of Saint Colum Cille, who was compelled to fly from Scotland and take shelter in Ireland, to avoid the jealousy of his grand-uncle, who had already slain his father, and killed and dispersed his friends and followers. This tale is peculiarly interesting in preserving a very good picture of the manners and customs of the people of Eriu and Alba, at this early period. This piece is well preserved in the “Yellow Book of Lecan,” in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, under the following title:—

Ocurró canann mic Gartnan.—“*Occid Canann*, son of Gartnan.” The visit of Gartnan and his people to Ireland is set down in the *Annals of Tighernach* at A. D. 687.

I now submit specimens of a totally different class of pieces.

The first may be considered an important chapter of *Seanchas Ban Erend* or “History of the women of Erin.” It has no title, but commences:—

Eua bean Adam i n-irre ceo bean in beacha—

“Eve wife of Adam, she was the first woman of the world.”

To this I have to add a tract on the derivations and etymology of the names of the illustrious and distinguished men of Erin who flourished as the heroes of our ancient tales and stories. This is also without a title, but may be regarded as a chapter of *Seanchas Fer n-Erend*—or, “History of the [distinguished] men of Erin.” It begins:

Mumu canur po h-ainmnigeo—“Mumu how so called.”

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. 218. TÁIN BO RUÍ—“Cow-Spoil of Ros.”

O'Curry says (1861), “Nothing known of this tale.” It is, however, possible that it is the story referred to at page 227 under the title “*Aided Conchobair*”—“Death of *Conchobar*,” and preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in MS. H. 3. 17. Lib. T.C.D. It sets forth how *Cet*, son of *Magach*, a famous champion of Connaught, having made an incursion into Ulster, possessed himself of the ball made of the brain of *Mesgegra*, which had been treasured at Emania among the trophies of *Conall Cearnach*, by whom he had been previously slain. It was prophesied that this ball would revenge the fate of *Mesgegra*, by killing one or more of the kings and king-champions of Ulster in return. *Cet*, knowing this, determined that he should be the man through whom the prophecy should be fulfilled. He placed the ball in his girdle and continued for some time to watch the Ultonians, seeking an opportunity of carrying out his resolution. As no such opportunity offered, he (*Cet*) went eastward and drove away a spoil of cattle from the *Feara Ross*. The Ultonians pursued him, and the people of Connaught came to aid him; a battle was fought between them, in which king *Conchobar* himself was engaged. The women of Connaught (who then enjoyed the privilege of attending military hostings) admired the comely form and valour of king *Conor* as he distinguished himself in the battle. They besought him to come aside (*i. e.* to advance nearer to them), that they might have a better view of his beautiful form and noble figure. As *Conchobar* advanced, *Cet*, who had concealed himself among the women, cast the fatal ball and lodged it in his skull: thus inflicting the wound of which king *Conchobar* subsequently died. This tale then is the *Táin Bó Ruí*, inasmuch as the battle in which king *Conor* received his death wound was fought for the possession of the *Táin Bó*, or Cow spoil of the *Feara Ross*. The subsequent portion of the tale relates the circumstances of king *Conor*'s death, hence it is called *Aided Conchobair* or Death of *Conchobar*, and thus the tale will correspond to both titles.

P. 222. CATH BOINDE.—“Battle of the Boind.”

This is made *Cath tóin*, *i. e.* “Battle of Toiden” in the Book of Leinster List, but not identified. It is probably the invasion of *Toidean* by the *Dibergs*, or plunderers, of which there is an abstract in the Book of Leinster.

NOTE.—All the translations mentioned in the foregoing Paper were presented to the Academy on the night on which the Paper was read. This collection is exclusive of Professor O'Looney's translation of *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, which, with a classified list of orthographical and other peculiarities of the original text of that MS., he submitted to the Academy on the 12th of June, 1871. It contains sixty-five independent pieces, some of them more or less imperfect. The Academy has taken steps towards the publication of these translations, and already a portion of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* has been printed off.—Ed.

XXVII.—ON THE TIME AND TOPOGRAPHY OF THE BRUIGHEAN DA CHOGA. By DENIS H. KELLY, Esq., M. R. I. A.

[Read November 30, 1872.]

THIS historic tale is not only valuable as a narrative of very remote acts, but also as a specimen of very ancient Irish language. Of this tract there are two copies, differing in some respects, but mutually contradicting one another. One copy is in Manuscript, H. 3. 18., in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and of which there is a good manuscript in the O'Reilly MSS., in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. This narrative is fragmentary, with frequent breaks; but more elegant in diction, and contains, amongst other matters, a copy of For gall Manach's Poem, commencing thus: "Sé bpuiríne penn gan oil,"—"The six Bruigheans of Erin without reproach,"—which is omitted in the other. The other copy is in the Book of Lismaster, (H. 2. 18, Lib. Trin. Coll.), and this is a much more consecutive narrative.

The period of this tract is that of the triumphant return of the Connachian army from the Táin Bó Cuailgne, and its date is fixed by the death of Conor mac Fachtna king of Ulladh of which the curious narrative is given in Keating. This king (as the story runs), on seeing the eclipse that occurred at the Crucifixion of the Saviour, was much amazed, and, on being informed by his Druids that it was caused by the Jewish people's crucifying the Son of God, he became so excited that he seized his arms, rushed into the wood of Lamhriigh near Lismaster, and began cutting down the willows, exclaiming, "Thus would I do to these miscreants," and, in his excitement, the brain ball called *esgedhra*, that had been imbedded in the back of his skull, fell out, and he at once expired. This would fix the date of our narrative at A. D. 33.

The most prominent personages in this narrative are, Medbh, the daughter of the king of Connaught, and her husband Ailill; Fergus the exile of Ulladh; and Cormac Conloingeas, (or the exile), son of Conor mac Fachtna, together with the usual heroes of Fenian story; but there is much confusion in the correlation of the above-named personages, I think it better to elucidate the matter by a short

Medbh, then, was daughter of Eochy Feidlioich, king of Erin, and married to Conor mac Fachtna, king of Ulladh; but the marriage being a happy one, she left him, and was wedded, by her father, to a monarch whom the monarch confirmed in the throne of Connaught, to whom she had herself independent pretensions, and they kept a very

splendid court at their palace of Cruachan, and he proved the most complaisant of spouses. Conor mac Fachtna was the son of Ness, the very lovely daughter of Eochy Salbuidhe; who was left, a young and a very charming widow, with an only son.

Fergus mac Roigh was at that time king of Ulladh, a very self-indulgent and luxurious man. The fair widow attracted his attention, and he solicited her to become his queen, but she refused to yield to his desires, unless he would abdicate his throne, in favour of her son Conor, for one year, and let him rule over Ulladh. To this the lovesick king consented; but Ness made such good use of her time, by making her son keep up an unusually splendid court, conciliating the chiefs in every way, and giving such liberal largesses of money, that, at the year's end, the whole population refused to hear of his resigning, and Conor became *de facto* king. Fergus, after a vain struggle, had to submit, and subsided into a minor position, whilst Conor, having, in a fit of drunkenness, invaded his own mother's bed, became by her father to Cormac called *Conloingeas*. At that time, the knights of the Red Branch were the most famous order of chivalry in Ireland, and Fergus and Cormac were both members of it. Conor persevered in his dissipated career, when by his treacherous slaughter of the sons of Uisneach, notwithstanding Fergus's safe-conduct, he had disgusted that powerful body, the most important of its knights withdrew from his court; and amongst them, Fergus and Cormac, who were fast friends, retired with a choice body of attendants, to the court of Medbh, where they were hospitably entertained, and Fergus became the paramour of the amorous and martial queen, and had by her several sons, who became progenitors of some of the most powerful chieftains of Erin. A strong jealousy, however, seems to have subsisted between the Connaught troops and the Ulidian contingent, who were the personal retainers of Fergus and Cormac; and though they went with them and fought with them in the Táin Bó Cuailgne, yet, more than once, there was difficulty in preventing a rupture between them.

The Irish word *bpuigean* (pronounced Breen) is in general applied to a *Fairy Palace*, they call the Queen of the Fairies, *beanpúgán* ~~was~~ *bpuigne*, but is also frequently applied to any very splendid residence. It is the diminutive of the Irish *bpuig*, which etymologists refer to the same styre as the Saxon *Burgh*, &c.

The Irish Breen was an house of right royal hospitality—open to all comers, never refusing fitting food and shelter, and its inmates were under the protection of the Red Hand from all assailants. They had considerable lands attached to them, and their possessors ranked amongst the high nobility of the land. Of these Royal Breens, there were six in Ireland, according to the annexed poem of Forgaill Manu the Brugaídh of Lusc, Co. Dublin, father of the Lady Emer, wife of the great hero Cuchulín:—

bruidní Erinn anro.

The Breens of Erin here.

nóni Erinn gan oil,
adair comarrir.
air darna diana
ad cuibí comríala.

Six were the Breens of Erin, without re-
proach
They were co-existent.
They refused not vast companies,
They were all equally hospitable.

ean Da Derga coimbleo
nó Cualann corparcior.
ócar Conaire clem
aingel namur nocel.

The Breen of Da Derga renowned
Flourishing in the land of victorious
Cualann.

an thac Dao toirm tenn
canatúr pír Erinn.
éret muic in ale,
r pugrabar Ailbe.

There was mild Conaire slain;
By Ingel the adventurer, conceal it not.
The Breen of M'Datho,* great its fame,
To which resorted the men of Erin.
They eat the swine that were there,
And they took Ailbe† prisoner.

ean da Choga co clá
o gabad for Ulcu.
le in bhuirí bneap
éic Cormac Conlomeap.

The famous Breen of Da Choga—
A King took it from the Ultonians—
Hospitable was that mighty Breen,
Till Cormac Conloingeas fell there.

ean mac Ceacht ba neon aró,
ai n'atúr comgar.
naócaib taran teó
obe ferr emead.

The Breen of M'Cecht exalted its division,
None had so fierce an ancestor.
Amongst the Connacians was the mansion,
None was more liberally hospitable.

ean blai bhuigad blabbinn
bai bean Cealtair cuilmb.
air blaó bhuigead dé
am Celtair cuibuíde.

The Breen of the famous Brudgadh, great
its celebrity,
Where was the wife of fair-haired Celtair.
The famous Brudgadh was slain by him,
By the hand of Celtair of the golden
locks.

ean Forgaill Manach mór
caeb lúca co lan corp.
buine bimgaó de,
air alam Eimre.

The Breen of great Forgall Manach,
Beside Lusc full of holiness,
None were dissatisfied with him,—
With the father of the lovely Emir.

n rguic do éir
ad bhuigenn bahe adér
naó ar blaó coir
gaó buine pa cedoir.

A cauldron of choice food at all times ready,
Was the custom in each Breen,
With abundance of viands out of it,
For each man immediately;

ibed an coir corp
nór in bit do bed na oil.
le tan na dama dé
a an do bnaice.

The good cauldron ceased not its boiling
However many were partakers of it,
But there was enough for hosts out of it,
Of that which was boiled therein.

ai coirí rliú plan,
nó gaó bhuiginn blaé lan.
bóirí airte amaó
cigeab cad, go buibeao.

Upon the pass of the four roads,
Each renowned Breen was situated.
Four doors of exit were there,
From which each issued thankful.

Erinn uile mapeao,
i bhuirí umbeibead.
ad ridaí uile dé
rionóir ré bhuigne.

All the men of Erin found access,
Unless they were in hostility,
All would get plenty there,
If they reached the six Breens.

Sé bhuirí, &c.

Six were the Breens, &c.

Breen MacDatho (da éo the two silent ones, deaf and dumb, were his father and
) ; his Breen was in S. Carlow † Ailbe was his hound.

The Breen da Choga is situated in the townland of Bryanmore, parish of Drumraney, and barony of Kilkenny West, Co. Westmeath; about 6 miles N. E. of Athlone. It originally gave its name to an Irish Bally Biatach, being the mensal land attached to the Breen, but since the division into townlands, it is divided into the townlands of Breenmore or Bryanmore, upper and lower, Breenbeg or Bryanbeg, upper and lower. There are three circular Rathes, marked as being in these townlands on the O. S. map of the Co. Westmeath, but the two principal ones are in the townland of Bryanmore upper. They are circular earthworks, situated one above the other, on two remarkable spurs of the hill, grandiloquently called *Slieve Malan* in the narrative.

This hill, is the commencement of the chain of Eskers, or Gravel hills, which rise up close to the large bog behind Waterstown House, in two conspicuous spurs, one above the other, each crowned with its Rath, and which runs on continuously through the demesne of Moydrum, to the ford across the Shannon, at the poorhouse of Athlone (the very ford that De Ginkell is said to have made use of), and which Esker ridge, in the days when the Shannon's immediate banks were lined with swamps, bogs, and tangled woods, must have made one of the principal passes between the North of Ireland and Connaught.

In the summer of 1871, I visited this locality with W. M. Hennessy, Esq., and we found it correspond in all respects with the narrative.

The uppermost earthwork is 204 paces in circumference, and contains within its ambit the ruins of a Castle, the erection of which tradition ascribes to the noble family of Dillon; this Castle is now a shapeless mass of ruins, but there are those still living who remember its walls made use of as a ball-alley. The earthwork on the lower spur contained the Breen, the ruins of St. Laisrean's Cell, and the Holy Well whereat still is the huge rock with which such stalwart deeds were performed during the attack on the Breen.

In Sir William Petty's Printed Map of West Meath, Brinemore is shown as a Castle, and is placed midway between Athlone and Ballymore Lough Sewdy; the precise position of this rath: nor is there any cause of doubt that the Dillons (Lords of Cuirene's) Castle, was within the ambit of the Breen. This rath is now called Sterne's Folly, from its having been planted with trees by a clergyman of the name of Sterne. There was originally a circle of large stones surrounding the earthwork; but there are very few of them now remaining.

This Breen is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 919:—"Domnal, son of Domnal, son of Flan, son of Melaghlin, heir apparent to the sovereignty of Erin, was slain by his brother Donchadh, at Breendachoga." And again, A.D. 1415:—"The Lord Furnival plundered Dillon's castle, called Bruighean da Choga."

M'Fibbis, treating of the Tribe of Cuirene (p. 412), states that Core, stepson of Daol, daughter of Fiachra, King of Muskerry, and wife of Oilell Flanbeg, King of Munster, being banished by his father, repaired to Feredach, King of Alba, who gave him his daughter in marriage. She had three sons by him, viz., 1, Maine a quo

the Clan Liamnaigh; 2, Cairbre, *a quo* the Eoganachts of Loch Lein; and 3, Cronan, *a quo* the Cuircneans of Westmeath. Seven tribes of the race of Cronan are at Breendachoga."

M'Firbis also, in his Gabhaltas Gall (conquest of the Saxons), has this notice of the Dillons Lords of Cuirene. "When Colman mor, the great grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was slain by Ločan Oíolmáin (Logan Dillon or the destroyer), Logan passed over into England and his descendants remained there till Robert Sassanach Dillon came to Ireland, with the Saxons, to aid Dermot MacMorogh; and he (Robert) fought along with the King of Meath to recover his country. Moreover, he told O'Melaghlin, O'Mulloy, and M'Geoghaghan, that he was of the same stock with themselves, being the descendant of the aforesaid Ločan Oíolmáin, and he afterwards got Machaire Cuirene as the hereditary principality of his ancestors."

"Colman Rím, KU. was slain by his brother Ločan Oíolmáin, (or Dillon), A. D. 600." Ord. Survey Extracts.

In Aaron Crossley's old Peerage of Ireland, p. 40, this account is said to have been given him by Counsellor Garret Dillon, A. D. 1772:—

"Premier Dillon, first Baron of Dillon's country in Ireland. Sir Henry, descendant of Thomas the great Duke of Aquitaine, temp. Henry II., when he, with his brother Thomas, were brought, infants, into England, recovered from Duke Delion their father, by Henry II. of England, in right of his mother, the elder brother of Aquitaine's daughter, whom he had espoused;" and this statement, is also mentioned by Lodge, in his notes on the Dillon Peerage, Viscounts Dillon.

But of the fact there can be no reasonable doubt, that Lochan the brother of Colman Rím, KU., had a duel with his brother the King, about A. D. 600; and that, in this duel, he slew him; that he had to fly, in consequence, into Scotland, where he was hospitably received by its King, who gave him his daughter in marriage. That his descendant, subsequently, migrated into France, where he espoused a daughter of the great Duke of Aquitaine, whose elder daughter, Eleanor, was wife to Henry II., King of England, that Henry, in her right, seized on Aquitaine; and it is highly probable that he brought her infant Dillon nephews to England, to obviate any claim by them upon that Dukedom; it is equally probable that the young princes remained there till the time of Strongbow's enterprise, and that a penurious Sovereign like Henry would be glad that one of them, if not both, should seek fortune under Pembroke, instead of being a drag upon him.

However this may be, it appears, that Robert Sappanac Dillon was amongst the followers of Strongbow; that he laid claim to Cuirene as his paternal territory; that his claim was allowed, and he was formally reinstated therein; that he erected his castle in the upper earth circle of the Breen da Choga, and that seven tribes or generations of the race are at the Breen da Choga. The Dillons continued to hold Cuirene till the times of Cromwell, when they were confiscated, and their lands granted, and sold. Of this noble race are, the Earls of Roscommon, the Viscounts Dillon, the Barons Clonbrock, the Dillons of Lismullen, Barts., of Belegarde, and of Mount Dillon, and their correlatives.

When, on the death of Conor mac Fachtna, the Ulidians called his son Cormac Conloingeas to reign over them, he, Cormac, was at the Court of Medbh; whose troops, flushed with victory, were then returning from the Táin Bó Cuailgne, with a large prey of cattle; and any one who will take a glance at the map will see that the natural route of such an army from Cuailgne (the plain around Dundalk, Co. Louth) would be, through Kells, Castle Pollard, skirting the north shore of Loch Derryvarra to Moyvore, and thence, by the pass over the gravel Esker, commencing at Bruighean da Choga, to the pass across the Shannon at Athlone; and that the key of this important pass was the *Breen da Choga*, situated on the lower spur of Mount Malan which rises from the edge of the bog behind Waterstown, and which has a much larger plateau than the upper one, where stood the Dillon's castle. This, like the upper one, contains an earthwork, but much larger than the upper one, and which, I feel no doubt, was the *Breen da Choga* of our narrative; and which has still adjoining to it the remains of a cell, probably that of St. Laisrean, and a holy well, near which, now alas broken, stands the rock already mentioned.

The Amazon Medbh, viewing with disapprobation Cormac Conloingeas's departure to assume the crown offered to him, ordered her returning troops to attack the Ulidian contingent, and a battle ensued at Druim Drestan, close to the Westmeath side of the Ford of Athlone, just as Cormac had crossed. In this the Ulidians gradually fell back to the Breen da Choga, where they were besieged, as the narrative states, and Cormac was decapitated, and his head brought to Athlone.

Cormac's itinerary from Cruachan is all through well-known places; the battle between the Ulidians and Connacians was at Moyderg, probably the flat ground between the Esker and the River. Opum Naírtap is probably the ridge from the new Cathedral towards Moydrum.

Adjoining to the Dillon's territory of Cuirene, was that of the M'Awleys, called Calree, stretching on towards the King's Co. and comprising within it the Parish of Ballyloaghloe. Of the loe luocha itself, the remains now are a well-drained, fertile meadow, with a rivulet, which turns a mill, flowing through it. Of the Bally there now only remains one arch, which covered the souterrains of the Castle. Within a very short distance of it stands one of the finest earthworks in Ireland, a truncated cone, rising from 50 to 60 feet, with a platform at top 21 by 15 paces, it is surrounded by a double fosse, and I believe was the Oumaó mic Amalgauó, whereon the M'Awleys were inaugurated and in whose centre is their sepulchral chamber; it is now called Mount Temple from the proprietor. Within about 100 yards of this moat, is a fine Cromleac.

NOTE.—Mr. Kelly intended to have offered to the Academy his translation of his historic tale, but forbore to do so, inasmuch as he found that at the Meeting of the Academy preceeding that at which he purposed presenting it, Professor O'Looney had given to the Academy, amongst his Translations, one by himself, of this same tale. See preceding paper.—ED.

XXXVIII.—ON PAPER-CASTS OF ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE COUNTIES OF GALWAY AND MAYO, exhibited and presented on the part of MR. BURCHETT; by SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL.D., Q. C., Vice-President. With Plate IX., Pol. Lit. and Antiq.

[Read 30th November, 1872.]

MR. BURCHETT (Schools of Art, South Kensington) has requested me to present to the Academy the following Paper-casts, made by him, of Inscriptions in the Counties of Galway and Mayo. They are distinguished by the letter B, and numbered I. to X. :—

I. Kilbrean, Arranmore. A fragment of a larger stone, bearing the remains of what probably was a sculptured cross; on either side of which the inscription is arranged, thus—

or do | mainach.

II. Also, from Kilbrean. The broken flat tombstone stated by Petrie to have been found covering the reputed grave of Brean, the founder. This interesting inscription is engraved in the Eccl. Arch., p. 139; but Petrie's drawing omits what the cast discloses, the remains of the letter S giving the force of $\overline{\text{Sci}}$ = *Sancti* to the first group of characters. The inscription occupies the three remaining quadrants formed by a cross, inscribed in a circle, thus—

$$\begin{array}{c|c} \overline{\text{Sci}} & \overline{\text{bre}} \\ \hline & \overline{\text{ni.}} \end{array}$$

The fourth quadrant being broken away leaves the completion of the name of the holy person to conjecture; but there can be no reasonable doubt that it originally bore the missing syllable *ca*, making the whole read—

$\overline{\text{Sci}}$ *Breani.*

For an example of $\overline{\text{Sci}}$, in a like collocation, reference may be made to Stuart's "Sculp. Stones of Scotland," vol. ii., pl. 77, at Whithorn in Wigtonshire—

$\overline{\text{Loc sti Petri Apostoli}}$;

where the "*Loc*" may be compared with the same form of "*locus*" on the Kilnasaggart inscription, near Dundalk. See also, in this connexion, what seem to be the words "*hoc loco*" on the principal inscription on the Newton stone, Aberdeenshire.

Whether the presumption that the cast now before the Academy commemorates the name of St. Breacan be fortified, as Petrie thought, by the further inscription existing on the black stone globular ball found in the same grave (Eccl. Arch, *ibid.*), may perhaps be questionable. The ball bears a legend, which would read—

+ *Oroit ar Bran nailither,*

"Pray for Bran the Pilgrim." were it not for an indentation over *Bran*, which, if a mark of contraction, as my own judgment would lead me to conclude it to be, may justify the enlargement of the word into "Breacan." I exhibit the stone itself, brought from the Petrie collection in our Museum.

III. Also, from Kilbreacan. The "Septem Romani" inscription. This legend, following the fashion of the preceding monument, is distributed in the quadrants of a cross:—

<i>VII</i>	|	<i>Ro</i>
<i>ma</i>	|	<i>ni.</i>

It has been accurately engraved by Petrie (Eccl. Arch., p. 138). This monument was the subject of an instructive incident on the occasion of the visit to Arran of the members of the British Association in 1857, which has been related by Stokes, in his Memoir of Petrie, p. 378. The Paper-cast, held in different lights, shows how easily sculptured characters on a time-worn surface may be overlooked, as, in fact, these of this legend were overlooked, even by those well acquainted with their existence, and desirous of re-discovering them, on the occasion referred to.

IV. Temple Benin, Arranmore. On a square flag-stone at the east end of the little oratory, called after St. Benignus—

Cari.

Beside this simple legend some one has cut the initials T. O. M., and the date 1814. It is possible some portion of the Roman initial C of the old inscription, which contrasts remarkably with the square form of the other letters of this memorial of the "dear one," may have been sharpened to its present clear-cut appearance by the same hand.

V. Killeany, Arranmore. On a massive square flag, built into the southern side wall of the old church among the sands. The sands usually cover the inscription, which may account for the sharpness of the characters—

Oroit ar Scandlan.

The characters are of a peculiarly square contour. The D is remarkable as agreeing with the oddly-shaped d's of the Towyn inscription; and the S, as approaching, in its minuscular form, to the appearance of a capital F.

VI. This characteristic S of the Killeany inscription makes it convenient to notice next Mr. Burchett's cast of the inscribed stone at the Neale, Lord Kilmaine's seat, near Cong. The legend seems to be a proper name:—

Lonsecnan;

the form of the S being evidently the same as in the Killeany example.

VII. That which next claims our attention is the much-cavassed Incha-guile inscription, engraved by Petrie (Ecc. Arch., p. 164), as—

Lie Lugnaedon macc l menuh,

“The stone of Lugnaedon, son of Limenuh.”

If such were the reading, one would readily accept the conclusion arrived at by Petrie and O'Donovan, that this is the monument of Cruimthar or Presbyter Lagnad, stated to have been son of Restitutus the Lombard, and Liemania, sister of St. Patrick: for, besides the identity of the names, there is a local historical association, which should lead us to look for traces of Lagnad in this district. Subsequent drawings and rubbings, however, have greatly invalidated Petrie's reading. These show that what he took for *r*, and associated with *menuh*, to form, awkwardly enough, the name *Lmanuah*, is, in fact, an *n*, and belongs to the preceding group of characters, making with them the word *macci*. This seems, at present, to be a unique example of the *magi* of Ogham legends in the ordinary character. Other discrepancies have also been disclosed in the G and first N of Petrie's Lugnaedon. What he has taken for a G, or rather for the remains of what may have been a normal G of the regular Irish alphabet, has been shown to be a boldly-cut and complete character, resembling a reverted Z, which, if in MS., would be considered to be S, but which Dr. Whitley Stokes, coerced by the context, agrees with Petrie, although on different grounds, in accepting as G. Lastly, the text, which has been well re-produced in Sir William Wilde's “Lough Corrib,” 2nd ed., p. 136, shows, instead of the first N of Petrie's Lugnaedon, the letter U converting the name into some form of Lugud, either a diminutive, or, as Stokes regards it, a genitive in agreement with *macci*. The whole legend would thus appear to read, following the distinctions of its capitals and minuscules, as indicated with great distinctness on the Paper-cast, a photographic reproduction of which (by the autotype process) is annexed (see Plate):—

Lie Lugaedon macci menuh.

The prospect of reconciling discrepancies seemingly so divergent is certainly somewhat discouraging; but, having regard to the Ogham taste displayed in the use of *macci*, and, considering the unconforma-

ble appearance of *menueh*, taken alone, with its minuscular initial *m*, it may be, after all, that this inscription has been conceived according to a method of which Ogham texts seem to furnish examples—of dividing proper names by the interjection, as it were, of other members of the legend between their component parts; so that, the associations originally called up by Petrie may possibly yet re-constitute themselves around this monument, although coming together in a new combination, and owing their disclosure to lights reflected from a sphere of inquiry in which Petrie saw nothing but darkness. *Menueh*, in any case, must be regarded as a singular proper name, standing alone; and if not so taken, its possible correspondence to the *cailleach* and *lleian* of other Irish and Welsh texts would suggest further Oghamic analogies.

The remaining presentations belong to a more modern and very different school of lapidary writing; being casts of inscriptions in the raised Gothic or Lombardic character, in general use in monumental sculpture in those islands during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. They are noticed in Sir W. Wilde's "Lough Corrib," and Miss Stokes's "Christian Inscriptions."

VIII is found on the base of the broken cross in the main street of Cong, Co. Mayo. The cast entirely supports the reading of this inscription determined by Todd and Petrie (Proceedings of R. I. A., 1st Ser., Vol. VI., p. 225), and except that the words are not divided, is as follows:—

OR' DO NICHOL AG' DO GILLI
BERD ODUBTHACH Rⁿ
BIN ABADDEACⁿ CONGⁿ.

"Pray for Nichol and for Gilliberd O'Dubthaich (O'Duffy), who were in the abbotship (i. e. who were abbots) of Cong."

IX. and X. From a fragment apparently of the shaft of the same cross now lying in the sill of the east window of the adjoining church. They exhibit the remains of the names Gilliberd (and of Nichol? O'Dubthaich, and of Cong, and express the abbatial office, as in the preceding example.

Little remains of the C of "Cunga" but the upright bar resembling a capital I, with which the opening of the C is closed in this peculiar alphabet. This gives to the character the appearance of the old Irish form of Q, for which it has been frequently mistaken.

At what time Nichol and Gilliberd O'Duffy lived has not been ascertained (though frequent notices of the O'Duffys occur in the Annals in connexion with Cong); neither is it known when first the Lombardic letters came into use in Irish lapidary writing; but Nichol and Gilbert are names which may be taken as presumably pointing to the post-Norman period.

XXXIX.—ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF A BRONZE SHOE-SHAPED OBJECT
AS PART OF THE HEAD OF AN ANCIENT IRISH CROZIER. By JOHN
RIBTON GARSTIN, M. R. I. A., F. S. A.

[Read November 30, 1872.]

DURING a recent visit to Belfast I took the opportunity of examining such public and private collections of antiquities as were accessible, and amongst the latter that of our fellow Academician, the Rev. James O'Laverty, P.P., Holywood.

Of the curiosities belonging to that gentleman which especially attracted my attention, one, a bronze shoe-shaped object, is the subject of this paper. It is well represented in the annexed woodcut, drawn and engraved by Mr. Hanlon, and of the same size as the original.



Mr. O'Laverty knew nothing of its antecedents beyond the fact of having purchased it in Belfast, at an auction of the effects of the Rev. Dr. James Kennedy-Baillie, who had been a Member of this Academy, as well as, from 1817 to 1830, a Fellow of Trinity College, and from the latter year Rector of Ardtrea, Co. Tyrone, till his death in 1864. He is well known as the editor of an annotated edition of Homer's *Iliad*. He also published three volumes of Greek Inscriptions. Father O'Laverty told me that he wrote to the relative who had charge of the Rev. Doctor's affairs, but did not succeed in eliciting any information regarding this bronze article. He also submitted it to several persons competent to judge of such matters, and amongst them to one of our Members who has distinguished himself as an authority on Irish antiquities; but, being still uncertain as to what this curiosity might be, he entrusted it to me to take to Dublin, in the hope that I should succeed in determining its use. (See Note A, at end.)

The conclusion at which I have arrived, and which I now submit to the Academy, is that the bronze is the foremost portion of the head of an ancient Irish Crozier or bishop's staff. (See Note B, at end.)

This opinion has been fortified by a circumstance which I have since learned from Mr. O'Laverty. He writes to me, saying:—"On the same day was sold a thin piece of amber, through which was pierced a small hole, and around it was a piece of paper containing this note:—'Taken from the head of an ancient Irish crozier.'" I venture to think that the label might relate to the bronze instead of to the piece of amber, or, at least, that the latter at some time belonged to the former.

It will be observed that the flat front of the bronze (corresponding, in the preceding engraving, to the bottom of the sole, according to the simile of a shoe) presents a well-defined cross, which, according to my supposition, would be held in a position presenting it perpendicularly to the bishop's flock, thus displaying the emblem of the Christian faith stamped on the very forefront of the ensign of his office. It also appears on the side of the bronze. A herring-bone pattern, not common in Irish work, but nearly resembling one on the inner part of the crook of the Lismore crozier (see lithographed plate in O'Neill's "*Fine Arts of Ancient Ireland*") forms the cross in front. It is surrounded by ornaments formed by the interlacements of a single band. Those in the two lower corners are perfect and beautiful. The patterns resemble others on similar Irish work, *e. g.*, on the Durrow tombstones represented in the "*Christian Inscriptions*," edited by Miss Stokes (Plate XXXI.), and on the side of the shaft of the stone cross of Drumcliff, figured in Mr. O'Neill's work above quoted, p. 32.



It would be difficult to convince any one familiar only with the conventional form of the crozier-crook, as represented in modern medieval pictures, or as embodied in most croziers now in use, or ancient continental manufacture, that the bronze in question—with its square, blunt termination—forms part of a crozier. The usual design, following more closely the analogy of the shepherd's crook, almost invariably terminated in a curve, either outward or inward, —as more usual in French work—in a combination of both.

It is only by comparison with ancient Irish examples that the identity of Mr. O'Laverty's bronze can be thoroughly established. There are specimens in our own Museum which might serve the purpose; but the resemblance is more strikingly shown by comparison with the "Lismore" and "Clongowes-wood" croziers, which, through the

the Duke of Devonshire, M. R. I. A., and John Lentaigne, I. A., are now laid before the Academy.

The analogy of these examples, and especially the remarkable air end, I have no hesitation in concluding that the bronze crozier in a crozier which is represented in the annexed wood-cut. The unshaded portion of the wood-cut is, of course, being merely an outline similar that of the Lismore crozier.

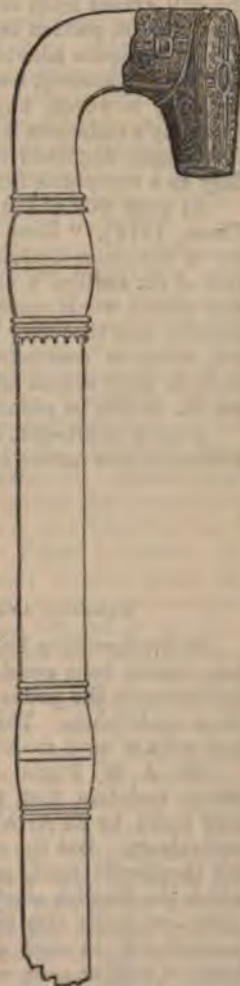
The "square-ending" form of the crook (as termed), presenting to the spectator, is indicative of an early period.

The ordinary, or florid, shape used in croziers of Irish make at the fifteenth century. For example, the crozier of the "Limerick" crozier of Bishop O'Dea (A.D. 1400-34), by the Rev. Dr. Milner in *Archæologia*, p. 31. The "Cashel" crozier in the collection (now included in the the Academy), though of the usual distinguished from the square-ending submit, of Irish workmanship. The doubting Petrie's conclusion recould not be stated in the limits of the present paper. Probably the date of the now described lies between the 12th centuries.

The early Irish croziers still extant in outline, all being of the type indicated, all differ in details, and Mr. is peculiar in its ornamentation like arrangement, as well as in the design upon it.

It is of art this bronze is more remarkable for the design than for the manner in which it is executed. There is a rudeness which is in contrast with the finish of most of the remaining examples. This indicates an early date or a time when workmanship began to decline, it is not easy to determine.

It is improbable that a gem or amber was fitted the small circular panel in the section of the cross, which appears to be intended as a receptacle for some ornament.



NOTE A.

USE AS RELIQUARIES.

There seems good reason for supposing that the heads of some of the still extant Irish croziers were used to contain relics. In a few cases the flat portion in front is moveable, and almost invariably there is a hollow space adapted for the purpose here suggested. Such a use may help to account for the great veneration in which they were held. Croziers, however, have their vicissitudes. One of those in the Academy's collection is said to have been used as a walking-stick, and the bronze described in this paper had evidently at some time done duty as a receptacle for tobacco.

At page 289 of the "Book of Fenagh" (4to, Dublin; printed by Thom, 1875), "Done into English by D. H. Kelly, M. R. I. A.," in one of the notes contributed by Mr. W. M. Hennessy, M. R. I. A., it is said of St. Caillin, a contemporary of St. Patrick, that "He foretold that clerics would come towards the end of the world to disseminate religion, and that they would subject the relics, croziers, and bells of the saints to contempt and disrespect." The MS. from which the R. I. A. copy of this book was taken was transcribed in 1516. May not St. Caillin be counted among the Prophets?

It must be allowed, however, that disrespect would be unintentional while the true nature of the relic remained unknown.

NOTE B.

MEANING AND DERIVATION OF THE WORD CROZIER.

In the foregoing brief paper, not only has the now prevalent spelling, *crozier*, been avoided, but the word has been used throughout as applicable to the pastoral staff of a Bishop, as distinguished from that of an Archbishop. This has been done advisedly, though against the authority of most modern ecclesiologists.

Mr. A. W. Pugin, Dean Hook, the Rev. Precentor Walcott, and others, maintain that the word properly belongs to the "cross on a staff borne by an Archbishop." They derive it from "cross," or its equivalents. But the emblem is to be traced, not to the cross, but to the shepherd's *crook*, and the low-latin *crocea* is the medium through which the English word is derived; and hence—to use homely illustrations—we have also the terms a *crutch*, a *crotchet* in music, and a *crochet-hook*, in each of which there are the elements of the same form—a staff or stem with a crook'd head. This question can only be glanced at here. The writer has collected many proofs in support of the view he has adopted.

L.—ON THE EVIDENCES BEARING ON SUN-WORSHIP AT MOUNT CALLAN, CO. CLARE. By SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL. D., Q. C., Vice-President.

[Read April 28, 1873.]

the paper on the Mount Callan Ogham Inscription, which I recently read before the Academy, I abstained from expressing any opinion on the literary forgery which O'Donovan charges Theophilus Flanagan to have committed, in citing certain verses as from the poem called *The Battle of Gavra*, containing an allusion to assemblies for sun-worship on Mount Callan. It was observed, in the discussion which ensued, that the idea might have been suggested to O'Flanagan as a mistaken inference from the name of the adjoining locality, *Booleynagreana*. This was a speculation on which I conceived it unnecessary to enter, as I had just learned from Professor O'Looney, in addition to the particulars contained in the paper, that there were other facts within his personal knowledge, which, if the verses were genuine, as he conceives them to be, would offer a more tangible ground for accounting for their composition. I was aware that contemporaneously with the publication of O'Flanagan's paper, the author of the *Post-Chaise Companion* had spoken of the discovery of the monument ascribed to Conan, and had designated either it or the mound itself (for his language is ambiguous) by the significant name *Altair na Greine*, "Altar of the Sun." Finding no allusion to an altar of the sun in O'Flanagan's paper, and observing that he spoke of Cromlech now called Dermot and Grania's Bed, as a Druid's altar, I concluded that that must have been the object referred to by Flanagan, and dignified by admission into Gough's *Camden*, under the name of *Altair na Greine*. I was also aware that in 1814 some object, designated as "The Altar of Sacrifice," had been referred to by a Mr. John Kennedy, of Limerick, writing to a friend in Cork, as then existing near Loch Booleynagreana, which I had taken to be the same cromlech. From Professor O'Looney, however, I learned that in this I had been mistaken, for that a distinct structure bearing that name, I made the place of certain observances (to be noticed further on), actually exist, till within a recent period, on a part of Callan mountain called *Alt na Greine*, in the immediate vicinity of the cromlech stone of Conan. Conceiving that such a fact, vouched by a trustworthy living witness, could not but be deemed extremely interesting and valuable, I begged of Professor O'Looney that he would put in writing the statement which he had had the goodness so to communicate to me. He has kindly complied with my request, and has embodied in his detail of facts his own views as to the inferences which legitimately may be drawn from them. I will not be understood as giving my adhesion to all these opinions. I would, indeed, have much preferred that Professor O'Looney should have made the

facts known in the form of a communication by himself to the Academy. However, he has proposed that—as the subject was already in my hands—I should be the medium of adding anything that might be deemed relevant to it, and I am too sensible of the rare value of facts in such an investigation to pretermitt the opportunity of using them, by reason only of their being associated with matter of inference, which does not command the full assent of my own judgment.

I take the liberty of requesting the special attention of the reader to those passages of the communication which furnish actual evidence of the leading facts: viz., that periodic assemblies used to be held on Callan Mountain; and that a particular structure called *Altoir na Greine* was used on these occasions for certain observances.

The following is the communication of Professor O'Looney:—

"I am slow in replying to your inquiries about the ancient assemblies of *Buaile na Greine*, and the ceremonies which took place at *Altoir na Greine* in olden times, and what is worse, I fear I can say but little of any real interest on the subject. However, I may say I do not believe that the names *Buaile na Greine* and *Altoir na Greine*, applied to those places, will be sufficient to warrant the assumption that the ancient Callanites were a sun-worshipping people. I think the topographical features of the place, and the fact that the sun is dominant on this particular spot from early dawn till evening's close, is the true origin of the name *Buaile na Greine*, which simply means the *plain of the sun*, or the *sun-beaten lawn*. The application of the word *Altoir* is not older, perhaps, than the time of Michael Comyn's romance of *Torolb MacStairn*: the only written work in which the name *Altoir na Greine* is applied to this great stone-altar, or table. It is more probable that *Alt na Greine*, 'the height or eminence of the sun,' one of the older names of this peak, was converted into *Altoir* in after times, and the name *Altoir na Greine*, applied by Michael Comyn to the great stone monument which then stood on this eminence, prevails to the present day, while the older name of the place is entirely forgotten.

"The theory of pig-worship on Mount Callan seems to me also untenable, and is probably based on the frequent occurrence of *muc* (a pig), *torc* (a hog), *crain* (a sow), and a variety of such names, in combination with other epithets in the nomenclature of the place, and its surroundings: e. g. *Muc Inis* (Pig's Island), *Caeran Chinn Tuire* (the Hog's Head Peak), and *Cluain Cranach* (the Field or Meadow of the Sow). The occurrence of this class of names goes far to prove, if proof were necessary, that Mount Callan was a great resort of pigs and swineherds; but I do not think it goes far to support the theory of pig-worship, for which I see no other foundation, nor do I believe the ancient assemblies on *Buaile na Greine* had much to do with worship of any kind.

"It seems to me that the assemblies on *Buaile na Greine* were the representatives of the ancient *Oenachs*, fairs, and *Tocomracs*, or general assemblies, of that part of the country.

"You will see by the passages I translate from Michael Comyn's account of the adventures of Torolb Mac Stairn and his three sons, that the slaying and immolating of quadrupeds formed part of the ceremonies at *Altoir na Greine*, and, indeed, I may say we have no other ceremony but that, and we have the important additional statement, that the ceremony closed with the cooking and eating of the quadruped killed there. This killing of the quadrupeds at *Altoir na Greine* goes far in support of my view that those assemblies represented the more ancient *Oenachs*. The poem on the celebrated *Oenach Tailten*, preserved in the books of Lecan and Ballymote, contains the following quatrain, from which it appears that a similar practice formed part of the rites of that ancient fair:—

* The three forbidden bloods,

Patrick preached [against] in it (i. e., in the fair of Tailten):

Yoke oxen, and slaying of milch-cows:

And the burning of the first-fruits (first born).*

"This allusion to the slaying of quadrupeds in the ancient poem on the fair of Tailten, and that mentioned by Michael Comyn in his romance, founded on the traditions of the inhabitants of the place, and written so late as the year 1749, show some analogy between the assemblies on *Buaile na Greine* and the more ancient *Oenachs* and public assemblies.

"The *Oenach* of *Buaile na Greine* dwindled down to be little more than a local patron; but, however thinned the population was by extermination and other misfortunes, the traditional custom of meeting on *Buaile na Greine* still continued in one form or other. The same delightful eminence on which *Altoir na Greine* stood still continued a favourite resort on certain festive occasions; and the sports, games, and feasts were celebrated till very recently. The games and sports of latter days were nothing more than hurling, wrestling, jig dancing, and other simple feats of that class, and as the inhabitants of the place were not over wealthy in latter days, the feasts were of a homely sort, and very simple.

"The three principal feasts of the year were on Easter Sunday, Patrick's Day, and Lammas Sunday.

"On Easter Sunday all went there to make their *Pruachais Cásca*, or Easter feast of eggs, oatmeal-bread, and new Easter ale; to hold their Easter conversation on the topics of the day, and to open the sports of the season with a chorus of bagpipes, and a *moncen* dance.

"On Patrick's Day all went there to drink their *Pota Patraig*, or Patrick's pot of good old poteen whiskey, and *Beoir Marta*, or March beer.

"*Domnach Lunasa*, or Lammas Sunday, the first Sunday of the

month of August, was the first-fruits day, and a great day on *Buaile na Greine*. On Lammass Sunday, called *Domnach Crom Dubh*, and anglicised 'Garland Sunday,' every householder was supposed to feast his family and household on the first fruits, and the farmer who failed to provide his people with new potatoes, new bacon, and white cabbage on that day, was called a *Felemuir Gaoithe*, or wind farmer, and if a man dug new potatoes before *Cromdubh's* Day he was considered a needy man, and hence this Sunday was called first-fruits day.

"On this day all went to *Buaile na Greine* with their contributions and their *lons* (or food supplies), to hold the fair. The ceremonies consisted of strewing Summer flowers on the altar and festive mound, of which we have been speaking up to this under the name of *Altoir na Greine*, or altar of the sun, but which is on this day used as the altar of *Crom Dubh*. The assemblage of this day is called *Comthineol Chruim Duibh*, or the congregation or gathering of *Crom Dubh*. And the day is called from him *Domnach Chrom Dubh*, or *Cromdubh's* Sunday, now called 'Garland Sunday' by the English-speaking portion of the people of the surrounding districts. This name is supposed to have been derived from the practice of strewing garlands of flowers on the festive mound on this day, as homage to *Crom Dubh*: hence the name 'Garland Sunday.'

"Assuredly I saw blossoms and flowers deposited upon it on the first Sunday of August, 1844, and put some upon it myself, as I saw done by those who were with me. I was then a mere lad, but very inquisitive. The assembly was at this time a mere gathering of boys.

"We thus find a new deity introduced on the altar of the sun, and sun-worship and pig-worship upset.

"If you ask me who *Crom Dubh* was, I can only tell you I asked the question myself on the spot. I was told that *Crom* was a god, and that *Dubh* or *Dua* meant a sacrifice, which in combination made *Crom Dubh*, or *Crom Dua*, that is, *Crom's* sacrifice; and this Sunday was set apart for the feast and commemoration of this *Crom Dubh*, whoever he may have been.

"The feast, games, and sports of this day merged into a sort of patron or festive fair, which continued to be celebrated on *Buaile na Greine* for a considerable time. The principal amusements were feasting, drinking and singing, racing, hurling, dancing, and other such sports, the patron being sometimes held for several days.

"The priests and wise old men of the surrounding parishes, growing tired of this practice, admonished the people to abandon the custom of going to Mount Callan, and counselled them to give up the customary feasts and patron of *Buaile na Greine*, and subsequently they got up a patron at St. Muchan's, in the Union of Ennistymon, whither they invited all to come. Here they set up races, goals, *monneen* dances, and other sports to attract the people hither, and here, while the young and sportive were at their sports, the old and pious were engaged in performing rounds at St. Muchan's holy well, and

praying on the bed of the patron saint. This patron put an end to the mass-meetings on *Buail na Greine*.

"The patron of St. Muchan's was subsequently removed to *Leacht ui Chonchobair*, now Lahinch, where the tribe of O'Connor of Corcomroe were in the habit of meeting to celebrate the *Oenach Guba*, or mourning assembly (fair) of their chieftain O'Connor, king of Western Corcomroe, who was buried in that place, and whose *Leacht* (monumental pile) gave the name *Leacht ui Chonchobair* to this place. This *Leacht* has now disappeared, and its place is occupied by the Victoria Hotel, at Lahinch, and I question if there are many who can tell much of its history, and nothing now remains to commemorate the last of the O'Conors, kings of Western Corcomroe, but the word *Leacht*, the present contracted form of *Leacht ui Chonchobair*, or Lahinch.

"Thus I have collected the traditional history of the ancient assemblies of *Buail na Greine*, showing how it has existed perhaps from a time even anterior to Conan Mael down to the present day, and how it still survives, probably in greater multitudes, and more true to the characteristics of an ancient *Oenach* or *Tochomrac Tuatha* than it was since the system of territorial and tribe government, under the ancient Brehon Laws, ceased to give a political importance to those assemblages, of which I have no doubt the *Oenach* of *Buail na Greine* was one."

Desiring a more definite statement as to *Altoir na Greine* itself, I ventured to request Mr. O'Looney to add to the favour he had already done me in the above communication, by giving me a distinct written description of its site, construction, and uses, and stating what had become of it. He again had the kindness to comply with my desire, and on this occasion without any collateral matter, in the remarkable statement which I here subjoin:—

"I saw *Altoir na Greine* in 1844-5. The altar was a rude structure, much in the form of a large *bin* or *chest*, but empty underneath. The altar part was composed of seven large grey flags: four upright flags standing in the ground, two at either end, about four feet apart, and one great flag resting down upon them, and two upright flags standing in the ground behind them, on the western side, and rising about two feet or eighteen inches above the table-stone of the altar.

"There were some stones of various shapes and sizes around it, at the back, and at the ends, and an elevation or mound of clay and small stones. Its position was south-west from Leaba Chonain. You looked south-west across the lake to *Crag na Sean Ean*.

"In the year 1859 I met a poor man who had fixed a temporary residence near this part of the mountain. I could give his name, but it would give offence to his friends to do so. He told me he made a cabbage garden in this locality; and, as stones were scarce to fence it, he broke up the whole altar structure, and split the large rocks and flags with his crowbar, to make a fence for his garden. I was at his funeral soon after. The stones were subsequently removed, and

utilised in making and patching the line of road that runs underneath, from Synge's lodge to the Hand road."

I now propose to trace back, a little more in detail, the existence of this curious structure, as far as the notices known to me will allow.

Kennedy's reference to it is contained in a copy of a letter addressed by him from Limerick to Mr. Denis O'Flynn of Cork, dated 1st August, 1814, and preserved among the MS. collections of the late John Windele (in the Library of the Academy, Suppl., Vol. III., p. 335). In this letter Mr. Kennedy gives an account of his pilgrimage, on the 14th of the previous July, to the Stone of Conan. He describes the scene as excessively solitary, and dwells on his bodily fatigue and trepidation of mind in penetrating that recess of the mountain. He does not, in the body of his letter, make any allusion to an altar; but he appends a map or terchart of the surroundings of the monument of Conan, and, in the margin of this, refers, by a letter, to a note appended, in these words:—"C. Baek here of this summit ('back of' being equivalent to 'back from') is the Altar of Sacrifice, and *Buile na Greine*." The position indicated is in the direction of that assigned by Professor O'Looney as the site of *Altoir na Greine*.

The next notice, moving backward in point of time, is that in Gough's Camden, published in 1789, citing the words of Wilson, which I subjoin from the Post-Chaise Companion, published in Dublin, in 1786, (cols. 176-7):—

"In the year 1784, there was a very curious tombstone discovered by Mr. O'Flanagan on Callan Mountain (in Irish, *Altoir na Greine*, or Altar of the Sun), about eight miles W. of the town of Ennis, on which is the following inscription, which is itself curious, yet becomes interesting by the degree of authenticity which it seems to stamp on the early Irish MSS.:—

fan lro a pica Conán.
Colgac Cor-obmra.

i.e. Beneath this flag is interred
Conan the turbulent and
swift-footed.

"This remarkable stone is of granite, in length between seven and eight feet, and from three to four in breadth, and is placed upon a kind of tumulus, and was erected to commemorate Conan, who was one of the Connaught knights, who fell in battle. In an historical tale written, as is supposed by Ossin, about the year 296, the author thus apostrophises: "But the intrepid hero Conan was not at this bloody battle, for going to the adoration of the sun the preceding May, he was cut off by the Leinster troops, though he but a single knight of Connaught; and his body lies interred on the N. W. side of the dreary mountain of Callan, and over a flag is his name inscribed in the Ogham." (The Ogham was a character sacred to the Druids, the alphabet of which is still preserved.) This stone has long been celebrated in the County of Clare. On the S. side of this mountain is a very large Druidical altar about twelve feet by four; this altar, the most regular of the kind now remaining, and of the highest antiquity, stands about half a mile distant from the high-road leading from Ennis to Ibrican, on the right hand.

Those familiar with the peculiar style of the Irish philomath of the last century, will hardly fail to recognise the hand of O'Flanagan himself in this contribution to Wilson. Assuming the fact to be so, it offers a further corroboration of the argument relied on in my former paper against O'Flanagan having been the fabricator of the inscription; for the version differs both from that given by Lloyd, and from that published in the Transactions of the Academy.

I here reach the limit beyond which I am unable to find any proof from documents usually receivable in evidence of facts, that *Altoir na Greine* existed prior to 1786. A work of fiction, however, remains, which, as it was written before the question of sun-worship had been made a subject of discussion, more than twenty years, indeed, before General Vallencey came to Ireland, may not be unworthy of attention, as showing that the thing was there in 1749, and what the traditions associated with it then were. I refer to Michael Comyns' romance of the Adventure of the Sons of Thorolb, which only differs from a large class of other Irish authorities recognised as probable guides in matters of topography and tradition, in this, that it was composed by a romance-writer of the last century, and they by romance-writers of centuries somewhat earlier. A foundation of history exists in some; others are merely fabulous; but in all, the same reason exists for accuracy in the description of localities and objects, and for conformity to tradition in the usages and habits of the imaginary actors. If Coningsboro' castle were destroyed, we might resort to "Ivanhoe" for a reliable description of it. So, although the incidents of Comyns' Irish novel are as imaginary as the adventures of Isaac of York and his daughter Rebecca, we may be reasonably sure, that, when he brings his actors into the scene of his own daily life and conversation, he will adapt their doings to the real objects surrounding them, and will make his accessories conformable to the traditions of those amongst whom he should seek for readers, and for appreciation.

Comyns, then, thus describes the altar; and in his description of it no one will hesitate to recognise the structure seen by Mr. O'Looney. His heroes have arrived at Mount Callan, and have had—what is a conventional exploit in tales of the sort—their combat with the *piast* or water-snake that haunted the lake. The tale proceeds—"A great assembly, and (literally) monster-meeting was held at the usual time on *Buaille na Griene*. It was a custom then to hold a meeting once in every third year on *Buaille na Griene*, on the south side of Slieve Callan, to make sacrifice and adoration to the sun, upon an altar which was made of thin grey flags (literally of ice-plate-like grey flags) in that place."* So far, it is plain he is speaking of an object well known,

* *Go tIarla crinnuighidhe mor agus comhthiunol ionganthaeh amhail ba gnaith leo uair ansra tri bliadhan ambuaille na greine aira ttaobh theas do ehnoe Callain ag dlusain iodbarta agus adhrad don grein air altoir na greine ata deanta d' luingaib gel-oidheor an asuaitin.* (x²³₁ in Lib. R. I. A., p. 211.)

and of probable antiquity. What follows will be taken for what it is worth, considering the nature of the composition:—"And great numbers of bulls and rams used to be killed and roasted around those flags, and the blood and the brains of those animals used to be spilled and rubbed upon that altar." He then narrates the appearance of the great wild pig, its slaughter by the youthful heroes, the offering up of it on *Altoir na Greine*, and its distribution as food to the multitudes: on which it is only necessary to remark that he places the site of the altar on a height above the lake, leaving no doubt that the object referred to was at the time of the composition, 1749, standing on the same spot where it was referred to by Mr. Kennedy, in 1814, and seen by Professor O'Looney in 1844-5.

Behind this date I am unable to discover any further evidence, either of the positive or presumptive kind, tending to show how long *Altoir na Greine* had existed. The evidence adduced renders it hard to understand how such a state of facts could have originated in modern times. Had it been a mass-altar, erected during the enforcement of the penal laws, its nature would have been fresh in everyone's knowledge when Comyns wrote. The change of name on such a supposition would imply a double process in the popular mind, of forgetting something of which the speakers would be proud, and inventing something in lieu of it, of which they would be ashamed. Its position also, with its back to the west, seems difficult to reconcile with that idea. Its structure, however, does not appear to have had the solidity of ancient monuments in general; and the aspect of the neighbouring inscription, as has already been observed, does not bespeak a remote antiquity. Still the place appears to have been the scene of assemblies representing the old *Enachs*, which were commonly held in the neighbourhood of ancient sepulchral monuments; and if the rites which presumably may be believed to have been associated with it in popular tradition, a hundred years ago, savour of a Gentile worship, it is not necessary to ascend so high as the very early Christian era, for the presence of remains of Gentilism in Ireland.

[A further paper on this subject was read before the Academy by Dr. Ferguson on the 8th of November, 1875, which will appear in the Proceedings.—Ed.]

I.—ON SOME ANCIENT SEPULCHRAL SLABS IN THE COUNTIES OF DOWN, ANTRIM, AND DONEGAL. By WILLIAM HUGH PATTERSON, M.R.I.A. (Abstract). (With Plates X., XI., XII., Pol. Lit. and Antiq.)

[Read May 12th, 1873.]

MENTAL Slabs, of tapered shape and ornamented with floriated scrolls carved in relief, are very numerous about the sites of the older religious establishments in England and Scotland, such as Bakewell in Derbyshire, Iona, and elsewhere. In Ireland they are of much rarer occurrence; but have been found at Kilkenny, Youghal, and other places where the Anglo-Norman families effected permanent settlements. In many cases these slabs bear legends, in raised letters, of old Irish or Longobardic form.

This fashion of monument seems to have been brought over by the Anglo-Normans, as it differs completely in character from the Irish stone slabs, so much so, that it would be difficult to conceive a development from the one to the other; and, so far as I know, these tapered n-shaped slabs are only found in those parts of Ireland where the Irish fixed themselves.

One of the early seats of Anglo-Norman power in the north of Ireland was in the eastern parts of Down, particularly the districts bounding Strangford Lough, that is, the baronies of Ards, Castletown, Dufferin, and Lecale.

It is said that at one time thirty stone castles stood around Strangford Lough, to guard that remote portion of the English pale.

In this extensive district the cemetery of the ancient abbey of Movilla, close to Newtownards, at the head of Strangford Lough, appears to have been the favourite burying-place of the Anglo-Norman settlers, as may be judged from the number of these monuments found there.

The abbey of Movilla, founded by Finian, about the year 540, existed for upwards of a thousand years, and was, perhaps, with the exception of Bangor and Downpatrick, the most famous religious establishment in the north-east of Ireland. It was probably a place of religious observances, even in pre-Christian times, as its name Movilla—the Irish *Magh-bile*, means “the plain of the ancient tree.” St. Finian founded his missionary church on a site already sacred in the eyes of the natives of the district.

There is but one slab at Movilla with an inscription in Irish. This curious stone was found in 1840, by Mr. Robert Jameson, under a heap of rubbish in the churchyard, and is now in his garden, which adjoins the cemetery. The slab measures four feet long by one foot eight inches broad. A cross of Irish character extends the whole length of the slab, and the inscription:—

OR DO DERTREND

is cut beside the cross stem. All attempts to make out anything about this *Dertrend* have failed.

At Movilla there are twelve tapered slabs of Anglo-Norman character. Four of these of different types have been engraved. Fig. 3 represents the most numerous class, *i. e.* a tapered slab, with bevelled edges, bearing a sunken circular panel, in which is sculptured in relief a floriated cross, of a more or less elaborate character. The stem of the cross is formed by two lines, which usually terminate in steps, or, as it is called, a Calvary, at the narrow end of the slab.

All these monuments have generally suffered very much from the effects of weather, and the ornamental details of some have almost disappeared.

Fig. 1 in the accompanying plates is a very curious little slab, and measures only two feet eight inches in length; it is the only slab of this type at Movilla, but there is a magnificent slab measuring nearly six feet long, and bearing a cross head of this pattern, at Kilclief churchyard, close to the fine old castle of Kilclief on the seacoast of Lecale, near the entrance of Strangford Lough. This slab has a cable moulding carried all round the edge. A straight sword is sculptured on the right of the cross-stem, and on the other side is something resembling a staff, with a flag flying from it, and surmounted by a small cross. Another slab at Kilclief has the cable moulding, with the usual cross, and a sword only. The cross head is like fig. 3, but plainer. There are three other very characteristic cross slabs at Kilclief churchyard, as well as one built into the wall of a room of the castle.

Fig. 2.—This slab is unlike anything I have seen, and is of very curious design. The “shears” sculptured beside the cross mark the slab as the monument of a woman.

Fig. 4 is a very large and handsome slab. The whole of the ornament is in relief; the cross has eight points, and the stem is ornamented with foliage. This slab also bears the feminine symbol.

Newtownards.—In the wall of the old parish church in this town, a cross slab has been built. It has probably been brought here from Movilla, about half a mile distant.

At Rhubane, parish of Inishargy, near Kircubben, in the Ards, a slab was found bearing a plain incised cross, and the name

Deanlam

in Irish characters. This stone is now in the possession of the Rev. James O'Laverty, M.R.I.A., P.P. of Holywood, County Down. This slab and the “*Dertrend*” one described above, are the only ones bearing Irish inscriptions known to exist in the County of Down.

At Grey Abbey (founded in 1193 by John de Courcy), there are several fragments of Anglo-Norman cross slabs. There is also a very large and well preserved slab, seven feet long, with an ornamental moulding carried all round the edge, and bearing a floriated cross, with eight points. This slab was brought here from the site of Black

Abbey, in the Ards, about two miles distant, an abbey founded by de Courcy about 1180, but of which all trace has disappeared.

At Ballymaghan, in the parish of Holywood, two slabs with floriated crosses of eight points sculptured in relief have been found. One of these slabs bears the "shears," and the other a sword. The gardens of the "Moat House" now occupy the site of the ancient cemetery of the church of Ballymaghan; one of these slabs is now in the Belfast Museum.

In the church-yard of Saul (*Sabhall*), near Downpatrick, are two slabs with plain incised crosses of very early character. Figs. 5 and 6.

There is also an ornamental tapered slab built into the wall at the entrance to the church-yard. Something resembling a key is sculptured beside the shaft of the cross, and on this account the slab is called by the people of the neighbourhood, "The Key Stone."

The key is considered to be, like the "shears," a feminine emblem when it occurs on monumental slabs, and there is ample evidence from English examples to bear out this view.

In the old burying ground close to Killyleigh Castle, County Down, there is a small and very curiously shaped slab, Fig. 7, bearing a cross within a circle, of early Irish type. This little slab, which measures only one foot ten inches in length, is different both in shape and design from anything that I have seen.

A slab with an Irish incised cross, but no inscription, Fig. 8, is at Mahee Island (*Inis Mochaoi*), the ancient *Nendrum*, in Strangford Lough. It was doubtless originally at the site of the church and round tower there, but is now in possession of a farmer who lives close by.

A slab measuring eighteen by thirteen inches, and with a cross of a very beautiful and uncommon design (Fig. 12), is built into the wall of the Roman Catholic church at Dunsford, near Ardglass, County Down. It was brought here in 1791, from the ancient ruins of Ardtole Church, by the Rev. Mr. Mulholland, P.P.

At Dunsford parish church-yard there is a large Anglo-Norman cross slab, with sword. There is also a portion of a slab of this kind at Ballynoe, parish of Bright.

At Maghera church-yard, near Newcastle, County Down, there is the lower half of a long cross slab. There are, besides, two very curious early slabs, one with a human figure rudely sculptured on it.

The slabs, Figs. 9, 10 and 11, are in the cemetery which surround the parish church of Glen Columbkille, County Donegal. The two larger ones are of beautiful design, and of undoubtedly Celtic type.

There are also early Irish slabs at Killaghtee church-yard, near Bruckless, County Donegal, and at "the relig," a penitential altar, sacred to St. Conall, in the same parish.

In the County of Antrim but few early sepulchral slabs have been noticed. The Anglo-Normans got a very slight footing in this county. At Carrickfergus a large coffin-shaped slab was lately found, with a crozier sculptured on it in relief.

At the old church of Kilroot, near Carrickfegus, there are portions of two Anglo-Norman grave slabs. At Ballymena there is a very interesting slab with a cross, and an inscription in Irish :—

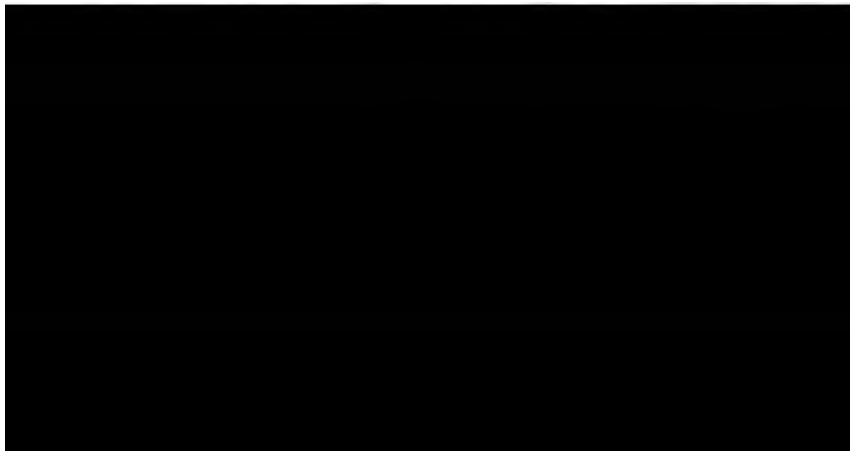
ORT DO DESEN.

This slab, and the "Dertrend" one mentioned before, are figured in Miss Stokes' "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language."

This slab was brought from the old parish burying-ground of Kilconriola (Ballymena), by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, M.R.I.A., and is now deposited for safety in the tower of the present parish church.

Mr. Patterson exhibited a number of drawings of sepulchral slabs of early character, principally comprising those assigned by archaeologists to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and known as Edwardian cross-slabs, coffin-slabs, &c. Some few of those described were of earlier character and of purely Celtic type.

The sketches were principally taken on the spot, or were reduced from rubbings. They included nearly all above mentioned.



XLII.—ON AN ANCIENT BRONZE SHIELD. By HENRY WILSON, F.R.C.S.,
M.R.I.A.

[Read Feb. 23, 1874.]

THIS shield—an engraving of which, by Mr. Hanlon, from a drawing also by him, is annexed—is circular in shape, and flat, having a central conical boss or umbo for the hand. It measures twenty-six inches across, and is composed of a very thin sheet of hammered bronze. Between the central umbo and the periphery are twenty concentric raised circles or rings with intermediate rows of small raised knobs: these knobs being placed at intervals equal to their own diameter,



and being most regular in size and shape. The edge or rim of the shield is beautifully rounded off by the margin being turned inwards and hammered from behind forwards, leaving a small hollow space between the two surfaces.

On either side of the central umbo is a rivet for fastening the handle of the shield, and there are two holes midway between the

centre and the circumference, which contained, no doubt, the rivets for slinging loops. The central hollow boss is now detached from the disc, and is perfectly plain and unornamented. It measures about four and a half inches across. It is probable that originally this shield was backed up with leather or other substance.

The shield is defective in a few places, a portion of its periphery being absent, but is otherwise a remarkably fine and rare specimen of repoussée bronze workmanship of a very early period.

It was found in sandy soil on the property of Henry Healey, Esq. of Ashby Decoy, in the north of Lincolnshire, in 1844; and was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1865.

This shield differs from the one bought by the Academy from Mr. Lenihan in 1872 (see page 155), in the greater number of its concentric circles of raised lines and knobs, as well as in the greater beauty of its workmanship in general, and resembles the figures given by Meyrick in his great work on ancient armour, and by Kemble in the *Horæ Ferales*.

It is a noteworthy fact, as Kemble remarked, that while circular Celtic shields are by no means rare in England, Scotland, and Wales, they are by a strange chance extremely rare in Ireland. We possess but two undoubted specimens of shields in our Museum, one of wood, described and figured by Sir William Wilde, the other of bronze, described by Mr. Lenihan in our Proceedings, and figured in Plate VIII. of the current volume of the Proceedings.

Wilson, in his *Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, describes a curious find of six bronze shields arranged in a circle, in Ayrshire, in 1780. It is probable that the shields chiefly in use in this country at an early period were composed of wickerwork, hide and wood, and that it is owing to the perishable nature of these substances so few have come down to the present day; there can be no doubt, however, but that bronze shields were also in use, for the Irish MSS. contain allusions to "shields with the brightness of the sun;" "golden shields," "red shields,"—expressions most applicable to the beautiful bright colour of the bronze as originally turned out.

[NOTE.—The shield described in the foregoing paper has been bought by the Academy, and is now in the Museum. A label attached to it says, "This shield was found in 1843, at Burringham, ——— feet under ground, by excavators preparing land for warping."—Ed.]

LIII.—ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SITE OF THE ENGAGEMENT AT THE "PASS OF PLUMES." By the Rev. JOHN O'HANLON, M. R. I. A. (With a Map, being Plate XIII., Pol. Lit. & Antiq.)

[Read May 11, 1874.]

seems strange, that it should have hitherto baffled the attempts of modern historians and topographers to determine the exact site of an event so famous in Irish history as the engagement at the "Pass of Plumes." I have had the advantage of a two years' residence on the spot, in Pass House, during my school-boy days, and although familiar with much of the popular lore about the neighbourhood, only a few years have passed since I learned from a native of the place that the story of a great battle having been fought there was quite vivid in the recollection of all the old peasantry. Since then I have taken care to examine into and verify the accuracy of this statement, by study of historic documents, by making a special visit to the spot, and by conversing, among others, with an aged and intelligent yeoman and small farmer of my acquaintance, who cheerfully accompanied me over the ground where occurred the actual encounter. Although this person, named Garret Kehoe, (living in July, 1872, and then over seventy years old), was able to describe from local tradition the spots where this action commenced, continued, and ended—his account being well attested all along the line by the frequent upturning of human remains—yet he and the native peasantry had preserved no information regarding the time when this great battle was contested, or of the opposing leaders or forces engaged in it.

Many writers, in attempted identification, have described sites far from the actual spot. They have very generally placed the locality of this celebrated battle near the village of Ballybrittas, in Lea parish, Queen's Co. People there have lately repeated this erroneous statement, in presence of the writer. "The neighbourhood of Ballyroan," he justly observes Mr. Herbert F. Hore, "seems a more likely locality;" see "Notes on a Fac-simile of an Ancient Map of Leix," &c., in *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeol. Soc.*, Vol. iv., New Ser., Part ii., 1871, p. 371. The Rev. Dr. Kelly came nearer to the site, when he says, "The scene of this action is a mile beyond Croshy Duff hill." See his note to O'Sullivan's "*Hist. Cath. Ibernix Compendium*," Tom. i., p. 207.

When the Earl of Essex landed in Ireland, on the 15th of April, 1599, as commander of Queen Elizabeth's forces,* he soon resolved on an expedition to subdue the Munster Geraldines. He deemed it inex-

* Sir Richard Cox states that Essex, when he landed in Ireland, had a large army, "as well furnished as his heart could desire for that service, being at first

pedient or impracticable, at that time, to operate against the Ulster Irish, under the leadership of the chiefs O'Neill and O'Donnell. The Earl designed forcing his way through Leix, where their brave and capable ally, Owney* Mac Rory O'More,† had assembled his clansmen, and whatever forces he could muster for the occasion. About seven or eight thousand English soldiers constituted the forces with whom Essex marched southwards, according to O'Sullivan Beare, and the "Annals of the Four Masters." Other divisions of his army served to garrison some towns north and south of Dublin. The fort of Maryborough, then held for the Queen, had been invested closely by the O'Mores,‡ and all supplies had been cut off from the garrison. To relieve the besieged, and revictual the stronghold was a matter of pressing importance. An anonymous document,§ in some few details inaccurate, and in others obscure, graphically describes the Earl's expedition. It is well known that the writer was no other than Sir John Harrington, a learned scholar, and the translator of Ariosto. His account of the battle in question, making all due allowance for his sympathies and prejudices, may be credited in great part, he being a participator in the engagement, and an eye-witness of the scenes which he describes.

On the 10th of May, Essex left Dublin to join his forces, who had rendezvoused between the town and bridge of Kildare. Thence they were led to Tallacoury, where the Earl of Ormond joined them with 700 foot and nearly 200 Irish horse. Continuing their march, the vanguard took that part of Athy which lay on the south side of the River Barrow. A mile below, the main body forded the river, in order to assault the Castle on both sides at once. So soon as the passage of the river had been effected, James Fitz Pierce, who held the Castle, delivered it and himself into the Queen's hands. Essex remained at Athy on the 13th and 14th to repair the bridge, and to await the provisions and ammunition coming from Naas. On the next day, the Earl prepared for a march forwards into the country

1300 Horse, and 16,000 Foot, which were afterwards increased to 20,000 men complete." See "Hibernia Anglicana," Part i., p. 416. Ed. London, folio, 1689.

* "The Irish name Uaithne is sometimes Anglicised Anthony, but more frequently Owney."—Haverty's "History of Ireland," chap. xxxv., p. 469.

† "He was, by right, the sole heir to his territory [of Leix], and had wrested the government of his patrimony, by the prowess of his hand and the resoluteness of heart, from the hands of foreigners and adventurers, who had its fee-simple possession passing into a prescribed right for some time before, and until he brought it under his own sway and jurisdiction, and under the government of his stewards and bonnaghts, according to the Irish usage." See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," Vol. vi., pp. 2178, 2179.

‡ William Camden, referring to Mary-Burgh, says, it is "defended by a garrison under the command of a seneschal, who with much ado keeps off the O'Mores, pretending to be lords of it." See "Britannia," Gibson's Ed., p. 987. 1695, folio.

§ Published in "Tracts relating to Ireland, printed for the Irish Archaeological Society," Vol. ii.: A Treatise of Ireland; by John Dymock. Edited by Rev. Richard Butler, A. B., M. R. I. A., pp. 30 to 33.

|| According to the Right Hon. Walter Bourchier's account, they mustered to the number of 3000 Foot and 300 Horse. See "Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex," 1540-1546. Vol. ii., chap. i., p. 26. Lond., 1853.

of the O'Moores of Leix,* to relieve the beleaguered fort of Maryborough, where Francis Rush, the governor, and his men had been living on horseflesh for nearly twenty days.

Having left 100 men to guard Athy, 350 soldiers were detached to Carlow, and 750, under the command of Sir Edward Herbert, were despatched to Ophaly. Four days' provisions were issued to every man, and these were to be carried by each one on his back. On the 15th, Essex, with the main body, marched through the pass of Blackford, which had been entrenched by the O'Mores. However, their lines were deserted before the English army approached. That evening Essex arrived in Stradbally; and it seems probable that Owny Mac Rory O'More retreated thither before him, in an orderly manner, and with his small force keeping at a respectful distance, yet closely observing every movement of the invading forces.

Early next morning the English line of march was resumed, and on the way Essex must have passed the O'More's great stronghold, "the castled crag" of Danamase. On the 16th, the Earl reached Maryborough Fort, where he reinforced the garrison, and left a sufficient supply of provisions for use of the defenders. Without making any unnecessary delay, he started forward in nearly a direct line for Ballyknockan and the "Park of Cashel,"† as I find it called.

Meantime, it would appear, that Dunamase was deemed impregnable, or not deserving the delay a siege might require, while Owny Mac Rory, securely posted on the Dysart hills, hung menacingly on the flank or rear of Essex's army. From his vantage ground, moreover, the Irish chieftain could well divine the object of his opponents, and from his thorough knowledge of the country fastnesses on the anticipated route towards Kilkenny, an opportunity was afforded to post his small force in the most secure positions, while he had the choice of retreat or attack for a considerable distance along a line of road very inconvenient for a large and well-appointed army to traverse, and very favourable for the enterprise of a resolute and daring leader, with even an insignificant body of courageous and devoted clansmen. Owny O'More's military genius was evinced by his prompt withdrawal from the hastily constructed defences at Blackford, where his crushing defeat and disaster were almost certain, in the front of

* At the time of Essex' arrival in Ireland, Fynes Moryson states:—"In the County of Leax, called the Queen's County, lately all *English*, now usurped by the Rebel *Owny Mac Rowry & Moore*, and all the sept of *& Moores*, and the chief of the Gallowglasses in that county, of the sept of *MacDonnell*, the sept of *& Dempseys* (except *Sir Terence & Dempsey*), the sept of *& Daynes* (except *Teague Oge & Dayne*), were all in Rebellion, and a base son of the Earl of Kildare, a *Geraldine*, lately came in upon Protection; the Rebels were in number five hundred seventy Foot, and thirty Horse; *Mr. Hartpole*, *Mr. Bowen*, and *Mr. Pygot*, were the only *English* Inhabitants by whom, and some others, certain Castles were kept for the Queen, besides the Fort of *Maryborough* kept by the Queen's Garrison."—"History of Ireland, from the year 1599 to 1603." Dub. 1735, Vol. i., p. 72. See also 'Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts. 1589-1600.' By J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen, p. 298.

† Bouchier's Devereux, Vol. ii., chap. i., pp. 26-7.

such numerous troops as Essex commanded; while his admirably planned surprise, and vigorous flank attack, in the dangerous defiles afterwards selected, covered his name with renown, and procured a full measure of success for his efforts. The condition of affairs, however, rendered it impossible for him to obtain a complete victory.

The Earl, having strengthened the fort of Maryborough, marched his troops towards Dysart Rocks on that same evening, and encamped "at the foote of a very highe hill called Croschy Duff,"* about three miles from Maryborough. This is called "the general Ratehill† of the Province of Leinster." There Owny Mac Rory O'More showed himself, it is said, "with 500 foote and about 40 horse, two myles from our campe." Having viewed from the top of Croschy-duff—which affords a most extensive prospect—the country around, and particularly the way of that day's march, the Lord Lieutenant led his army through the modern townlands of Kilcolmanbane, Ballyknockan, Ballyheyland, and Pass, "towards a passage called Cashells."‡ This local denomination is yet well known. It was situated "halfe a myle from that night's quarter." The distance from Croschy Duff is, however, more than a mile. Judged by sight, such a description of the distance was fairly accurate. A reference to the annexed map (reduced from Sheet 18 of the Ordnance Survey, Queen's County) will enable the reader to follow the localities noticed.

When he had marshalled the long-extended ranks, the chivalrous Essex marched his columns downwards from Croschy Duff by the very old Dublin road from Maryborough to Ballyroan.§ He moved along

* This name, though one well known, does not appear on the O. S. map. I find stated that it was "formerly known by the name of Tulach Mac Cumhaill." See O'Byrne's "History of the Queen's County," chap. xxiv., pp. 110-11.

† Mr. Herbert F. Hore states, that "Ratehill" may mean "the hill where the clans met," as the Latin word *iraghtus* is frequently used in the printed rolls to designate "a sept, clan, or special followers." In a note to Dymock's "Treatise" the editor observes, that "raths were used as places of meeting for legal and other purposes, from which circumstance they were called Motes and Laws." Certain citations are also advanced to prove this position. See p. 73. The term above used, a "rate-hill," may imply some relation between raths and rates, or taxes, ordered to be levied at meetings in these primitive ante-covert, or ante-court, places of parliament. Probably Croschy Duff was no more than the place of assembling for the clansmen of Leix. "Eriottes," or parliaments, were held by Brehons on the hills. In the State Papers allusions are made to them.

‡ Now Cashel. It is mentioned in the Inquisitions as being near Kihelas (rather Kilfaolan), and this is quite correct. Mr. Herbert Hore, however, mistakes the origin of the name of Cashell, when evidently applying to it the explanation that a "cash, caish, or caishh, is a pass through a wood or bog." Colonel O'Neill speaks of making cashes or tochers over bogs, in his Journal, which is printed in "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," Vol. ii., p. 500. According to Dr. Joyce, "the word *caiseal* is very common in Irish, and is always used to signify a circular stone fort." "Irish Names of Places." Part iii., chap. i., p. 276. It is evident this is the real etymology of the place, and it seems probable the remains of such a fort might be found on some part of its elevated rock.

§ On Taylor's and Skinner's "Maps of the Roads of Ireland surveyed 1777," and published the following year in small folio size, the road from Maryborough to Ballyroan is represented as running in nearly a direct line. See p. 110.

the eastern slope of a ridge, on the western declivity of which may be seen at present the old ruined church of Kilcolmanbane.* According to well authenticated local tradition, the line of march lay through almost impenetrable woods, which afforded a very secure cover for the Irish enemy, while the trees and thickets screened their preparations for a surprise from the advancing English.† Their road wound through a natural depression in the ground. At present, in most places, it assumes the form of a narrow winding ravine, with high hedgerows on either side. From these peculiarities it would seem the passage must have been called in Irish *Bearna*, "the gap."‡ In winter time, a stream of water usually trickles over the surface of this road, and it is lost in the lower marshes, near the rather modern Dublin and Cork road, constructed for the mail coaches over sixty years ago. Along the old line of road, leaving the ruined Castle of Ballyknockane to the right, and on the very extreme verge of a deep black bog, the English heads of columns had probably reached the small stream, which now runs under a low arch of masonry, at Ballyknockane cross roads. The following is an account of the local peculiarities of the scene and incidents of this engagement, by the writer already referred to, Sir John Harrington. His description is so obscure, and his topographical knowledge so imperfect, that conjectural exposition is necessary. He says:—

"The nature of the passage is such, through a thicke woode a myle, leadeth a highe waye, in moste places ten going paces broad, which in the midst was traversed with a trench,§ and the woode plashed || vpon both sydes, from behinde which the rebell might with facillity gaule our men in their passage. To the other two sydes of the woode are adjoynd 2 boggs,¶ which served the rebell for a secure retreat from all force of our army; but upon an elevated porcion of

It is probable this was the only road travelled from times the most remote; and in the beginning of the present century it was the leading thoroughfare between Dublin and Cork. Only a few hundred weight could be carried over it on the country cars or drays of the period.

* This was most probably dedicated to St. Colman Ban [*the White*], who is venerated in our Calendars on the 19th of October.

† Mr. Daniel O'Byrne, who has recorded many popular traditions in his "History of the Queen's County," states, that in the townland of Ballyknockan, where Prince Anthony slew hundreds of Essex's army, the remains of the slain have been discovered, and that "they lie beneath the surface on a high gravelly part between the cross roads and the ruins of the Castle." See chap xxiv., p. 111.

‡ It seems possible, that "*Bearna*" had been the former name of the present townland, Anglicised to *Pass*. On this latter the battle, which began and continued on Ballyknockan and Ballyheyland townlands, would appear to have ended.

§ This was probably cut across the road, somewhat to the south-west of Ballyknockan Castle, and near *Pass* village, at Ballyheyland, where a considerable body of the O'Moores were posted.

|| This process was probably accomplished by pleating, or intertwining, the boughs and branches, as also by felling young timber and brushwood, which, when piled judiciously together, formed a sort of impenetrable barricade.

¶ This description only applies to the spots near the present cross roads of Ballyknockan, and onwards towards Moneen na fullagh.

grownde betweene the woode and the bogge, on the lefte hande was a village,* from behinde which the rebell might safely sallie, and returne agayne to his strength at his pleasure." To make his way through this passage with security, Essex divided his army into "three battells," or divisions. Before the vanguard marched the forlorne hope, consisting of "40 shott and 20 shorte weapons." The musketeers received orders that they should not discharge their fire-arms until they presented these pieces to the rebels' breasts in their trenches. Then, suddenly, the short weapons were to enter the trenches "pell-mell." Ranks of soldiers marched upon either side of "the vaunt-guarde." Such order was observed also in "the battell," or middle division, and in the rearguard. Thus marched "wings of shott, enterlyned with pikes to which were sent secondes, with as much care and diligence as occasion required." Hence, it would seem, the English were threatened on both flanks. The baggage, and part of the horse, marched before the main division, while "the rest of the horse troopes fell in before the rearewarde, except 30, which in the head of the rearelorne hope, conducted by S. Hen: Danvers, made the retreat of the whole army." Then the vanguard "haveing by a provident order of march gayned" the end of the passage or road along the steep hill side, discovered "a large champion." This must have lain to the south and west of Ballyknockan Castle, now in ruins.† In that place, until the horse, baggage, and whatever else was an incumbrance in "the straye," or upper hill roads, had been advanced into "the playne," a halt had been commanded. We are then told by Harrington, that "order of march providently appoynted by the Lord Lieutenant" had not been "observed in all partes of the army with lyke dilligence." How far into the open plain Essex had advanced his forward columns does not appear, from what has been written; but the subsequent account seems to favour a supposition that his rearguard and flanks had been thrown into confusion by the O'Moores attacking them in the defile. Probably a running fight and a hurried march by the English to gain the open country would best describe the nature of this onset. Like hornets, the Irish bands galled their opponents from the woods and high embankments over the road. Here the English were unable to use their cannon or cavalry, while the lightly-armed kernes of Leix were found to be swift in retreat, as they were sudden and scattered in making an onset. Although three days afterwards Essex calls them "rogues and naked beggars," when writing to the English Council from Kilkenny, yet he candidly acknowledges "this people against whom we fight hath able bodies, good use of the arms they carry, boldness enough to attempt, and quickness in apprehending any advantage they see offered them." Apparently, too, in reference to this contest, he complains that they fight in woods and

* Most probably at the rising ground near Moneen na fullagh, where tradition states a town formerly stood, at Ballyheyland.

† A familiar knowledge of the scenes, so imperfectly described by Harrington, enables me to put this natural construction on his meaning.

bogs, where they have the advantage of lighter equipment, and where cavalry are utterly unserviceable, although these latter may "command all champaigns." The brave Essex found his "new and common sort of men" had "neither bodies, spirits, nor practice of arms" to match the Irish enemy; while he commends the superiority of English discipline, and the extraordinary courage and spirit of the men of quality in his army. The lords and principal officers showed great forwardness and contempt of danger. These would have exposed themselves, and would have gone too far in attacking the Irish, had not their commander-in-chief "assigned them not only their places, but their very limits of going on," or, to use another phrase of Essex, he "tethered them in their allotted stations."*

To me it seems probable, that when the attack commenced, the English army must have been thrown into great confusion, and that especially towards the east of the hill-road, desultory skirmishing was maintained at various points along their left flank. When, however, their superior numbers enabled the invading force to drive away the Irish in this quarter, it is likely their scattered bands rallied towards the high ridge, extending from a village near Ballyheyland townland and towards the graveyard of Kilvahan. High and intricate old hedgerows now crown the crest of this ridge. At the village, which was on the frontier northern line of the present Pass townland, trenches across the roadway and plashed woods, had in all probability been held by the O'Moores; and as those obstructions must have been removed before Essex could advance his army, "the forlorne hope" had a difficult and dangerous action to maintain. There, too, it seems likely, Owney Mac Rory and his bands made a desperate effort, but failed, in attempting to crush the heads of English columns. Essex, however, succeeded in beating back the Irish towards the upper grounds on the left of the road leading towards the Pass of Cashel. After sustaining considerable loss near the village, he cleared away the barriers. To this part of the battle-field probably applies the account given by Harrington, that "there was loste in the retreyte of the dexter winge of the forlorne hope, capten Boswell and lieutenant Gardner, who dyed with so much bravery and resolucion that yt must be confessed by all who were witnesses of their deathea that their eies have not scene more valiant gentlemen." Here, too, many of the English soldiers must have been slain, although Sir John Harrington makes light of it in the following words:—"The small losse we susteyned in this place was multiplied upon the rebell by our quarter and skoutmasters, who accompanied with divers gentlemen made a good slaughter of certeine rebells which assayed to force the quarter; among these were of especiall note, Alexander Donell, and Donnell Knaghy, a man of base birth, but (for the proove of his darynge and skill in their millitary discipline) of especiall esteeme with Tyrone. In this conflict Edward Bushell, gentleman, received a hurt in his brest with a pyke."†

* See Essex's letter from Kilkenny, 20th May, 1599, in Bouchier's *Devereux*, ii., 28.

† See Dymock's "Treatise of Ireland," p. 33.—*Irish Arch. Soc. Tracts*, vol. ii.

On the uplands, and at the angle of a young plantation near Mr. Cassan's mansion, known as Ballyknochan House, the foundations of a new farm house* and out offices were excavated, over forty years ago. At the time, cart-loads of human remains are said to have been exhumed.† This was a dangerous defile for an army encumbered with artillery and baggage to pass, especially in the face of an opposing force well posted. Before reaching this point, the downward road from Croshy Duff sinks into a small valley, and then ascends a rather steep elevation. Here, according to the country tradition, commenced this well-known engagement. It is probable that the bones turned up quite near the old road indicated the spot where many among the slain had been buried. If, as we may suppose, the attack and surprise were first attempted at this spot, most who fell there belonged to the van-guard of the English army. O'Sullivan's account of this battle, however, would serve to convey the notion that the van-guard had been allowed to advance without much molestation; while Rory O'More chiefly directed his attack against the rear-guard. It seems probable, the O'Moores had occupied in advance the ridges over the road which lay southwards, near Kilvahan, and that this was the post "where the rebell Ony Mac Rury O'More shewed himselfe with 500 foote and about 40 horse two myles " from the English camp. Yet the meaning of Sir John Harrington's statement may be, that Owny's position was on Croshy Duff the evening of May 16th, before Essex's forces occupied that commanding site. The intended movement of the Earl was now apparent to the wily Irish chieftain, who, with consummate judgment, must have selected on that very night the quarters for his men, and the places for a sudden or simultaneous onset, when the English battalions had advanced sufficiently on the road, leading in the direction of Ballyroan.

After passing the sloped ridge, the road sunk into a level plain, which yet shows marshy ground—although partially reclaimed—on either side of the highway at the present time. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the morasses around must have been almost in a state of nature, and very impracticable for the movements of cavalry or baggage off the travelled route.‡ Yet those marshes, covered pro-

* This is a slated dwelling, called Ned Duff's House by the country people. It is on the verge of the old road.

O'Huidhrin states, regarding this district (Topographical Poems, p. 87):—

"Under Dun Masc of smooth land,
O'Duibh is over Cinel Criomthann,
Land of the territory which is under fruit,
Land of smoothest mast-fruit."

† To this circumstance, the writer drew attention in "Legend Lays of Ireland," No. v. n. 3, p. 32. There he could only vaguely remark, that "tradition had previously pointed out this place as the site of a former battle-field." This statement previously appeared in the Dublin University Magazine, July, 1861. "A Legend of Cullenagh."

‡ A *togher* or causeway probably brought the road over the marshes at this particular place. It was as dangerous most likely for the English march, as had been

the road cut through the upper hill declivity.

bably with trees or copsewood, afforded very safe coverts for the lightly armed and nimble-footed Leix Kerne. Attack in the mode of skirmishing on their part, and defence, in a confused and irregular array on the English side, give us the most correct idea of a serious action, in which some hundreds of dead bodies covered the line of march.

The rear-guard of the English appears to have suffered very considerable loss.* The very old peasantry of this neighbourhood state it has been constantly handed down to them in tradition from their forefathers, that after the battle commenced, it continued over the road nearly half a mile in extent. It ended afterwards in the marshy ground a little towards the east. Here great numbers fell on both sides, so that to the present day the spot is known by no other name than *Moneen na fullagh*, or the "little bloody bog."† Coarse reedy grass grows in the lower parts of a field, and northward of an old pass-way that debouched on it, but on a higher slope from the old Dublin road, and leading in the direction of Cherry Hill. Numbers of skulls and human remains have been exhumed from time to time, especially in the moister and moory parts of this field. It lies within the present townland of Ballyheyland.

According to the statement of Sir John Harrington, "His Lordship was this daye in all places, flyinge lyke lightnings from one parte of the army to another, leadinge, directinge, and followinge in the vanguard batle and rearegarde." This was the first rude shock he had experienced in conducting his disastrous southern expedition. It appears to have impressed him with a great respect for the bravery of his opponents, and a dread of their tactics, as developed in this attack. It is evident, from the letter of Essex, dated Kilkenny, this 20th May, 1559, he had sinister forebodings regarding his future successes. He there writes: "All that I can comment upon this plain narration is, that this war is like to exercise both our faculties that do manage it, and Her Majesty's patience that must maintain it." See "The Devereux, Earls of Essex," Vol. ii. Chap. 1, p. 28.

The Irish accounts of this engagement, so far as they are known, appear to be altogether defective in details. The Four Masters only state in general terms that Owney O'More and his allies made fierce and desperate assaults, and furious, irresistible onsets on Essex in intricate ways and narrow passes. There we are told, "both parties came in collision with each other, so that great numbers of the Earl's people were cut off by them."‡ Philip O'Sullivan Beare only tells

* O'Sullivan Beare, as quoted further on.

† In Bouchier's "Earls of Essex," this encounter with the Irish is described as "a slight skirmish." It is incorrectly said, moreover, to have occurred at the Park of Cashel. See Vol. ii., chap. i., p. 27. It was fought before Essex reached that point, nor is it clear the O'Moores renewed their attack there.

‡ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," Vol. vi., pp. 2112, 2113. The learned editor, in a subjoined note, alludes to the attack in a defile "called *Burna na gCleti*," i.e., "the Gap of the Feathers." He adds: "This name is now obsolete, nor has any evidence been yet discovered to prove the exact situation of the place." See n. (w) *Ibid.* For want of better information at the time

us in a vague manner, that while passing through a defile in Leinster, Huon Omorra with 500 footmen set on the Earl of Essex, and put his re-re-guard in great disorder, killing some of his captains and soldiers. (Hist. Cath. Ib. Compendium, Tom. iii., Lib. v., cap. ix., p. 207; Rev. Dr. Kelly's edition.) On this occasion, the Irish chief obtained military spoils, while the English army forced its way towards Kilkenny.* According to O'Sullivan Beare, this well-contested road, by reason of the quantity of helmet-feathers taken from the English cavalry by the Irish, was afterwards called *Bearna na gehleti*, or "transitus plumarum." It was denominated Barnaglitty,† or "the Pass of Plumes," according to Cox,‡ and l'Abbé Ma-Geehgan,§ who merely follow O'Sullivan's account. Sir James Ware takes no notice whatever of this encounter, when narrating the expedition of Essex to the south; but after noticing his return to Dublin from that quarter he states, that the Lord Lieutenant, with two thousand five hundred men, "turned into *Leix* and *Ophalia*, where he easily subdued the *O'Mores* and *O'Connors*, and thence returned to Dublin." ("Annals," Ed. 1705, ch. xlii., p. 54.)

Most of the English historians, such as Fynes Moryson, William Camden, Lingard, and the author of "*Pacata Hibernia*," are silent on the subject of this important action.

The O'Moore, meantime, after Essex had marched by Ballyroan, Rosconnell, Ballyragget, and Kilkenny, into Munster, had been enabled to send a strong force into Wicklow. These men assisted at the memorable defeat given to Sir Henry Harrington and his command, near that town. Essex was very unsuccessful during the prosecution of his southern campaign. Returning from Munster, towards the close of June, on approaching Arklow—for he avoided the men of Leix in their native fastnesses—the Earl had a sharp brush with the O'Moore, O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and Kavanaghs. He then returned to Dublin, after the army under his command had sustained immense loss and various reverses. "Towards the end of July, his Lordship brought back his forces into Leinster, the soldiers being weary, sick, and incredibly diminished in number, and himself returned to Dublin."—Fynes Moryson's "*History of Ireland*," Vol. i., Book 1, p. 86.

composition, the writer has made a similar statement. See "*Catechism of Irish History*," Lesson xxvi., p. 304, n. Yet, Dr. O'Donovan, as well as the writer, had an excellent idea of the neighbourhood in and about the Pass of Plumes.

* Peter Lombard altogether passes over this incident, but he adds, that Essex gave Henry Harrington "quingentos equites ad Moros in *Lisia* comescendos." See "*De Regno Hiberniæ, Sanctorum Insula Commentarius*," cap. xxiv., p. 171. Dr. Moran's edition. Their destination was to Wicklow.

† There is an account of the origin of the River Bahluan, or Baireand, at Bearna-na-Cleite, "the gap of the plumes," in Leinster, taken from the *Dinnabescus*, and contained in the Book of Ballymote, a MS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy. See folio b. b., line 37. The substance of this romantic tale, as communicated by Professor O'Looney, throws no light whatever on this engagement.

‡ In "*Hibernia Anglicana*," Part 1, Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

§ "*Histoire de l'Irlande*," Tome ii., chap. xxviii., p. 532.

LIV.—ON STONES BEARING OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED AT MONATAGGART, CO. CORK.—Extract from a letter addressed to S. FERGUSON, Esq., LL.D., V.P.R.I.A., by the Rev. J. QUARRY, D.D., Rector of Donoughmore, Co. Cork.

[Read December 14, 1874.]

HAVING visited Monataggart again since the incised stones found there were forwarded to the Royal Irish Academy, I am now able to send you, for the information of the Academy, as you have desired, an exact account of the circumstances under which these stones were discovered.

When you kindly informed me that an Ogham stone existed at Mr. Cogan's farm, and was used by him as a gate-pillar, I went to see it, and examined the place where Mr. Cogan had found it. The appearance was then something similar to that of one of the small lime-kilns abounding in this country, or such as one of these might present if the masonry had been removed. There was a small mound falling off at one side to lower ground, and having a sunk aperture at the top. In this aperture there were two upright slabs of stone set parallel to one another, on the tops of which, Mr. Cogan told me, a large flat stone, which he showed me, had been laid. These stones had made a chamber of about four ft. by two ft., the depth of which I could not ascertain, as it was partly filled with loose earth. Mr. Cogan also informed me that the incised stone which he had removed for his gateway was laid horizontally along the edge of the upper slab, and that he had found charred wood in the interior of this chamber, and I think he said some bits of old crockery of a common kind. I then begged of him that he would make further excavation and let me know the result, which he promised to do.

Some days afterwards Mr. Cogan came to tell me that he had excavated, as I requested, and had found two more incised stones—the same which have since then been forwarded to the Academy together with the gate-pillar, through my agency, at your desire. I went to the spot on the same day, and found that he had dug in an easterly direction from the former aperture until he reached a similar chamber consisting of two upright slabs about four ft. apart, set parallel to one another, and covered by a large flat stone resting on the upright stones, the area being then about four ft. wide at the entrance, and the horizontal depth from two to three ft. The vertical depth was about four ft. when I saw it, but Mr. Cogan told me a quantity of loose earth had fallen into it, but that when first opened the depth was about six ft., as he was able to stand in it without reaching the top. At the bottom of this chamber he found the flint circular stone forwarded to the Academy, and under it a quantity

charred wood, some of which has also been forwarded. I may observe that the upright stones in this case were not set in the same direction as those of the former chamber, and that their bearing seems therefore to have been quite arbitrary.

Along the edge of the covering stone of this second chamber, but about two ft. distant from it, the larger of the two newly found incised stones had been laid lengthwise resting on the clay, and under it he found the smaller one. The space between the covering slab and the larger incised stone was covered by a moveable slab, probably affording a means of entrance, the entire upper surface being only about one ft. below the sod of the mound. As Mr. Cogan's workman had struck some stone with his crowbar about the same depth below the surface, close to the excavated place, I suggested that he should dig more in that direction, which he promised me he would do.

Having gone again to Monataggart I found that this promised excavation had been made. The result of this was that I found that an area had been opened in the direction of the horizontal depth of the chamber just described, extending in a southerly direction some ten ft. The depth was about six ft. (corresponding to Mr. Cogan's previous statement), the walls being formed of compacted clay, and the breadth the same as that of the covered part already described. On each side of this area there stood opposite one another, at intervals of about four ft., two pillars or slabs not marked with any inscriptions,* standing against the walls of the opened area, evidently intended to support covering stones like the former. These, however, were not found, having been doubtless removed on some previous occasion. They were probably removed for building purposes, some evidence of their existence having been afforded by the removal of the sod, or because they had interfered with the plough, when the field was tilled. The excavation had been carried as far as the earth was found to be loose, and I have no doubt that the end of this chamber has been reached. It must have been ten or twelve ft. long altogether, and from four to five ft. wide. Mr. Cogan informed me that he found traces of charred wood throughout, and at the farther end appearances of smoke; and he thinks there must have been some kind of aperture or flue. The incised stones, having been pointed at one end, and having butts at the other, were plainly intended to have been set upright, and could not have been in their original position. They were probably brought to this place as being suited to the construction of these subterranean chambers, and found at some convenient distance.

As to the purpose for which these chambers were constructed, I think it clear they were not intended for burial, but were evidently

* On one of these, subsequently raised, I find that there is an inscription extending about twenty inches, midway from each end of the stone. The incisions are for most part legible, but so shallow and injured that I have found it impossible to get a satisfactory impression.

meant for some place of concealment. I asked Mr. Cogan, who is a very intelligent man, if he had ever heard of illicit distillation having been carried on in the neighbourhood, and he at once pointed out to me the remains of an old house, from one to two furlongs distant, at the other side of an adjacent road where in his father's time a private still had been worked, until more than fifty years ago it was put a stop to by an invasion of soldiers from Ballincollig, who had been sent by night in consequence of some information which the authorities had received. The apparatus, however, was not discovered, and may have been safely deposited in the place now brought to light. I think his statement may be relied on, as the disposition would naturally be to assign some more mysterious origin to this curious underground structure.

And now as to the place from which the Ogham stones were brought, I think there can be no reasonable doubt that it was the neighbouring keel known as Kilcullen. This is about a furlong in a direct line, and not half a mile distant by road, and is an exceedingly interesting and remarkable place. Within the inner side of the road, which takes a circular sweep, there rises a mound of considerable extent and elevation, beautifully round and smooth, on the top of which is a circular wall, very old, and inclosing a considerable span, in which are some old half-blasted Scotch firs. The summit is on a level with the adjacent land on the other side, but the rounded part is more than a semicircle. Outside the wall, about twenty paces to the west, there appears the trace of an oblong inclosure about ten feet by four feet, the stone edges of which rise a few inches above the surrounding sod. On the northern side of this there are standing two upright stones, of about the same size as the largest of the incised stones sent to the Academy, about four feet apart, and one of these still presents distinct traces of an Ogham inscription, but very much effaced by the operation of the weather. A gentleman who resides at the other side of the road informed me that the tradition of the country is that these stones mark the burial-place of an officer of Cromwell's army, who was killed there by a fall from his horse. But this story may be dismissed, as almost everything ancient in this country is referred either to the time of Cromwell or of the Danes. The same gentleman also told me that on the side of the mound there was an excavation which he said the late well-known antiquary, Mr. Windele, of Cork, had explored, but the entrance of which had been since then closed by the falling in of the earth above it. I suppose there can be no reasonable doubt that the incised stones now the property of the Academy had been brought from this keel, there being no other place near from which they could have been probably removed.

XLV.—ON FURTHER OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED AT MONATAGGART,
CO. CORK. By SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL. D., Q. C., a Vice-President.

[Read December 14, 1874.]

REFERRING to the description of the chamber or cist from which the "FEQREQ" stone was extracted (see p. 174), it will not be matter of surprise to the Academy, when I announce that two other Ogham-inscribed pillars have been raised from the same spot.

It is to the Rev. Dr. Quarry, Rector of Donoughmore (in which parish the lands of Monataggart are situate), we are indebted for this discovery. It was on his suggestion Mr. Cogan, the occupier of the lands, made the further explorations the results of which are now before us. A full description of the place and circumstances of the discovery has been communicated to the Academy by Dr. Quarry. (See preceding paper). My share in any addition to our knowledge to which these monuments may be contributory will, for the present, consist in a brief transliteration of the legends on the two new examples, with some observations which may serve to clear the ground for a fuller examination of the meaning of the longer of the two.

I begin with the smaller stone, bearing the shorter and more easily read legend:—

DALAGNI MAQI DALI.

These characters are clearly cut, and all legible, notwithstanding that the stone has been broken in two. The fractured edges fit exactly, so that, though the crack traverses a vowel-notch, the respective sides of the indentation are quite apparent. In reference to the principal name, compare *Talagni* at Kinard West, Dingle; and observe, if we take *Dali* as a proper name, that the same convertibility of *r* and *d* will identify it with *Tal*, the form in which we recognise it in *Mac Tail* (Q. M., 548).

The second of these monuments is of larger dimensions, and contains, inscribed on one angle, and extending partly over the top, a legend of unusual length, and which I hope will be found to furnish a text of unusual interest and significance for competent interpreters. This stone is in appearance much the same kind of pillar as its companion, which bears the name "FEQREQ." Like it, its position under ground has led to the preservation of most of its characters in perfect sharpness, and of all in a practicably-decipherable condition.

The text reads upward, from left to right, in the usual course of

transliteration (with one questionable digit only—making it doubtful whether we should read *tt* or *td*):—

BRONNIENAS X OINETAT $\begin{pmatrix} T \\ D \end{pmatrix}$ RENALUGOS

The portion preceding the cross is plainly the same proper name found in the form *Broinionas*, on the Lough monument near Dingle. Whether the name is significant, and whether it do not illustrate what I have said elsewhere, as to names of humiliation among early Christian ascetics, I must submit to the judgment of those who are better qualified to speak with certainty of the vowel changes necessary to bring it into assimilation with words having such significations. Whatever be its meaning, it exhibits a form of termination which may be compared with other endings (genitives?) in *as*, as *Branittas* (Dunbel), *Lugudeccas* (Ardmore), and, as I believe, *Humeledonas* in the legend lately discovered by Mr. Rhys at Landawke in Carmarthenshire; and it deserves to be considered whether there be a reason for the diversity of the *as* here, as compared with other seeming genitives in *ias*, as *Ercias* and *Flamattias* from Roovesmore, Cork, and *Ercias* at Dumore, Kerry.

Beyond this name, the rest of the line presents difficulties which we probably shall not finally get over until after much further comparison among new materials. The principal source of difficulty lies in the cross followed by the vowels *oi*. I have seen the east of an Ogham inscription in which, to my eye, this combination of characters is severed, by distinct divisions, from the preceding and following groups, so that it must yield some sound and make a meaning by itself. It cannot do so, if the power *ea*, usually ascribed to X in the books, be here given to it; but can only be treated either as *p*, or as a conventional symbol for some independent expression terminating in *oi*; and if, in the present case, such were to be assigned as its conjectural value, it would leave a residue, commencing with groups not unfamiliar as initial elements or predicates of names in other examples.

Thus, in the Castletimon legend we have *Nelacarinetacagi*; at Ballintaggart, Dingle, *Nettalam*, &c.; and at Bridell in Pembrokeshire, *Nettasagr*, &c. *Netattrenalugos* might then appear one of those exaggerated disguises under which, if I be not mistaken, Ogham inscribers have wrapped up proper names elsewhere, as in the case of *Lamitaidagni* in the Kilbonane legend, under which I would imagine, with a good deal of confidence, the modest name *Lamidan* lies concealed.

But the elements of the groups before us cannot with equal ease be reduced to a proper name, although some such name as *Trenloc* may possibly be intended; so that, however attractive the *Neta* by itself might appear, the more I consider the text the less probability I see of educing, at least more than partially, the real meaning by this process.

It seems to me more likely that the X here is to be taken as in the *Turpill* monument (Crickhowel), for the equivalent of x. If this be so, I would think it not improbable that the text from "*Broisinas*" onward may be found to supply an example which would indeed be rare and precious, of something predicated about the subject of the inscription, beyond the merely titular matter which Ogham texts usually supply.

It is in this view I would desire to attract the notice of Old-Irish scholars to this text, which, if it answer my expectations in this respect, will be found in advance even of "*Fiachra the Kneeler*" in letting us into the meaning of these legends, and giving us some insight into the conditions of life which produced them. But even here a caution is to be premised, originally given to me by the Bishop of Limerick, that in these curious compositions we must be on our guard against affected forms of expression and even of inflection.

[See the next paper.—Ed.]

—ADDITIONAL NOTE ON OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS AT MONATAGGART, CORK (with a communication from the Right Rev. Dr. Graves, R.I.A., LORD BISHOP OF LIMERICK, &c.) By SAMUEL FERGUSON, D., Q.C., V.P.

[Read 25th of January, 1875.]

be in the recollection of the Academy that a particular group, next after the name "Broinienas," in the last of these ggart legends (see previous papers), attracted special attention, having been observed elsewhere so segregated from the context to suggest its being either the whole, or the initial part, of an ident word. The collocation $\times \dashv \dots$ which I referred to testing the first conclusion, had already attracted the notice of the Right Rev. Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick; and his Lordship, in reference to it, favours in the following communication dated—"The Palace, Henry's Place, Limerick, January 22, 1875"—

MY DEAR FERGUSON,—As you propose to make some further communications to the Academy on the Monataggart Oghams, I send you the following hastily written notes. Illness has rendered me unable to devote to the subject that careful study which it deserves, but I make an offer of my contribution, such as it is, towards the illustration of remarkable monuments.

I have long been in possession of the knowledge that the group $\dashv \dots$, occurring in Ogham inscriptions, is to be read as *poi*, and translated as *fuit*, or *qui fuit*. It is neither more nor less than the personal singular of the perfect tense of the verb substantive. In MSS., this word is sometimes spelt *poi*, and sometimes *boi*. The Ogham of Armagh supplies an instance of its use as meaning *qui*

Éppcop Aeo boi 1Sleibci, &c.

'Bishop Aed, who was in Sletty,' &c.

Examples of the same construction are, I believe, not uncommon in modern texts.

There are two instances in which this group of characters occurs in inscriptions long known to us. One is the Ballyboden stone in the County of Kilkenny; the other is one of the Ballintaggart Oghams in the County of Wick. In both cases, the word *poi* precedes *macui*; and I am ashamed to confess that I was for a long time perplexed by the etymological difficulty which was thus presented.

Two solutions suggested themselves to me. The first was, that *macui* was an old indeclinable form. And in favour of this view it was urged that the word *macui* (= *puer*) is given in Welsh

dictionaries. The other was, that *macui* was not literally *fili*, but *fili*orum, equivalent in fact to the old form *maccu*, which we meet in our most ancient MSS. with the meaning *fili*orum. It is a tribal designation, denoting the *gens* to which a man belonged. I have finally adopted the latter explanation, and have only refrained from mentioning it before now, because the investigations into which I was led when discussing its probability, carried me far beyond the object which I first undertook to examine. I have come to the conclusion that the old patronymic, or rather tribal designation *maccu*, was afterwards changed into *macui* or *macui*; and that this has been erroneously supposed to mean *filius nepotis*. If I am right, the mistake has given rise to much confusion, and even to the falsification of genealogies which were altered to make the *macui* equivalent to 'great-grandson-of.'

"The Ballyboden monument gives us the legend:—

CORBI POI MACUI LABRADI.

I am not quite sure about the penultimate letter *u*. But this is a matter of no importance, and I translate the inscription thus:

Corbi qui fuit filiorum Labradii.

"This is not as bad Latin as some people might suppose, for Horace wrote—*Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium*; 'Thou shalt become (one) of the celebrated fountains.'

"Colgan (Trias Th.), in his notes on the third life of S. Bridget, explains *Provincia Labradhi* as meaning the country of the Hy Kinnse-lagh; observing that Labradius, son of Bresal Belach King of Leinster, was the head of the family of Kinselagh, as being the father of Enna Kinselagh; and Professor O'Curry, in the Appendix to his Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History (p. 491), has printed a poem ascribed to Dubhthach ua Lugair, the last stanza of which supports the statement.

"Bringing the foregoing result to bear upon the Monattagart inscription, I proceed to consider the next group of characters; and in dealing with them I am bound to speak with abated confidence, though I feel that my interpretation of them may be defended with a good show of reason. I take *NETA* to be the Oghamic form of *Niath*, which means a champion, and forms an element in many ancient Irish names. Thus in Adamnan's Life of Columbkille (Reeves' edit., p. 49), we meet with a mention of a *quidam Baitanus gente nepos Niath Taloire*. Again, in the Book of Armagh, reference is made to a Cairpri Niathgar, who is supposed to have lived in the fourth century. I believe that this is the name represented by the Oghamic form *Netacari* on the Castle-timon monument. It will be urged that *net* is not *niath*. I admit it. But I hold that the difference is such as is consistent with what may be regarded as a law of the Oghamic transformation of names and words.

"The inscription ends with the name TTRENALVGOS. This is no doubt the proper name *Trenloga*, with the initial *τ* doubled, and the Oghamic termination *os*. Names compounded with *tren* (fortis) as a prefix are common. So also are names ending with *loga*. Thus we have *Trenloga*, *Finloga*, *Dubloga*, &c. One of the Dunloe Oghams furnishes an example of the duplication of an initial *τ* in *Macui Ttail*.

"In fine, my interpretation of the inscription is this:—

. . . of *Brennain* who was the champion of *Trenloga*.

I ought to add that *niath* is also explained as a murderer or homicide.

"The brevity and incompleteness of these notes make them hardly deserving of the attention of the Academy. I venture, however, to offer them in the belief that my explanation of the word *poi* is an important contribution to our small stock of Ogham formulæ.—Believe me to be, my dear Ferguson, ever yours faithfully,

"CHARLES LIMERICK."

This view of Bishop Graves, which, if ultimately accepted, will add another word to our Ogham vocabulary, is one that had not previously occurred to me, and now comes before my mind with all the force of novelty as well as of probable truth. Remembering the significant statement of MacCurtin that the cryptic class of Oghams conveyed meanings stigmatizing the vices of the deceased, coupled with what we know of the use of humiliating names in religion, we would have some inducement to apply Bishop Graves's construction in the present instance as the *copula* in a sentence which in one sense might express the crime of Broinien, or which in another might affirm that he who is here called Broinien had formerly borne another name.

[Other communications on the same subject, read on this occasion, will appear hereafter.—ED.]

XLVII.—ON IRISH OGAM INSCRIPTIONS. A Letter addressed by JOHN RHYS, M. A., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, to WILLIAM STOKES, M.D., F.R.S., &c., President of the Academy, dated "Rhyl, Oct. 28, 1874."

[Read January 11, 1875.]

As to the best means of furthering the study of Irish epigraphy, I fancy that the Academy cannot do better than encourage Dr. S. Ferguson to take casts of all known Ogmie inscriptions in the country, and assist him to reproduce them by means of photography or otherwise, in such a way as to make them easily accessible to philologists. I have already seen a few specimens of Dr. Ferguson's work, and they seem to be most satisfactory.

As matters now stand, an outsider can hardly venture to give an opinion on Irish Ogams collectively. Although I copied, last winter, when spending a few days in Cambridge, all the inscriptions of that kind which I could find mentioned in the Academy's *Proceedings*, my knowledge of them is still exceedingly incomplete and fragmentary; and it is with great diffidence I offer the following conjectures, hoping that they may lead Irish scholars to the discovery of some canons of criticism which may enable one to classify your Ogams chronologically. Until that is done, their philological value must remain much less than it should be:—

I. Some, perhaps most, of our British Ogams are of the fifth and sixth century; and if Dr. Ferguson's recent examination of the Loughor altar should prove confirmatory of my guessings of the inscription on it, we might say that we have at least one instance dating before the departure of the Romans from Britain. One or two of our Ogams may possibly have been cut in the eighth or ninth century, but I cannot speak with anything like confidence of them. They are on the Llanarth and Caldŷ Island stones.

II. As to your Ogams, I would regard those written like ours as older than those which are to be read inversely, or contain abbreviations and intentional puzzles.

III. Now the proximate date of some of these inverted Ogams may be ascertained. Take, for instance, that which has been read *Conunett mogi Conuri*: it is accompanied by a Latin inscription in characters which may be reasonably assigned to the eighth or ninth century; or that of Colman Bocht with *Bocht* in Ogam, and *Colman* in Hiberno-Saxon characters of apparently a somewhat later date than the Camp stone bilingual. Another inverted Ogam, described by Dr. Ferguson, reads, according to him, *Fegreg moqoi Glunleggett*; if indeed, *Fechrech mochoi Glunleggett* is not a preferable reading. The Colman Bocht Ogam claims kinship with the eight manuscript Ogams in the Priscian Codex at St. Gall, of the ninth century, in its long lines

stead of mere notches), to represent the vowel. As to the other names (of Conunett and Feqreq or Fechrech), the proper names in them are all in the genitive case, but none of them has retained a dative ending. So one could hardly be wrong in supposing that if

Uvanos stone at Killeen-Cormac had been inscribed at the date of the last, its *Evacattos* would have been shortened into *Evacatt*, and similarly the *Sagarettos* of the Cahernagat stone into *Sagarett*.

Of the earlier class of Ogams, among the oldest may be ranked those containing genitives retaining the *s* of the *I* and *U* declensions.

a. The Indo-European *I* declension ended in the nominative in *-is*, in the genitive in *-yas* or *-ayas*; and I would suggest, with some hesitation, that the *-ias* in which several Ogmie genitives end meant *-yas* (with *y*, as in *yes*); if so, such instances as the following are on an Indo-European level:—Anadovinnias, Anavlamattias, Dovvinnias, Ercias, Tinnias, Torannias.

b. It is the rule that the semi-vowel disappears in later Irish, and it applies to the earliest manuscript Irish of the eighth century: how early it came into force it is not easy to determine, but the following genitives show the semi-vowel discarded or assimilated:—Aniconas, Bronoinas, Decceddass, Gravicass, Lugudeccass, Navicass. In Irish, which is far less conservative of case-endings, Indo-European *-ias* had become contracted into *-is*, and the *s* dropped, so that our inscriptions oppose to *Decceddass* a *Decceti*, later *Decheti*. Similarly we find on the Trallong stone a nominative Cunocenni (for an earlier *cunacenniss*), and genitive *Cunoceni* (for an earlier *Cunacenniss*), in striking contrast with the Irish genitive *Cunacena* for **Cunacennas* = *cunacennias*.

c. Probably genitives in *-os* of the *U* declension are no less old than the foregoing ones in *-as*. This *-os* represents an Indo-European *-was* or *-as*, and seems to occur in the following:—Branittos, Bruscecos, Lugussos, Digos, Doros, Lombalos, Qrimittiros, Sagarettos, Evacattos, Suvallos Vorgos. Welsh claims the option between *-os* and *-us*; in our Ogams the *s* is clean gone, as in *Trenagussu*. Perhaps the only instances of the retention by the Welsh of final *s* in this declension occurs on a stone of the Roman period at Caerleon, on which *Tudia Vallauus* (i. e. *Vallaunus*) occurs in the nom. feminine: the *U* declension does not distinguish the feminine from the masculine.

d. Now both declensions eventually dropped the *s* in Irish also, *Decceddass*, *Lugudeccass* occur written *Decceda*, *Lugudeca*; so *Digos* and *Decco* are substantially identical. However, beyond the fact that it is probable that the forms without *s* are later than those with *s*, we cannot learn much from the former; for genitives in *a*, e. g. *denmada*, *toris*, and in *o*, e. g. *Oengusso*, have come down into manuscript Irish, and converged in modern Irish into *a*, whence the genitive of *ogus* is now *Aongusa* or *Aongussa*.

e. Genitives in *i* (common to early Irish with early Welsh,) of the declension corresponding to Latin *domin-i*, *bon-i*, &c., are to be met

with in abundance in Irish inscriptions, and belong in the majority of cases, I am inclined to think, to the earlier class of them.

f. I am not able to make much use of consonantal nouns in this inquiry; *Olacon* seems to be a fair specimen of a genitive of this declension. (But how is such an inscription as *Ere Maqi Maqi-Ereias*, from Dunmore Head, to be dealt with?) Reviewing the above guesses, one would perhaps not be far wrong in assigning the greater part of this earlier class of Ogams to the sixth century, while admitting that some of them date as early as the fifth, and some as late as the seventh.

It would not be out of place here to add a few miscellaneous considerations, which, to say the least of them, do not seem to contradict this conjecture.

a. All genitives ending in *-agni* (Gaulish *-eni*), as *Artagni*, *Mailagni*, *Ulccagni*, must date considerably before the beginning of the ninth century, for then *-agn* had become *-án* (witness *Caichán*, *Manchán*) in the annotations attributed to Tirechán in the Book of Armagh.

b. The inscription containing *Mailagni* reads *Tria maq Mailagni*. If I am not mistaken in regarding this as meaning *Triam maqam Mailagni* = '(Lapis sepulchralis) trium filiorum Mailagni,' and in construing the two first words as genitives plural, it must be very old.

c. In the earliest Irish manuscripts *f* is used as it is now, and in one of the Priscian Ogams III renders a Latin *f*, but etymologically Irish *f* represents Indo-European *v*, and III is *v* in all British Ogams. So it is, I believe, to be read in the earlier Irish ones also; at all events we have one instance where it cannot be *f*, namely in *Queci* on a Drumloghan stone (cf. *Quei* and *Qici* on the Fardel stone). This is a singular instance of the sound following the *q* being represented in Ogam. As a rule it is represented by *V* in the inscriptions in Roman characters in Wales and Cornwall; but never in Ogam, unless we assume that the character III had got to mean *qv*.

d. As to the treatment of *qv*, in which I regard the *v* as sounded like *u* in German words like *quelle*, *quick*, &c., in Welsh the *v* occasioned the guttural to be changed into a labial, whence *maq-v-i* appears as *map* (now *mab*, 'son'), in the earliest manuscript Welsh of the eighth century. In Irish it became a rule to drop the *v*, whence the common modern representative of *qv* is *c*, in mutation *ch*. In one instance (perhaps in more) assimilation took place, whence *maq-q-i* occurs frequently as the precursor of *macc*. Both these processes tended to the confusion of *c* and *q* in early Irish, of which we have an unmistakable instance in *Qunagusos* as compared with the more correct form *Cunagusos*.

e. The Ogam on the Uvanos stone at Killeen-Cormac belongs to the earlier class; that on the Camp stone to the later. Now I am not much afraid of contradiction when suggesting that the Roman inscrip-

tion on the former is written in characters which may well be two centuries older than those on the latter. According to the last description I have had from Dr. Ferguson of the former, I would read it *Ucanos Avi Evacattos*.

You expressed a wish to know to what language I think the Oghams of Ireland belong. I do not recollect seeing a single instance mentioned of the earlier class which struck me as being anything but Early Irish; and were there a complete vocabulary of the proper names which occur in Irish MSS. and literature generally, I fancy that a philologist would without difficulty identify 99 out of every 100 names to be met with on Ogam-inscribed stones in Ireland. Some few names in the latest specimens may betray Latin influence.

And, as regards the suggested cryptic character of the inscriptions, neither do I see any reasons to believe that the Ogam alphabet was intended for cryptic purposes. It is possible, however, that it may have, in the hands of pedants, been so applied just as it was growing obsolete. I hope I shall not be giving offence in protesting against the theory that the names occurring in Ogam were not really the names of the persons intended, but were their real names disguised by *formolad* or similar tricks of arbitrary change. As to *formolad* there seems to be some evidence as to its being practised in the twelfth century; but is there any that it was in the ninth or in the sixth? Moreover, if the Ogmie names of Goidelic Celts received a finishing touch from jargon-makers, so did those of their Kimrie brothers in Wales and Cornwall; so did those of the Picts in Bede's time, and so did those of Gaul in Cæsar's time; but that seems to me highly improbable. Take for instance the following names Gaulish, *Conomaglus*; this is in the Irish of the 'Chronicon Scotorum' *Connmál*, and in the 'Four Masters' *Connmhal*, and in modern Welsh *Cynfael*: or take the early Welsh *Maglocunum* of Gildas, which Bede gives still with an *o* between the *l* and the *c* as *Meilochon*. In modern Welsh it becomes *Maelgwn*; if you apply to these the ascertained rules of phonology in Irish and Welsh you will find that the later forms *Connmál* and *Maelgwn* postulate *Conomaglus* and *Maglocunus*, or similar forms of equal length as their real vernacular prototypes.

For it must not be forgotten that the normal state of language is that of change, and of change tending to the shortening of its words, so it will not do to transpose a nineteenth century name, which is a compound and measures two syllables, into the sixth century: instead of two syllables, four would be more likely to represent its length then. Thus suppose it were argued that the *o* in *Dunocati* in a British inscription is the arbitrary insertion of a scribe, and we were obliged to accept *Duncati*, then according to the rules of phonology we should find the name assuming in modern Welsh the form *Dinghad*, and in modern Irish *Docadh*; but the actual forms are *Dingad* and *Donnchadh* respectively. There is no escaping from these phonological laws, and any one who wishes to maintain a theory of manufactured Ogmie names will have to disprove all that Celtic philologists were supposed to have made out.

While maintaining that the names in Irish inscriptions are real ones, I do not for a moment wish to conceal the fact that some of them are highly enigmatic; but some of this description will turn out to be bad readings perhaps, and in some few the scribes may have made mistakes. However, I need not dilate on this head, as a Member of your Academy has lately made the following very sensible suggestion to it:—"Ogham inscriptions are of the simplest and most straightforward of their class; there is nothing about them either cryptic or mysterious, and if we cannot read a certain number of them, the reason is, that we are ignorant of the archaic forms of language in which they are inscribed."

By means of some method like that suggested above, and with the aid of history, where available, together with the indications to be derived from a consideration of the circumstances under which the various monuments were found, one would be able, I think, approximately to classify your Ogams.

The origin of Ogmic writing is still hidden in darkness. Did the Insular Celts borrow the germ of the system from Rune-writing nations or *vice versa*, or else are we to regard Runes and Ogams as of independent growth? These are questions which still remain to be solved, and the cryptic Runes of Scandinavian nations seem to be too late to assist us in answering them, though they betray a great similarity of principle. It is noteworthy that British Ogam writing is to be traced back to a time when we may reasonably suppose Kimric nationality to have revived, and a reaction against Roman habits and customs to have, to a certain extent, taken place when the last Roman soldier had taken his departure from our island. But once the Roman alphabet had been introduced into Britain, it is highly improbable that another clumsier one should have been invented, and got into use: the inevitable inference then seems to be, that Ogmic writing dates from a time anterior to the introduction of the Roman alphabet.

CLVIII.—ON AN OGHAM INSCRIPTION AT MULLAGH, CO. CAVAN. By SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL. D., Q.C., a Vice-President.

[Read 25th of January, 1875].

FIRST learned of the existence of this inscription from Dr. Norman Moore, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London; and, proceeding on the indications given by him, found, and made a paper-cast of it, on the 16th December, 1874. Mullagh lies north-west from Kells, about seven miles, in the extreme south-eastern angle of the Barony of Mastleraghan, and County of Cavan (Ordnance map, sheet 40). It is known as the seat of a branch of the O'Reillys, and in Irish is designated Mullagh laoghill, or Mullagh Lyle. The churchyard lies to the left of the road leading northward from Mullagh to Virginia, and occupies a knoll partly natural, but heightened by accumulations of interments. The present church, a modern building, stands on more elevated ground nearer to the road. The old burial ground of Temple Kelly occupies the intervening space. In it formerly stood the inscribed slab, the subject of this communication. Dr. Moore informs me that, according to local report, it, together with other inscribed stones, was brought thither from the adjoining lands of Rantavan. It now serves the purpose of a headstone to a comparatively modern grave at about a perch westward from the walls of a ruined, but not ancient, or even ecclesiastical-looking building, on the summit of the knoll. It is a small stone standing little more than three feet from the surface, about fifteen inches in breadth, by four at its greatest thickness. The characters exist on the eastern or right-hand aris, and read from left to right downward:—

OSEBARR [R?]

The remains of the second R are faint, but sufficient to show that they originally crossed the aris, and are not the x, which the analogy of the name *Osborn* would lead one, *prima facie*, to expect. What further characters (an x being the most likely) may have existed beyond this imperfect R, cannot now be determined.

This is, I believe, the first instance of a genuine Ogham inscription being found in the east of Ireland, north of the County of Wicklow. It is also the first that seems possibly to record a Saxon name. *Osborn*, however, if that be the name, may be the Irish *Osbran*, and in the present state of our knowledge it would be premature to accept the idea of a name more suitable for runic writing being expressed in this peculiarly Irish and Scoto-British character. The double B will attract attention.

If any reason existed for supposing the text to be introductory to an independent name, it might be questioned whether OSEBARR be not two words, *super verticem*. But this would be a novel formula in such context, and I refrain from further speculation, till the lower portion of the stone shall be examined. The living of Mullagh being at present vacant, this can only be done on some future occasion.

number of prisoners, whom he ordered to be put to death. They begged of him a respite, which he contemptuously granted until his horse was done feeding; but during that operation, having incautiously placed his hand on the animal's hind quarter, it gave him him a fearful kick, which killed him on the spot, and he was here interred. It is probable that there is some glimmering of original truth in the above tradition. There can, however, be scarcely a doubt that this was a private burial place or tomb. Its small size, the pillar-stone at each angle, and the inscription upon one, only, would lead us to infer this.

I have in several of my papers on this subject shown, that the burial places of our pagan ancestors were robbed by the Rath builders for the purpose of assisting in the construction of the chambers found beneath their monuments, and that in almost every instance, where Ogam-inscribed stones have been so found, a Keel, or the site of one, is sure to be detected in the immediate neighbourhood. Now though the Cistvaen at Monataggart, and the Keel of Kilcullen, are on different townlands, they are on the boundaries of both, and within 200 yards of each other: the natural inference being, that the materials which mainly, if not entirely, constructed the Cist, were taken from this Keel.

The district in which Kilcullen is situated is a very remarkable one for the variety of its pre-historic remains. In the adjoining field, at the opposite side of the road, is a solitary pillar-stone. Two fields to the north of the pillar-stone is a large Rath, with underground passages and chambers built of stone. On the verge of the adjoining townland to the N. E. is a small circle of seven stones, and one pillar-stone a short distance from it. In the next field but one to the E. is a large Rath with a double rampart and a ditch near 20 feet deep; and it also has stone-built underground chambers. To the N. E. again, in the next townland of Barachaurin, are the remains of an immense circle, consisting of three erect, and two prostrate, stones. One of those standing is 13 ft. high above ground, 6 ft. wide, and 2 ft. thick. It carries the same dimensions nearly to the top, and is a huge-looking monolith. On this townland there are no less than 15

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

R. I. A. PROCEEDINGS, Ser. 2, Vol. I., Pol. Lit. and Ant.

P. 259, lines 20, 21, and 22, should read :—

trie's reading. These show that what he took for L, and associated with *menueh*, to form, awkwardly enough, the name *Lmenueh*, in fact, an I, and belongs to the preceding group of characters.

[N. B.—The above may be cut out and pasted over the erroneously printed lines; or the alterations may easily be made with a pen by changing (1) the t (in line 20) to L, (2) the r (in line 21) to I, and (3) the two a's in *Lmanuah*, (line 22) to e's, making *Lmenueh*.]

Page 271, the note at foot should be :—

* *Go tterla cruiniughad mór agus Comhionóill iongantach amladh ba gnuath uair ans na trí bliadhna a m-buaile na gréine air a ttaobh thíos do Cnoc Challaun ag meán iodbartha don gréine ar altoir na gréine atá deanta do liogaibh geal oidheúr an eil sin.* (4231 in Library, R. I. A., p. 211.)



L.—ON IRISH PERSONAL NAMES. By the REV. EDMUND M'CLURE, M. R. I. A.

[Read 25th of January, 1875].

OF the time at which fixed surnames came into use in Ireland, Dr. O'Donovan wrote as follows in his Introduction to the *Topographical Poems of O'Dubhagan*, p. 12:—

"It is clear that Irish family names, or hereditary surnames, are formed from the genitive case singular of the names of ancestors who flourished in the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, or at least from the year 850 till 1290, by prefixing O (*i. e.* U Δ = grandson), or Mac (*i. e.* M Δ c = son)."

The majority of existing Irish surnames may be looked upon, therefore, where they have not been corrupted beyond recognition, as containing the old personal names current in the country at an early date. The same may be said of many of the Christian-names still in use among the old Irish families, where these have not been similarly treated. From a study of these names, and others preserved to us by the Annalists, the sources of Irish personal nomenclature may be said to be the same as that which furnished the appellations in use among other nations of the west.

Without laying any stress upon the order in which they occur, it may be said generally that names are derived from one or other of the seven following sources:—1, locality; 2, time; 3, physical peculiarities; 4, moral qualities; 5, occupations; 6, animals; and 7, religion.

To begin with 1. Those derived from LOCALITY, including therein country, district, or place of abode; it may be clearly affirmed that this source furnishes but a small class of Irish personal names, which stand in this respect in remarkable contrast to the names thus derived which are current among the Germanic races. Thus, as derived from nationality, I know but one well-determined instance, viz., Branach (*i. e.* b ρ e \acute{a} t \acute{h} n \acute{a} c, a Briton or Welshman), if I except the name Doyle or M'Dowell (*i. e.* Dubhgall = dark stranger). The name O'Loughlin too—a sept of the O'Neils of Ulster—and the cognate MacLachlan of Scotland, possibly contain the term by which the Norsemen were known in the country (l \acute{o} c \acute{l} ann \acute{a} c). Of names derived from territory or place of abode I have noted such as the following: O'Davoren (from O'Dubh-da-boireann, *i. e.*, the descendant of the black man of the two large rocks or rocky districts*). Dubh-da-inbher, *i. e.* the black man of the two river mouths; Dubh-da-thuath, *i. e.* the black man of the two territories. We might add to the foregoing the territorial designations which, combined with Cu, a dog, came to distinguish the chiefs of the localities indicated, *e. g.* Cu Chonnacht (*i. e.* the hound or champion of Connaught), Cu Bladhma (*i. e.* the hound of Sleive Bloom), Cu Sionna (*i. e.* the hound of the Shannon), Cumhaighe (*i. e.* Cooley—now Quintin—the hound of the plain), and Cu Sleibhe (the hound of the mountain). There is also the

* See boireann in Dr. O'Donovan's Appendix to O'Reilly's Dictionary.

(*i. e.* Ciar-dubhan) from C₁Δ₁Π, black. Duffy, MacDuffy, or from aspiration of the initial D, M'Afee (also Mehaffey), from voub, black. O'Dougan (*i. e.* O'Dubhagain), from voub and ceΔ₁Π, the head. Donnán from vounn, brown. O'Donovan (*i. e.* O'Dondubhain), "the dark brown;" from donn brown, and dubhan = black one. Deargan from v₂εΔ₁Π₂, red. The Highland M'Harg is probably derived from the same word. Ruadhan, and Highland M'Crow from μ₁Δ₁Θ, red. O Ruadhagain (now Rogan), on the same principle as O'Dougan, means "red head." Corcoran or Corcoran from cop₁ca₁Π, ruddy. The name Cochrane, of the north of Ireland, is derived from the designation of a locality in Scotland. Liathan (now Lyons) from λ₁Δ₁τ, grey. Gorman, Gormog, Gormghal, from γ₁ο₁μ, blue, or perhaps, livid. Glaisin, and (probably) Scotch M'Glashan, from γ₁λ₁α₁γ, green. MacAvoy (Mac Gillabuidhe) from bu₁v₁Θ₁e, *i. e.* yellow. Fionnan, Fionnagain (fair head; compare O'Dougan); the Highland M'Kinnon (*i. e.* M'Fhinnon), and Maginver, sometimes Anglicised Gaynor (= Mac Finnhair, *i. e.* fair hair), all derived from μ₁ι₁ο₁ν, fair. Ferdoragh (*i. e.* dark man), Mac Dorcy (Mac Dorchaidhe), from v₁ο₁ι₁ca₁Θ₁ = dark. Owney (Uaithne), a not uncommon *prænomen*, probably from ua₁ι₁τ₁ne, green. Bannan, from b₁Δ₁Π, white. Lachtnain (now Loughnan), from λ₁Δ₁ε₁τ₁Δ₁, dun. Flann-O'Flinn now O'Flynn and O'Lynn), O'Flannagain (now also O'Lanni, gan), O'Clancy, (*i. e.* O'Fhlanchada), and the woman's name, Flanna, all from φ₁λ₁Δ₁Π, ruddy. O'Robhartaich (now O'Roarty or O'Rafferty, and simply Rhoarty), is probably from μ₁ο₁β₁Δ₁Π, given as "red" by O'Reilly, *sub voce*. Dathi is also probably from v₁Δ₁τ, colour.

Nearly all the more marked colours have been used in this way to give names to persons, and sometimes in such combinations as to lead one to think that they could not all have been given to mark natural distinctions in the colour of the hair, face, &c. Such names as *Leathdhearg*, half red; *Riabhdhearg*, red streak; *Dubhdaleth*, both sides black; *Sriabhdhearg*, with red circles: and the not infrequent use of such colours as *Uaithne*, and *glas*, green; *gorm*, blue, and *buidhe*, yellow, in personal names, would suggest some other than natural characteristics as a foundation for their employment in this manner. Whether we are to seek, with Dr. Todd's coadjutor in the editing of Nennius, an origin for these names in the early custom of staining the body with wood and other dyes, or are to refer them to the use of party-coloured raiment (see *Four Masters*, under 3656 A.M. and 3664 A.M.), or to some other cause, must remain a matter of conjecture until clearer light be thrown on the early social condition of the Irish people.

IV. The next division embraces names which were imposed on men on account of their MORAL QUALITIES. This class embraces perhaps more than any other, and indirectly shows the tendency of the Irish people even at an early period to esteem moral and mental even more than physical qualities. The following are a few selected examples:—Tuath-char, friend of the people (Zeuss). Tuathal (Toole), equivalent to the Latin, Publius (Zeuss); Coffey (*i. e.* Cobhthaigh),

worthy of victory. Compare with this the names Molbthaigh, praise-worthy, Carthaigh,* worthy of friends; Hanratty (O'h Innrechthaigh), worthy of honour. (Indrechtach in one of the codices is translated "honorabilis.") The common termination of these names—*tach*—may be the same word as that given by O'Reilly, and stated to mean "worth," or it may simply represent an adjectival termination. Dr. O'Donovan considered the *Cobh* in Cobhthaigh, and wherever else it appears in Irish personal names, as meaning "aid," "assistance," and he thus elucidates the name O'Conchobhair (O'Connor) as from *Con*, strength and *Cobh*, aid: but when one considers that *Cobh* means also victory in Irish, and that names compounded of this word have been found in old Gallic inscriptions (*e.g.*, Cobnertus, Coblaunon, &c.), and have been elucidated by Zeuss as containing the latter import of the word, I think it is more reasonable so to translate it in the cases above mentioned, and in such other names as Olechobhair (great victor), Galchobhair (now Gallagher), *i.e.*, valorous victor (from *gal* = valour?) It may be observed that *con* is not always to be translated strength, in the personal names in which it occurs. I am not satisfied, indeed, that it ever bears that meaning in such cases.† At all events, it stands frequently in personal names for the genitive of *cu*, dog, *e.g.*, Condoirche (*i.e.*, of the dark dog); Condubhan (*i.e.*, of the black dog); Condulig (of the hungry dog).

But to return to our examples. We have Fechnach, glossed *felix* in the Milan Codex; Cosgrach (now Anglicised Cosgrave), "victorious," from *Corcup*, victory; O'Fhlaitbheartach (now O'Flaherty and O'Lavery), princely-deeded, from *Flaitb*, a prince and *beart*, a deed (*cf.* Toirbheartach = generous); O' Mathgamhna and MacMathgamhnan (now O'Mahoney and MacMahon), which contain most probably the adjective *math*, good, combined with another word *gamhna*, which is frequently found in Irish personal names, *e.g.*, Carrghamhna, Baghamhna, Ciunghamhna, Tedghamhna, and separately, as Gamhna. This would show that none of these names has anything to do with

Ed. 1853.) It is probably cognate with *ard*, and signifies high, chief. A great many personal names of this class are compounded of words connected with war and battle, *e.g.*, Cathal (now Cahill), and Cathir (a warrior), and probably O'Duinnethaigh (O Duncahy) O'Donnadhada (= Donnachie, and O'Donoghue, or Highland M'Connachie), Duncadh (Highland Duncan), all derived from *Cac* = battle. We might compare with these the Welsh personal names Catgucaun (Cadogan), and Direcat (the Dire here, according to Zeuss, is the Irish *dir*), and the Armorican Catbud, Catlon, Catwallon. The terminations -gal and -gus—as in Ferghal* (Farrel), Dunghal, Tuathghal,† *Thutgus*, *Thutgus*, *Snedgus*, *Congus*, *Angus* (in M'Aongus, now F'Ginnis, M'Innis, Innis, and Guinness, also in O'h-Aongusa, now O'Hennessy) *Muirgus*,—are said to mean "valour" and "virtue" respectively. Names ending in -gus and -gal are numerous in the lists of Pictish names in *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Edin. 1867.

Dun enters into many names of this class, and is to be translated, according to Zeuss (Vol. i., p. 30, Ed. of 1853), as "strong." The Dunchadh and Dunghal above mentioned are instances of its use.

The Domh in Domhnal, Ferdomhnach, Domangart (afterwards written Dofngart, and now finally Donard in Sleive Donard), may be compared with the same syllable in the old Gallic names Dumnaeus, Dumnorix, and in the Welsh, Domnguaet, and traced to the root of *Dom*, the world, as giving the idea of extension or greatness.†

As final examples of this class, I may allude to such names as are derived from the passions or prevailing mental habits of the individual; such as Bronach, *i.e.*, sad, a name encountered in the Lives of the saints, and explained by the bearer of it thus:—"Bronach est nomen meum, quod latine dicitur tristis." O'Diomasaigh (now O'Dempsey), from *Diomus*, proud, is another instance.

V. The next division embraces those personal appellations which are derived from occupations and offices. The following are a few of the best marked instances:—O'Marcachan (now generally Anglicised as Markham), from *Marcac*, a rider, O'h'Eochadha (now Hoocy, Hoy, and Houghy), MacEochaidh or MacEachach (now Keogh, M'Caughy, and M'Keehie), Eachan (a Highland *prænomen*, generally Anglicised as *lector*), all from *ead*, a horse, or its plural, *eocho*, and signifying generally horseman. O'Echtighern (*i.e.*, horse master, now Ahern), and the Highland MacEacharan are from the same root. O'Cairbre (now Carberry), according to Zeuss, from *cairib*, a chariot, and equivalent to the modern French name "Charpentier," and the German "Warner." O'Tighearnagh (now Tierney), MacTighearnain (now MacKernan), from *Tighearna*, a lord, which Zeuss would further derive from *Tig*, a house. This word occurs also in Armorican per-

* The first part of this word is evidently *Fear* (a man), which enters into many names, as *Ferdomagh* (dark man), *Ferdomnach* (far ruling man, &c.) Cf. the Highland *Farquhar* (now also *Farrar* and *Ferrar*, anciently *Ferchar*), and the Welsh compounds with *Gwr* = a man. † Cf. Zeuss, Vol. i., p. 17.

† We have in Armorican, *Tutgual* and *Dungual*. *Chart. Nannet ap. Dom. Mor. l. Zeuss*, Vol. i., p. 152, and among Pictish names *Dunnagual* and *Tutagual*.

sonal names, *e.g.*, Tiernan, Maeltiern, and also in Welsh in the form *-deyrn*. O'Flaithri (now Flattery), O'Flaherty, and O'Laverty, above noticed, and names like Gormlaith (where flaith is the second half of the word), all from *Flaith*, generally translated Prince, but meaning originally landed property, and therefore "lordship," and used in our secondary sense of the latter word. The corresponding Welsh word is *Gwelad*, which means "country," whence *Gwledig*, supreme.

O'Taidhg and MacTaidhg (now Anglicised sometimes Montague and probably equivalent to the Irish M'Keague, and the Highland M'Caig), Tadhgan, and MacTaédhgan (now probably M'Keegan), are all from *Ṫad̃ṡ*, a poet, a bard. We may compare with this the names in the Annals. O'Flaithfhileadh (from Flaith and *Fīlesō*, a bard), O'Bardan, and Ríg-Bardan, *i.e.*, Royal bard (from *bard*, a bard), and the Highland MacChruiter (now occasionally Anglicised Harpers), from *Cruir*, a harp.

To this class belong also those names derived from trades, such as Mac an Gobhan (now MacGowan, and occasionally translated, Smith,) from *Sob̃d̃*, a smith: Mac ant-saiv (now M'Intyre), from *Saop*, a carpenter; and the Highland MacGreusich, which means the son of the shoemaker, from *Sp̃ẽur̃aim*, = I embroider or sew.

VI. This division contains all those names which are derived from ANIMALS, such as O'Brain (now O'Byrne), from *b̃ran*, a raven, O'Cuilean (now Collins), from *Cuileán*, a kitten or whelp. Brocan, from *b̃noc*, a badger, Phelan, from *F̃aelán*, a little wolf, O'Gabhraín, from *S̃ab̃ar̃*, a goat. Oisín, (*i.e.* Ossian) still existing in M'Cushin, is probably the diminutive of *Õr̃* = a fawn. *Luch*, the mother of S. Congal, is said to have been so-called from *lũc̃*, a mouse.

We may add to these the many names compounded of *Cu*, a dog; such as Mac Consnamha (*i.e.*, the son of the swimming dog), which is now Mac Kinnawe, or erroneously Anglicised to Forde.

The vegetable kingdom has also furnished a few names such as Blathmac (from *bl̃ac̃*, a flower), the name of an ancient chieftain of Ulster, afterwards imposed upon the district in which he lived, in the Anglicised form "Blawie"; Blathnaidh, a woman's name, from the same root; and Scaithin, a diminutive from *Sc̃ot̃*, a flower.

VII. This class comprises all those names which are ECCLESIASTICAL or RELIGIOUS in their origin, such as Maelisa and Giolla-isa (now the Scotch, Gillies), both meaning servant of Jesus; Gilla dé, servant of God; Mael Eoin (*i.e.*, servant of John, now Malone); O'Maelmihil (now O'Mulvihill), the servant of Michael; and generally all those names compounded of Mael,* or Giolla (or Gil). Mael had also in some combinations the meaning of chief, according to O'Donovan, *e.g.*, *Maeldearg*, the Red Chief. Giolla, after "Mac," has been very much modified, as in Mac Avoy, and Mac Arcavy, from Mac Giolla buidhe, and Mac Giolla Riabhaich, and in such Highland names as Mac Ilroy,

* *Mael* means bald or tonsured, and signifies in these combinations one tonsured in the name of the person following.

Mac Ilwaine, Mac Ilwrath, Mac Clean (for Mac Gil-Ean), &c. *Ceile*, a servant, is used in a similar way to *Giolla*, as in *Ceile Petair*, the assal of Peter. So also it would appear is *Cu* sometimes, as in *Cu cartach*, *Ccartach* being an early saint.

We may add to these the designations formed from the names of ecclesiastical offices; such as *Mac Giolla Easpuig* (now Gillespie, "the son of the bishop's servant"); and all those names—current chiefly in the Highlands of Scotland—which preserve the names of other offices in the Church, e.g., *MacNab*, son of the abbot; *MacTaggart*, son of the priest (*Saspuir*, a priest), *Mac Chlerich*,* the son of the clericus; *MacPherson*, the son of the parson; *Mac Vicar*, the son of the vicar. Some of these may have had originally *Giolla* prefixed, as the name *Mac Ilpherson* is known.

This exhausts the sevenfold division which I have adopted as embracing almost all the sources of personal names. There are, however, other names which could not well be made to fall into any of these categories. Thus we have the name *Maolcluiche* (now *Mulclohy*, and sometimes Anglicised into "Stone"), which O'Donovan translates "mouth of the sport," from *cluiche*, a battle or game; but I should prefer, if it will admit of it, making it the "servant of the bell" (*i.e.* *Maolcluing*), on the analogy of *Giolla Easpuig*, and *Giollapherson*, pretending that these names indicated that some person was especially appointed to attend on these dignities, and also on the church bell.

As falling outside the above classes, I may further note such names as *MacSgiathghil* (now *Seahill*), meaning "bright shield, *Sgiath* = a shield; and *Berach* (now *Barry*), which is glossed in one place as "armed with a dart." It is right to add that there is another gloss which explains it differently. *MacCochlainn*, from *Cochlan*, a diminutive of *coéal*, a cowl, is another. *Aedh*, now Anglicised as *Hugh*, and entering into other names such as *Aedhan*, *MacAedh* (*i.e.* *McKee*, *Gee*, or *Mackay*), *O'h-Aedha* (*O'Hea*), &c., is also abnormal, if the *Mac* which makes it "fire" inform us correctly.

In making an analysis of Irish personal names, one must be on one's guard against the supposition that every name beginning with *Mac* or *Mac* is of Celtic origin. Thus the Anglo-Norman families who came to the country in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who soon came *Hibernis ipsis hiberniores*, have left us a host of representatives bearing seemingly Irish names—such as *MacWilliam*, *McQuillan*, *MacDavid*, *MacPhilbin*, *MacShoneen*, *MacGibbon*, *MacGribbin*, *MacWalter*, *MacRaymond*, *MacFeoris*, *MacAveely*, *MacWattin*, *MacRobert*, *MacThomas*, &c. But these are only seemingly Celtic; they yield on analysis well-known Anglo-Norman designations. The same may be said of those names which were previously introduced into Ireland by the Norsemen, and which became permanent appellations among the Celto-Scandinavian families—such as *MacUley* (*i.e.* the son of *Somerled*); *MacManus* (*i.e.* *Magnusen*; shortened to *Manson* in Scotland); *MacRannal* (from *Ragnvald*), now also

* Cf. *McCleir*, *McCleary*, *O'Cleirigh* (now *O'Clery*), *O'Clerchin* (now *Clerka*)

Reynolds; Mac Ivor (from Ivar), now also McKeever; McCaffrey, (*i. e.* Mac Godfred); Mac Awley (from Olaf), and MacAwley and McAuliffe in Scotland; Tomar (now Anglicised to Toner, a Danish name, according to O'Donovan, *Book of Rights, Introd.*) O'Doyle or Doyle, containing as it does the same word as in MacDowell (*i. e.* Dubhghaill, "dark foreigner,") while it preserves an Irish form indicates the bearer to be of Norse descent. The Four Masters mention a MacDowell as a Galloglagh, and as these were generally, if not altogether, mercenary soldiers from the west of Scotland and the Isles—so much under Norse influence—it is safe to consider any one called by the name of Dubhghaill (or "Black Gentile," as it was often translated) as of Norse origin. There is some difficulty about determining the nationality of the name MacSweeny. There is much, however, to raise a presumption that the designation is Norse. The MacSweenys, in the first place, were *Galloglaghs*. On the tombstones of some eminent chiefs among them may be seen the Galloglagh, with his peculiar Norse battle-axe. The name Manus, and other veritable Scandinavian appellations, were in common use among them as *pronomina*. The form of the name is not unlike the Svein or Sweyn of the North, and its modern representative in England and Scotland, Swainson. A very similar name, Mac Swyne, was found to exist in one of the western islands of Scotland, *teste* Dr. Johnson, in the last century. It is admitted, too, that the Mac Sweenys came from Scotland as Galloglas, though it is alleged that they were originally an Irish family who had emigrated to that country. Under the year 1034, (*Ann. of Tigh.*) a Suibne is mentioned as King of the Gallgaedel, *i. e.* of Galloway which was strongly Norse.

A great many other names, of Norse origin, but of seemingly Celtic form, were imported from Scotland into the north of Ireland at the time of the Plantation of Ulster. The following are a few out of many instances: Mac Ranaid, Mac Dugald, or McDowell, Mac Corkell (*i. e.* Mac Thorcáill), and Mac Corquodale (*i. e.*, as I conjecture, Mac Thorcetel) Mac Askil otherwise McCaskil, (*cf.* McCuskey, Gaskill, Caskey) from Asgil—a name which, like the two previous, contains remembrances

LI.—ON THE ALLEGED LITERARY FORGERY RESPECTING SUN-WORSHIP ON MOUNT-CALLAN. By SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL.D., Q.C., V.P.

[Read November 8, 1875.]

In two papers which I read before the Academy (*supra*, pp. 160 and 265), I stated what appeared to me legitimate grounds for concluding, first, that the Mount Callan inscription is not, as has usually been supposed, on the authority of O'Donovan and O'Curry, a lapidary forgery; and, secondly, that the allusion to Sun-worship on Mount Callan, in the supposed spurious verses from the poem called "The Battle of Gabhra," might be referred with more probability to the fact that periodic assemblies, accompanied by ceremonials practised at a structure called *Altoir na greine*, used to take place at that spot, than to any misapplication of ideas suggested by the local nomenclature.

A third question, however, I did not enter on, viz., if the stanzas be spurious, no matter how suggested—whether by misapprehension of the name of the adjoining Loch Booley-na-greine, or by reference to the neighbouring *Altoir na greine*—can Theophilus O'Flanagan be justly chargeable with their fabrication? It was he who first published them to the world. If his authority had been challenged in his life-time, and he had failed to produce or to account for it, it would have been the duty of the Academy to consider him the author, and to caution the world of learning against the imposture of which its Transactions would, in that case, have been made the vehicle. But it is only since O'Flanagan's death that any such charge appears to have been put forward; and that fact, although the accusers were persons of great authority, necessarily diminishes the weight, and invites to a careful scrutiny of the grounds, of their judgment.

The ground taken by O'Donovan is very wide, implying a general distrust of everything proceeding from O'Flanagan, whom he charges directly with this forgery (Ir. Gram., Introd., xlvii.) I know no person who has been the object of so much detraction among Irish writers and critics as this unfortunate scholar; and, apart from the charge now about to be examined, and subject to the result of such investigation, I must confess myself unable to learn a single act of his that ought, morally, to discredit his memory. O'Curry, it will be remembered, is more specific, grounding his charge on a close examination made by himself of all the copies of the poem accessible to him of an earlier date than 1760, from which he states these stanzas are invariably absent, although found in several modern copies. (H. & S. MSS. Cat., vol. ii., p. 415, cited *supra*, p. 161).

Professor O'Looney (who, however, is not to be counted among any one's accusers) offers the same testimony: "I do not know of any copy of the poem on the Battle of Gabhra containing the stanza attributed by O'Curry to O'Flanagan that I could regard as genuine."

These statements, and the slight nature of the references to Sun-worship in the unimpeached Irish remains, have produced a generally

unfavourable impression of O'Flanagan's character; and it is now constantly assumed that he himself fabricated the stanzas cited by him as from "the Battle of Gabhra."

In adopting these condemnatory opinions, it does not seem that any consideration has been given to the very weak nature of presumptions arising on merely negative evidence. Before concluding anything, on ground so liable to be disturbed, the laws of right reasoning require that the alleged forgery should itself be examined, with a view to see how far it supports, or fails to support, the case in sustinment of which it is supposed to have been invented. This is what I would beg leave to do, first, in the present communication.

The theory, it will be remembered, is, that O'Flanagan, finding his patron, Vallancey, intent on the discovery of eastern analogies, and, *inter alia*, of Sun-worship among the ancient Irish, devised these verses for the double purpose of identifying the Mount Callan Ogham as the epitaph of Conan Maol, and of evidencing the ancient practice of Sun-worship in the same locality. So far as verifying the traditional remembrance of the name of Conan, it must be owned that the verses are more apposite than the Ogham—for these at least contain his name, *totidem literis*;—but, on a closer scrutiny, it will be seen that they exhibit the same incompatibility with the theory as the Ogham, in not being accurately translated by their supposed author, who (strange to say, if he were the fabricator) has failed to render, and has even obscured, the meaning of some of the expressions most relevant to the maintenance of his assumed imposture. The verses are as follow.—(I extract from the Transactions of the Academy, vol. i., *Antiq.*, p. 4):—

"Ni raib an Laoch fraochda Conan, an Gabhra 'san trean dail;
Am Bealtaine an Bliadhain roimhe, aig Coine adhartha na Greine;
Ro torchar an Curadh nar tim, a Fiongail le Fianaibh Fin!—
Ro cloidh a Feart thiar bo thuaigh;—a Cluithe Caointe bo diol truaigh!—
'Sta Ainim Ogam air lie blaith, i sliabh comh dubh Callain."

These verses O'Flanagan thus translates:—

"The fierce and mighty Conan was not in the desperate battle of Gabhra: for in May, the preceding year, the dauntless hero was treacherously slain by the Fení of Fin, at an assembly met to worship the sun:—His sepulchral monument was raised on the North-west!—His wailing dirge was sung!—And his name is inscribed in Ogham characters on a flat stone on the very black mountain of Callan!"

I say nothing of the pretensions of these verses to ancient, or even mediæval, authenticity. They appear to be as little characterised by any genuine savour of antiquity as the rest of the conventional, and often, indeed, rapid, compositions to which they claim to ally themselves. I am not myself sufficiently instructed to pronounce on a question of style; but, from the little I do know, I confess I would be surprised if any noticeable difference in that respect could be pointed out between the *quasi* Ossianic strains of the one set of compositions and of the other. A fragment, it is true, of an old version of "The Battle of Gabhra" is preserved in the Book of Leinster; but it has no

interpart in the compositions published by the Ossianic Society; and this diversity of copies is well worthy of consideration in estimating the value of O'Curry's argument.

The expression on which I would first remark is, "*Ro clóidh a cart*"—that is, "his grave was dug." This corresponds accurately to the character of the flat covering stone actually existing over what appears to have been an interment beneath the surface. It is obvious there never was any tumulus, pillar-stone, or other erection, but that the Ogham-inscribed flagstone was designed to lie flat on an ordinary grave. Yet O'Flanagan, with a disregard of his opportunities, which, in most minds, will appear unaccountable in the preparer of such a corroboration, translates the passage thus:—"His sepulchral monument was raised." The mistake appears attributable to mere carelessness—for no one can suppose him ignorant of the meaning of a phrase in vernacular—and strongly suggests the absence of any consciousness that he was dealing with a dangerous and questionable text.

Passing, for the present, over the remaining portion of this line, "*Thiar bo thuaigh*," I would next refer to the succeeding line, "*A cluithhe caointe bo diol truaigh*." Here we may observe an artifice often resorted to in such compositions, where the poet, being in want of something to say in concord with something said already, employs a phrase of little or no relevancy for the mere purpose of completing the rhyme. "*Bo diol truaigh*," rhyming to "*Thiar bo thuaigh*," may be translated either relatively, with the preceding "*cluithhe caointe*," as, "His funeral games were a wretched ending," or absolutely, as, "His funeral games [were celebrated]. It was a wretched ending." In the latter case, the composer of the Irish has placed before us a set of phrases which, in whatever English dress we array them, wear but a June and incondite appearance. O'Flanagan, apparently conscious of the very verbose character of his original (which, you will observe, we are asked to believe he had himself, as Irish forger, prepared for his own embarrassment as English translator), escapes the risk of provoking his reader's comment, that "*bo diol truaigh*" is, indeed, a wretched literary ending for a production of the Muse of Ossian, by passing over it altogether, and rendering the passage generally: "His wailing dirge was sung."

Here, we may see, he quite fails to utilise the "*cluithhe*" of his text, being the equivalent of the *ludi funebres* of classical antiquity.* He had classical knowledge enough to have read of the games celebrated round the *tumuli* of Patroclus and of Anchises, and could hardly have failed—had he given the words a moment's deliberate attention—to see the interesting analogies suggested. Yet, here he omits to make the least use of the argument, so easy to be built on what we are now assuming to be his own foundation—a pregnant evidence, to my mind, that he was unconscious of danger, and innocent of any preparation of

* *Doipead a cluithhe camí*—His "game of sorrow" was celebrated; literally game of lamentation."—Book of Fenagh, p. 262.

the ground, by sowing it with the precious pieces of evidence among which he trod so inattentively.

Further, had he been a rogue, utilising his opportunities, as we are asked to believe, it seems hardly credible that he should have failed to bring in *Altoir na greine* in aid of his verses. The altar was a permanent stone structure, standing within a furlong of the Ogham-inscribed monument. It offered a substantive corroboration to all that the verses averred touching the worship of the sun at that very place. But, it will be asked, how is it shown that O'Flanagan was aware of its existence? I am unable to adduce any direct proof that he was so: but the passage from the "Post Chaise Companion" (*supra*, p. 270) savours so strongly of the style which one might expect from a writer of O'Flanagan's class, and puts him so prominently forward as the discoverer, that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it was supplied by himself; and in that extract, it will be remembered, mention is made of "*Altoir na greine*" in connexion with the locality. Its omission from the paper in the *Transaction* seems to me a probable evidence that no misgiving existed in the writer's mind as to his authority being questionable, or standing in any need of collateral support.

I have, so far, drawn these arguments in favour of O'Flanagan's innocence from phrase favourable to his case, the benefit of which he has thrown away by imperfect translation. I have now to notice an expression in the text highly adverse to his case—in fact, destructive of it, as it is presented in the "Post Chaise Companion"—which, without any apparent hesitation, he has rendered rightly.

The monument lies on the southern* slope of the mountain. But the text, which O'Flanagan is charged with having fabricated, for the purpose of identifying this object on the south of Mount Callan with the monument of Conan Maol referred to, has, after "*ro cloidh a Feart*," the remarkable expression, "*thiar bo thuaith*," that is, "on the west by the north." This is the line that predicates the substantial matter to which "*bo diol truaigh*" is the mere rhyming complement; and must be taken to have been deliberately composed. A well-instructed scholar of good sense would have pointed out the discrepancy between the statement and the obvious fact; but O'Flanagan, with a levity not easily excusable, takes no notice of it further than by betraying some anxiety to suggest to his reader that the phrase in the text may have had reference to the generally north-west direction of the monument from what he hints may have been its point of contemplation by the author of the poem. He says:—

"I set off with a companion from Ennis to visit the monument so particularly

* The word signifying the "sun" enters into the names of so many of the surrounding local features, Booleynagreine, Altnagreine, Gualanagreine, that, if not imposed with a regard to *Altoir na greine* and its associations, which is less likely, its frequent employment must be ascribed to the sunniness and obvious southern exposure of that part of the mountain, as compared with Booleynduff of its northern slope.

specified by the poem : Mount Callan being only from eight to ten miles distant, north-west, from the place of our departure. . . . I perceived a square rock . . . on the Leitermoylan (that is the south-east) side of the mountain . . . a large druid altar . . . Applying to a cottager . . . whether he knew of any other stone on the mountain which bore any resemblance to a monument, he told me he observed one, . . . at the side of a small lake, about a mile north-east of the altar . . . the wished-for monument." (Transactions R.I.A., vol. i., Antiq., p. 5.)

This passage gives occasion to Dr. Ledwich to cast some ridicule on the Ossianic pretensions of the stanzas; and he speciously enough surmises them to be the production of some Ossian, who resided in the town of Ennis, but it did not enter into his mind to conceive of anything so inconsistent with the motives of a literary forger, as that O'Flanagan, whom they so evidently embarrassed, had himself had any hand in their preparation. And indeed the reference to Ennis by both is grounded on equal carelessness; for Slieve Callan lies due west, and the site of the monument slightly south of west from that town.

It is no part of my object, in endeavouring to rescue the reputation of this dead scholar, such as he was, from what I conceive to be the unjust imputations cruelly heaped on it, to represent him otherwise than as of comparatively slender attainments in literature, and still wanting in that superiority to motives of vain-glory that characterises the true man of learning. But it is a different matter, when we ask, is a man a forger, and of infamous memory? And I entertain a very confident hope that the imputed fraud will, by this time, have appeared an almost incredible supposition, seeing that the document should in that case be regarded as fabricated with an express view to cast doubts on the story it was designed to support.

What has been so far said will have prepared the Academy for receiving with an interested attention the further facts I am about to add. During the month of May, in the present year, I have been brought into communication with an Irish scholar, resident at Kilrush, in the county of Clare, Mr. Michael Hanrahan, now, as he informs me, in the 74th year of his age, a contemporary of O'Curry, and one who has a lively recollection of other Irish scribes and scholars of the early part of this century. Observing on these verses, Mr. Hanrahan, in a letter to me of the 19th May, stated: "I have never seen a copy of *Tuarasgbhail Chatha Gabhra* wanting these lines," and, in compliance with my request that he would state what was the oldest copy he had seen, and, if older than 1780, where it could be inspected, he wrote me the following very interesting particulars, under date of 26th May, 1875:—

"I beg to state that I never saw a copy of the *Battle of Gavra* wanting the stanzas that you refer to, and I took a copy of it from an old book written by John Kennedy in 1720, and which was the property of the Maloney family of Thoneavohair, near Knock, but have not seen the book since it was sold for £1 10s. over twenty years ago. I saw this poem in Maurice O'Connor's Collection in this town, and also with Michael Mangan, of Carrigaholt, who died here. . . . There is but little MS. in this locality, as we have but few Irish scholars now, and the language is fast passing away. Mr. Burton's account of his clearing the Callan Ogham goes to show that it had been there long before that time."

Mr. Hanrahan here refers to the statement of Mr. Burton, in his letter to General Vallancey, dated 1785, that the letters of the inscription, when first seen by him, were filled up with a yellowish exudation, which he justly considers a proof that they were not then recently engraved. I would, indeed, myself have adduced this statement in my first Callan paper amongst the other facts alleged in disproof of the supposed lapidary forgery, but that I dreaded exciting a speculation of the stone having been so prepared by some kind of pigment for Mr. Burton's inspection. The good common sense of my correspondent convinces me that I was over fastidious, and I add this to the other facts which ought to have admonished those who charged the fabrication of the Ogham text against Lloyd and O'Flanagan of the rashness and injustice of that imputation.

Mr. Hanrahan further states, in a letter since received :—

"Mr. Thomas Madigan, living at Carnacalla, two miles west of Kilrush (now about eighty years of age), a good Irish scholar . . . was at my house on the 29th ult., and I showed him your letter, and he told me that he never saw a copy of the poem wanting the stanzas in dispute. He was an intimate friend of Eugene Curry's, and wondered at his assertions. . . . He saw Kennedy's book, but we do not know what has become of it since it was sold."

It is hardly necessary to observe, that if the impeached verses existed in Kennedy's book, in or before 1720, O'Flanagan, who was not then born, stands acquitted of the charge of inventing them. This is, indeed, so conclusive of the case that it might reasonably be asked, *cui bono* the preceding series of arguments and inferences as prefaces to a fact making all argument superfluous? If Kennedy's MS. were before us, and its date verified, it should be confessed that all the earlier part of the present paper is work of supererogation. But, however faithful my informant may be, I do not care, in its absence, to dispense with proofs, which, to my mind, carry an independent and very high degree of conviction.

Taking it, then, that the verses, although not of high antiquity, were not invented by O'Flanagan, the question remains when, and on what suggestion were they composed or invented, and how came they to appear exclusively in copies of the poem preserved in and emanating from the county of Clare? The answer will, I think, suggest itself to any one reading the account of the proceedings at the assemblages round *Altoir na greine*, described in my second Callan paper (*supra*, p. 265). These proceedings do, *prima facie*, savour of an origin in the same ages which have transmitted to historic times the traces of Well-worship and of Tree-worship; so that I think we shall, in a review of the evidence, find ourselves coerced to believe that some tradition, allying itself to the names of Finn, son of Comhal, and his associates, and pointing to events connected with Sun-worship, has existed in popular remembrances in the neighbourhood of Callan mountain, and as a corollary to the ceremonials practised there, for an indefinite time. But, with the proof of the existence of the written tradition, comes the allusion to the points of the compass, which, certainly, is difficult to reconcile with the site of the actual

monument. Is, then, the monument ascribed to Conan to be sought in some other part of the mountain? and is that which has been discovered, one only of similar remains, liable to be disclosed by further search on the site of those *anachs*, or popular commemorative assemblies described in the second paper, and which I may perhaps be justified in designating as our Irish "nanies" of the eighteenth century? That it was actually disclosed to view, after having lain for a long time concealed under the surface, was one of the features of the local story respecting it in 1814. This appears from the letter of Mr. Kennedy (not the scribe) above referred to.

"The flag," he says, "is of slate colour, and is certainly a slate flag, and at the upper or broader end appears a quarry, but only so wide as it may happen in shifting this flag from it, at the time it was discovered by one Dr. O'Gorman, who dreamed of it, and spent six days before that he found out where it stood. It was very shallow covered, which the face of the flags are (as?) exposed shows. The Ogham flag was attempted to be removed. The attempt did not succeed. Its position now is on a hanging level."—(Windele MSS., Suppl., vol. iii., p. 333).

Supposing this account to be founded on fact, the date of the first disclosure to the public eye, at least in recent times, of what is now called *leac Conain*, might not unreasonably be assigned to the decade preceding 1760, about which year O'Curry states that Comyns attempted to translate the legend. For Comyns, writing his romance in 1749, although invited by his plot to the subject of monumental inscriptions in this locality,—as where he introduces an angel inscribing the epitaph of two of his characters with the point of a spear on the rock closing the mouth of their sepulchre (MS. in lib. R. I. A., 24, c. xii., p. 61)—takes no occasion to heighten his colours by any allusion to Ogham or other cryptic writing, which a romance-writer of his school could hardly be expected to refrain from, supposing him in possession of information so apposite. If we ask, then, what was it that set Dr. O'Gorman dreaming of, or searching for, the monument of Conan, we shall probably be led to infer that he had heard, either in verse or in prose, the substance of the impeached stanzas, then current as part of the popular literature of the district; and, if we further ask, why should not equal success attend a renewed examination of the site from thence to the great cromlech still standing on the west, including the eminence on the summit of which "*Altoir na greine*" formerly stood? we shall probably agree that though we may fail to find the inscribed monument of a hero of the 3rd century, we very probably would be rewarded by discovering other traces of a great primitive cemetery, and amongst these, not impossibly, other Ogham inscriptions.

Before leaving this subject—to be next taken up, I trust, by more competent hands—I would ask permission to add some further facts and observations supplemental to all three papers. In evidence of the popular belief as to *leaba Conain*, I am furnished with the following

valuable note by Mr. Burchett (who, alas! will contribute no further to our pursuits), under date of 26th January, 1875:—

"When I visited Callan mountain in July of last year, I there met a very old man, of quick wit and good memory, whose evidence as to the real antiquity of the stone I thought at the time well worth recording. I send you a transcript of the note I made at the time in my note-book from his own lips:—Francis Egan, age 76, son of Francis Egan, who died twelve or thirteen years ago, aged 103, states that he was born and had always lived on the mountain. Always knew the stone as 'Leac-Conain;' always knew it as the 'grave of Conan.' He said that his father had told him as a boy the known tradition of the grave, and expressed very great surprise that it had ever been supposed to be a forgery, by the late Dr. O'Donovan, who, he said, could easily have learned better.

"Francis Egan was a man with very clear intellect and good memory. He had a considerable knowledge of Ossianic traditions, and appeared to me to be a very good specimen of his age and class. He spoke with great simplicity and confidence, and, remembering that his father's age carried the tradition he testified back to the middle of the last century, it appeared to me well worth recording."

This, it will be remembered, is exactly the same story told by the old men of the neighbourhood to Mr. Burton ninety years ago. These traditions do not grow up in a day. The most I can concede to the supposition of a modern growth for the existing popular conviction, is, that on the discovery of the Ogham-inscribed stone, probably by Dr. O'Gorman, it was accepted as that of Conan from the general currency of the tradition embodying his name, and from the belief that the Ogham characters also contained it; but that, whether it be the monument pointed at in the verses or not, these verses are not spurious, in the sense of being a wanton imposture, but are the vehicle of a tradition resting on old observances derived from ancient times, and savouring of pagan belief.

—ACCOUNT OF THE EXPLORATION OF A LONG BARROW IN THE
COUNTY FERMANAGH. By THOMAS PLUNKETT.

[Read January 10, 1876.]

AT five miles from Enniskillen, on the road leading to the village of Derrygonnelly, there occurs a deep valley on the western side of the road, through which a tributary of the Sillies river flows. The valley is bounded on the north by a large dome-shaped hill, called Tullycreavy [= "Branchy or Bushy Hill," Joyce]; and on the south by a similar hill, the name of which is Tullycaltreagh [= "The hill with the burial ground"].

An old road here branches off from the main road, and runs along the base of the hill, on the north side of the valley. After traversing it a quarter of a mile along the south side of Tullycreavy hill, a short distance further on a romantic shady nook appears, on the north side of the valley. On approaching it are seen hoary trunks of ancient thorn trees, which, through decay have almost ceased to veil from view the beautiful mound or long-barrow, on whose margins and sides ferns have long flourished. In the summer of 1873 I paid a visit to the place, accompanied by the owner, an old man of eighty summers, who entertained a great veneration for it.

Although the name of the townland on which this monument is situated is Tullycreavy, yet the mound and its environments are called by the peasantry "The Miracles," or the "Fort in the Miracles." Antiquarians say that "Miracles" is a synonym for *Ferta*, which, according to Dr. Joyce, means a "place of graves." Be this what it may, the peasantry have always, in the memory of the oldest inhabitants, regarded this place with feelings of awe and reverence.

Being on intimate terms with the owner, I pressed him in a most urgent way to allow me to explore the "fort," assuring him that I would recompense him for any damage done to the place. He hesitated to comply in the affirmative, and told me that several gentlemen had made the same request, which he had always refused, because once in his time, after he had only cut a small tree in it, all his cattle died. After a good deal of persuasion I overcame his objection, and he granted my request. My next step was to procure men for the purpose of exploring it, and my first application was to two able-bodied men who lived near the place, and who were out of employment, but, I might say, they refused, and said they would have nothing to do with that "gentle" place. Ultimately, however, I succeeded in procuring as many men as I required.

Before passing on to explain the structure of the barrow, allow me to say a word or two about the formation of the valley, as it will be necessary to have an idea of its physical history, before we can understand how the immense blocks of stones which compose the barrow

could be transported hither. This valley appears to have been scooped out of the boulder drift of which the adjoining hills are composed—probably about the close of the last glacial epoch—by the agency of water. There is ample evidence showing that the valley is an ancient river-bed, numerous natural mounds or hillocks, consisting of sand, clay, and gravel, occurring here and there along its sides, together with shell-marl, which is found several feet underneath the surface (at lower levels of the valley), bearing testimony in favour of the hypothesis. And as this valley merges into the valley of the Sillies river, which runs at right angles to it about half a mile distant, the probability is that when the waters of the Sillies river flowed at a higher elevation—of which its banks bear evidence—the waters which filled this valley, in which the monument is built, were connected with, and formed an arm of, the above-named river, which, no doubt, covered a much larger area than it does at present. There is nothing now left to represent this ancient river or arm of the Sillies, except a small stream which meanders through the valley on its way to the above-named river in the distance.

The builders of this ancient barrow selected one of these natural ridges or hillocks in a recess on the north side of the valley as a site for their monument. The base of this natural mound is about 10 feet above the main level of the adjoining valley, and consists of fine sand and clay. In order to form a horizontal foundation on which to erect the structure, the top of the ridge was removed until it presented a flat surface 105 feet long by 55 broad. The building which is erected on the top of this mound is oblong in shape—higher and broader at one end than the other. I could not give a better idea of this than to say it resembles one half of a pear, cut in two longitudinally, and placed on the flat side. It is built with great symmetry, and is placed east and west, or nearly so, and in external appearance corresponds with some of the British long-barrows, so well described and figured by Sir Richard Hoare, Dr. Thurnam, and other antiquarians, with this important exception—that while the broader and higher end of the English barrows points to the east, the larger and higher end of the

requisite, I set to work, and, finding that sinking a shaft would be impracticable, in consequence of the enormous size of the stones, I commenced to make a cutting or trench in the side of the barrow, on a level with the base, and about 12 feet wide. After we had excavated a little beyond the centre, across the monument, we then made an opening about the same width at right angles with the trench across, right up the centre of the barrow, towards the larger end, which was the most likely place to find a cist or chamber containing objects of interest.

When we had progressed with the work as far as the "crown," as I may call it, of the large end of the mound, I discovered, 3 feet from the surface, at the centre, carefully built between two large stones, and covered with a heavy rough flag, the peculiar stone hereafter described. This "find" inspired me with hope. Day after day I watched with eager eye every ponderous flag or block of stone levered out of their long resting place, until we finally reached the end of the barrow, when hope fled.

Every layer of flags in the structure was closely joined together at the edges, but did not overlap, and the interstices were carefully filled with very thin stones or spawls, as if to prevent rain water passing through. Notwithstanding all this care, I did not meet with a single chamber or cist, or any implement, or work of art, either rude or otherwise, except the inscribed stone which I shall allude to presently.

I may here describe the order in which the stones were placed in the structure. The base was formed of huge quadrangular unhewn blocks of stone, which varied from about 4 to 6 tons in weight. From the hard compact nature of these blocks, the quarry-men called them "whin-stone." A heavy sledge, well wielded, would not produce a fracture in any of them. I believe the stones were hard impure limestone, with a large percentage of silica; and, although they did not bear the slightest evidence of being either chiseled or hammered, yet they fitted together as closely as the horizontal layers in a limestone quarry, or the square pavement stones in the streets of one of our cities. The next layer consisted of large flags, rather rough and of irregular shape, placed in a gentle sloping position, the side next the centre of the structure being slightly elevated. Next followed a course of square blocks, as above described, and so on to the top of the structure, every alternate layer being composed of flags. Although the flags in the interior of the structure did not overlap each other, the surface of the mound was covered over with rough flags, which were overlapped, like tiles on a roof.

It is very difficult to conjecture why this mound was constructed with so much care, when there was nothing beneath its surface to preserve, at least so far as I excavated.

I did not explore the small end of the mound, as I was prohibited doing so. The owner's wife took ill, and as he fancied that it was in consequence of the "fort" being interfered with, I had to desist,

after wasting the labours of nearly 90 men, for which the only reward I received, except the pleasure of excavating, was the inscribed stone already referred to.

This stone I have deposited in the Museum of the Academy. It is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and about 15 inches across the middle, tapering towards either end, and is of the same material as the flags used in the structure, and built in as I have already described, with the inscribed side downwards. The object for placing it so, no doubt, was to preserve the sculptured symbol or figure which is on the centre of the stone. This is of a very rude character; its intended significance, whether symbolic or ideographic, I am unable to say, but leave it to those learned in such matters to elucidate. The grooves must have been sculptured out with a very blunt instrument—most probably a flint weapon. The bottom of the grooves are very uneven in consequence of the surface of the stone being of unequal hardness, from which I infer that it was by rubbing with the edge of a flint or hard stone weapon the sculptured character was formed. Certainly it does not bear the slightest evidence of having been done by an iron chisel. The grooved lines are from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch deep, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ an inch, or a little better, broad; and the longest line is forked at one end. The lines run transversely, but do not form right angles. In consequence of the sculptured lines crossing each other, some antiquarians who have seen it have come to the conclusion that it is a rudely-formed pagan cross.

The following analysis of this stone was made by the Rev. Professor Haughton:—

	Per cent.
Coarse micaceous sand,	80·91
Alumina and iron peroxide,	1·35
Carbonate of lime,	16·21
Carbonate of magnesia,	1·53

cists or chambers, and are built of round boulders of all sizes, gathered from the surface of the ground in the locality. The large mounds on the banks of the Boyne "are composed of small stones," except the large flags which form the chambers, "and are encircled at the base with a line of stones of enormous magnitude." The latter is a common feature in the English barrows. No evidence of either ditch or circle of large stones could be traced at the "Miracles" barrow.

I shall now refer to some facts of a geological nature, together with objects of some interest which I found in a crannoge which occurs about 50 perches from the barrow, and at a lower level in the valley, both of which bear pretty strong evidence in favour of the great antiquity of this monument. I have stated in this paper, that from the present aspect of this valley, I formed a strong opinion that it is an ancient river-bed. The evidence bearing on this point I have already stated, but there is another fact which I wish to add. On my first examination of the barrow, I found the stones used in its structure were foreign to the locality, as I was familiar with the geological formations of the neighbourhood, and that the stones must have been brought from a considerable distance; and I could not account for the means used to transport them hither, especially overland and before "the day of roads," as we have no machinery at present, in the absence of a pavement road, that could convey them through a hilly country to the spot where they are now deposited. This seemed to me the greatest mystery in connexion with it. Even if there were "giants in those days," they could not remove them from one part of the country to another over the natural surface of the ground.

One day, while in conversation with the owner of the place, I told him the stones were of a different kind from those found in the locality. In reply, he said that some years ago they were sinking a deep trench or dyke, a short distance below the barrow, through the valley, and they struck on a rock of the same kind of stone about 5 ft. from the surface. I examined the spot, and found a stone of exactly the same description as those in the barrow, but not in its native bed. It was buried in alluvium or ancient silt, covered with a deposit of similar material, to a depth of about 3 feet; and, towards the surface, passed into "bog moss," which is a deposit from decayed vegetable matter. There were no stones, either small or large, of the same material found in the dyke. All were sandstone—the native rock of the locality. This block was not scored or polished like what is found in the boulder drift. A short distance from the place where this stone lay, I found a deposit of shell-marl. All these facts, together with what I have stated at the beginning of this Paper, corroborate the theory, that at the time this monument was erected the valley was covered with a sheet of water, and formed a junction with the Sillies river; and from the evidence already adduced, it appears that the huge stones were conveyed on rafts over this waterway to the very edge of the natural mound on which the monument is erected, and

the large block found in the dyke must have fallen from the raft while in transit.

As there has been no such thing as artificial drainage on a large scale in this part of the country, all the physical changes in the valley (which is now crop, meadow, and grazing land) must have been brought about by the slow process of nature, since the construction of the monument. As the waters slowly receded from the valley, there was left behind, in a concave depression, a sheet of water which formed a land-lake about 50 perches from the barrow. In this lake the ancient crannoge-builders constructed one of their lake-dwellings. The basin of this lake is now filled with a deposit of very black compact peat, which covers the surface of the crannoge to a depth of 4 feet.

Near this staked dwelling, at a considerable depth in the peat, we found a canoe of a very rude type, scooped out of the trunk of an oak tree. I examined this crannoge several times, and found rude pottery, pieces of bronze, and smooth round stones, together with small objects made of stone—which were probably regarded as sacred and worn as charms—and, amongst other articles, a polished stone celt. The reason I refer to the crannoge is, that I found, mixed with the articles above named, a quantity of slag, or dross of metals, and I found exactly the same kind of slag, about one foot beneath the surface of the higher end of the barrow, together with a quantity of ashes; and I think that it is but reasonable to infer that this tumulus was regarded as a natural mound by the lake-dwellers, and that they used it for the same purpose as they did the crannoge—as a place for smelting metals; and most probably at the same time.

The fact of a stone celt being found in the crannoge shows, according to pre-historic archæologists, that these early lake-dwellers belonged to the neolithic period. If this is their place, according to the recognised order of these things, I think the building of the monument may be referred to that dark mysterious period known by

LIII.—ON THE EXPLORATION OF THE KNOCKNINNY CAVE, CO. FERMANAGH.
By T. PLUNKETT.

[Read 24th January, 1876.]

NOTE.

THIS Paper has been printed at length in the Science portion of the PROCEEDINGS, second Ser., vol. ii., pp. 465–83, where it is illustrated by ten wood-engravings, from drawings by Mr. W. F. Wakeman. As some of these come within the scope of the portion of the PROCEEDINGS which is devoted to Antiquities, they are here reproduced, with such brief descriptions as may be required in explanation. But readers who wish for fuller particulars, and especially as to the animal remains found in the cave, should refer to the Paper itself as printed.

ABSTRACT.

Knockninny is the name of a rocky mountain on the southern shore of upper Lough Erne, 10 miles from Enniskillen, and 2 from the village of Derrylin. It rises abruptly to a height of nearly 700 feet above sea level. On three rocky hillocks, at intervals along its top there are three carns (one of which is the finest in Fermanagh), and on its eastern slopes are two “giants’ graves.” These, with the carns, are described by Mr. Wakeman in the Paper which follows this.

The neighbourhood abounds in objects of archæological interest. There are many rude stone monuments, of unknown antiquity, and also numerous remains of an early Christian population.

The cave, the subject of this Paper, is a new feature amongst the antiquities, in some respects probably unique in Europe. The large cinerary urn (p. 334) is, so far as the writer is aware, the first of its kind found in any cave in Europe.

The cave is on the property of Lord Erne, who gave permission to have it examined. A large portion of Knockninny Hill, however, belongs to J. G. V. Porter, Esq., of Belleisle, and it was at that gentleman’s instance, and with the aid of labourers provided by him, that the exploration was undertaken by Mr. Plunkett. Having met Mr. Plunkett in the previous June, whilst engaged in exploring some caves in the mountains west of Enniskillen, Mr. Porter asked him to make a preliminary inspection of the “fox-cave” at Knockninny, and ascertain if it was worth exploring: proposing to supply any labourers required. This invitation Mr. Plunkett accepted, and on a convenient day he proceeded to the cave, accompanied by two of Mr. Porter’s labourers.

The position of Knockninny Hill, geographically and geologically, is fully described in the Paper from which this is abstracted.



The engraving opposite shows the general appearance of Knockninny, and also the position of the entrance to the cave. It penetrates the escarpment in the south-west side of the hill, at an altitude of about 100 feet above the adjoining valley.



FIG. 2.—Entrance to Knockninny Cave.

In examining the rock adjoining the entrance, several feet of it were found to have crumbled away through atmospheric agencies. An excavation was made 6 feet outside the entrance, and, after removing a quantity of *debris*, charcoal, human remains, and animals' bones were found, and a little deeper the original floor of the cave.

The cave passes into the hill with a gentle curve for a distance of 10 feet, when it narrows to a width of 2 feet, and 4 feet high. Passing through this narrow door the cave immediately enlarges to a width of 10 feet, and 10 feet high; then, taking a sudden bend, passes out toward on a rocky shelf on the top of a precipitous rock. The distance from the east entrance to where it passes out in the west is 100 feet, and varies in height from 10 to 4 feet. These observations

apply to the cave when excavated. When progress had been made with the exploration a few feet inside the cave, on examining the strata, it was found to be composed of five distinct layers.

The upper stratum, varying in average depth from 12 in the east to 18 in the west, was entirely composed of small angular limestone. The next, of black mould averaging 16 in. in depth, contained traces of charcoal and some human and animal bones. The third consisted of a peculiar kind of brown compact earth, containing some angular blocks of limestone marked by fire. There were also found in it many fragments of rude unornamented pottery, with human and animal remains found scattered far apart. The fourth, of yellow clay, yielded traces of charcoal, with human and animal remains. The lowest stratum, resting on the rocky floor of the cavern, varying from 18 to 24 in. in depth, contained no human or animal remains, but, in the gravel imbedded in the sandy clay, on the surface were found the two rude flint implements, about 3 in. long, here delineated, from a drawing by Mr. Wakeman:—



FIGS. 3 and 4.—Flint Implements found in Knockninny Cave.

None of the material from which the flint flakes were manufactured is found in Fermanagh. Mr. Plunkett also found in the same bed of yellow clay human remains, including several portions of a skull, the hollow sides of which were filled with the material comprising the layer. After having brought these portions of skull out of the cave he picked out the clay, which was firmly packed in their hollow sides, and found it identical with the stratum from which they were taken. His object in going so minutely into detail is to show that these portions of skull could not possibly have fallen during the process of exploration from a higher stratum.

An exploration of the other end of the cave, opening out on a shelf on the top of a precipitous rock, led to the discovery, at a distance of

feet from the entrance, of a large cinerary urn, in the position here indicated :—



FIG. 5.—Knockninny Cave, with Cinerary Urn.

One of the men working here struck a large stone with the pick ; after it was removed, and clearing away the clay where it rested, the large cinerary urn was discovered, and unfortunately fractured. It (fig. 5) was inverted on a flag, and covered burnt human remains. The urn was packed in the recess in the rock with dry mould, and protected on the side next the cave with the large flag, which measured 2 feet 4 inches long, and 20 inches broad.

The bones found in the urn must have been subjected to powerful heat, as their contorted appearance indicated. From a Report made by Professors Haughton and Macalister it appears that the remains of two individuals were in the urn, one a well-marked male, the other smaller, probably a female. See *Pro. R.I.A.*, 2nd Ser., II., 481-2, with Figures 10 and 11, p. 483.

Near this niche were found fragments of a much smaller vessel, but with no traces of human remains in connexion with it. See an engraving of a fragment of it at p. 473 of Vol. II., 2nd Ser.

The large urn before referred to is now in the R. I. A. Museum.



FIG. 6.—Urn found in Knockninny Cave.

This urn was rudely, but very strongly formed, and composed of coarse material, apparently brick earth, and angular pebbles of small size. It stood $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 15 in diameter, and 47 round the neck; the



FIGS. 7 & 8.—Rim and Fragment of Urn from Knockninny Cave (half size).

rim was $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and the bottom (measured after it was fractured) 2 thick. It was almost devoid of ornamentation, except a few lines " " may have been scratched across the rim when the clay was soft.

[See next Paper.]

—SOME REMARKS ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF KNOCKNINNY, CO. FERMANAGH. By W. F. WAKEMAN.

[Read 8th of May, 1876.]

picturesque eminence of Knockninny, rising from the southern shore of Upper Lough Erne, at a distance of about 10 miles from Enniskillen, seems to have derived its name from some connexion with St. Ninnidh, a famous bishop who flourished contemporaneously with St. Columba, and whose principal establishment was on Inismacaint (anciently *Inis-muighe-samh*, or, as translated by Joyce—"the island of the plain of the sorrel,") lying in Lower Lough Erne at 9 miles below Enniskillen.

The hill gives its name to the barony in which it is situate, but the district presents no ancient church site, cross, or "station," and a beautiful ever-flowing well, situate upon the shore of the lake, does not appear to have been associated with the name of Ninnidh, or connected with that of any other saint.

Ninnidh may possibly have utilized this grassy "knock" for grazing agricultural purposes. The Erne river and lake was an easy, and in early times a safe, highway for curach, cot, or even ship; and we know that in early days it was not uncommon for important monastic establishments, like that of Inismacaint, to be endowed with lands and possessions lying at a considerable distance from the mother church. Thus as it may, we shall look, and look in vain, for the original site of a site which, from remains still to be seen upon its summit and slopes, there is every reason to believe must have been in pre-Christian times of no little account amongst the primitive tribes of the district. We find here, within a limited compass, three distinct classes of pagan sepulture, as exemplified in cairns, megalithic monuments, and cave, all of which may be respectively considered fine specimens of their class.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN KNOCKNINNY CAVE.


Having been personally allowed by Lord Erne (the owner of that portion of Knockninny upon which the cairns, already referred to, stand, in which the remarkable cavern which has been described by Mr. Plunkett is found), to make any explorations which might be deemed necessary, I proceeded to the hill in company with Mr. Plunkett, to whom, my colleague, I resigned the work at the cave, contenting myself with an examination of the "giants' graves," &c. Mr. Plunkett entered upon his task with great energy, and the success in an antiquarian point of view has been very considerable. It was not unusual with the pagans to be buried within the bounds of structures which they had occupied when living, but here I believe is the first instance on record (in this country at least) of sepulchral urns having been found in a natural cave which had been used by man as a dwelling. For a de-

scription of this unique cave and its contents, I beg to refer to Mr. Plunkett's recent Paper. [See preceding notice of it.]

THE CAERNS.

The cairns which occupy a position upon or adjoining the summit command a magnificent panorama extending over several counties, and nearly the whole of Upper Lough Erne and its almost countless islands. The very general selection during pagan times, in Erin, of commanding heights for sepulchral purposes may be accounted for in more ways than one. In the first place, during the period of cremation, cairn, stone-circle, and cromlech building, it is probable that memorials of the dead, whom the Celts delighted to honour, could best be discerned from a distance, most of the plains and glens being then *fassaghs* or wildernesses of co-mingled loch, bog, and forest, or tangled underwood. In the second place, we read in our oldest manuscripts of warriors desiring their bodies, armed as for battle, to be buried in a position facing their enemies; and some very curious legends are yet extant which more or less illustrate the old pagan idea that, at times, a dead and interred hero was nevertheless still more potent for victory than a host of spear-hurling chariot-driving *righs*, well followed, and commanded by a leader whose sword "ne'er gave a second wound."

It is to be regretted that the names of the Knockninny cairns have been lost, as with them, doubtlessly, have been lost the names of individuals who had made their mark in the history of the north of Erin. The cairns, three in number, though not very grand in their proper dimensions, nevertheless acquire some degree of dignity from the fact of their builders having raised them upon natural elevations, with which their contour, generally, more or less coincides. These piles, though lost to history, may not yet be barren to archæology, as in the outer shell of both, enclosed in cists, urns containing burned bones have been found. Unfortunately these have been lost, and we have no evidence as to the character of their contents. During the course of last summer a partial exploration of these cairns was made



The cromleac afford, there can be no question. In many parts of Ireland may be seen rude structures of stone, of an oblong form, and just sufficiently large to contain a human body. This early style of grave was usually covered by one or more large flat stones, and would appear to have suggested the true cromleac. From the latter, no doubt, has been derived or developed the dolmen, or as our people usually style such monuments, "giants' graves." From these again there is but a step to what may be considered the highest development of pagan sepulchral architecture, as found in western Europe. I allude, of course, to the tumuli of the Boyne and to those on Sliabh-na-mallighe, in the county of Cavan. A question has long been agitated amongst antiquaries, whether the "giants' graves" are not merely the skeletons of chambered tumuli. Mr. G. A. Lebour, in "*Nature*," May 9, 1872, presents some striking remarks illustrative of this subject. In referring to the principal dolmens and tumuli of Finistère, he says:—"In most cases in that department, the dolmens occupy situations in every respect similar to those in which the tumuli are found, so that meteorological, and indeed every other but human agencies, must have affected both in the same degree. Notwithstanding this, the dolmens are invariably bare, and the kists are as constantly covered; there are no signs of even incipient degradation and denudation in the latter, and none of former covering in the first. It would be unwarrantable to suppose that, had the dolmens been uncovered by human beings, no vestiges of the mounds would remain, or that this perfect and unaccountable removal of material being allowed, the skeleton, *i.e.*, the part containing the most useful stones, should be left unscattered. There is, however, a more important point of difference between the dolmens and the barrow kists—namely, that in the chambered tumuli there is almost always present a floor-stone—a part of the structure which I have never seen at the base of any of the dolmens of the region in question. And there can in their case be no chance of removal, as the floor-stone would necessarily be the last to remain in its place. The dolmens again, as a rule, were evidently erected with no attempt at nice adjustment of the sides or top, whereas tokens of some care and trouble are to be found in the way in which most of the entombed kists are built."

All that Mr. Lebour has said of the dolmens, &c., of Finistère applies to similar megalithic groups found in Ireland; yet, some of our most accomplished antiquaries hold the opinion that *all* our cromleacs and dolmens, great and small, were anciently thus covered. That such was not the case with very many examples is abundantly proved. We have, for instance, in the county of Cavan, not far from the village of Blacklion, three truly magnificent so-called "giants' graves," the larger of which measures 47 feet in length, by about 10 in breadth. Near it is a cromleac, the covering stone of which measures 15 feet 5 inches, by 15 feet in breadth. Almost immediately adjoining occur stone-circles, a "rocking-stone," and a large number of "gallauns" or pillar stones. These monuments were certainly never covered.

The locality is a perfect wilderness, abounding in stone, so that there was no temptation to any one to invade them. Immediately adjoining is a beautiful miniature Newgrange, its chambers intact, and its cairn almost perfect, as it has suffered less from the denuding influence of time than from the operations of rabbit-hunting boys. Why should this tumulus remain almost perfect, while the neighbouring dolmens and cromleacs (supposing they had been ever mound-enclosed) are found cleanly and completely denuded? The principal Knockninny "giants' grave" or dolmen measures 49 feet in length, by 6 feet in average breadth. It extends as nearly as possible N. W. and S. E., and is composed of about twenty-five sandstone slabs. There is no trace of any covering. The interior is divided by stone partitions into three chambers, all of which were found to contain portions of human skeletons, largely mixed with bones of oxen, sheep, and other mammals. The bones, it should be observed, do not appear to have been subjected to the action of fire, although some small pieces of charcoal were found with them. They lay in utter disorder, and at various depths. Canon Greenwell, who has devoted much attention to the exploration of barrows of the Stone age, as found spreading over the wolds of Yorkshire, is of opinion that many of the remains which they held showed indications of cannibalism having been practised; and Dr. Thurnam, another high authority on the subject of British barrows, "sees no difficulty in acceding to the conclusion of Mr. Greenwell—that in the disjointed, cleft, and broken condition of the human bones in many of the long barrows, especially in those examined by him in Scambridge, near Ebberstone, and near Rudstone, Yorkshire, we have indications of funeral feasts, where slaves, captives, and others, were killed and eaten." Are we to look on these Knockninny bones as the remains of a funeral feast?

The second "giants' grave," situate at a considerable distance from that just described, has been greatly ruined, and need not be referred to at any length.

No notice of Knockninny would be complete without some par-

V.—ON A MS. VOLUME OF LIVES OF SAINTS—CHIEFLY IRISH—NOW IN PRIMATE MARSH'S LIBRARY, DUBLIN, COMMONLY CALLED THE "CODEX KILKENNIENSIS." By the VERY REV. WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., Dean of Armagh, V. P., R. I. A.

[Read 25th of January, 1875.]

THERE are three compilations which, in past days, have been distinguished by the title of "Book of Armagh"—the first, that which, *per excellence*, bears the name, and which happily still exists in almost its original integrity; the second, that which Geoffry Keating more than once cites in his "History of Ireland,"* under the title *Leabhar Ardmac*, and which appears to have been a collection of bardic and genealogical materials; the third, a volume of Irish hagiology, from which, under the title of *Codex Ardmachanus*, the *Collectanea Sacra* of Patrick Fleming† largely draws. It is the last of these which forms the subject of the present paper.

At p. 303 of the work just named is the "Vita S. Comgalli, ex MS. Codice Ardmacano transcripta." At p. 368, "Vita S. Moluæ seu Luani abbatis, ex MS. Codice Ardmachano nunc primum in lucem edita." At p. 380, "S. Mochoemogi seu Pulcherii abbatis vita, ex MS. Cod. Ardmachano." There are besides, at pp. 313–315 extracts from the Vitæ S. Coemgeni, S. Cannici, S. Carthagi seu Mochuddæ, S. Munna seu Fintani; and again at pp. 432, 433, 436, and 437, further extracts from the same manuscript. In one place, p. 125 *b*, the writer describes an extract as "Ex MS. Cod. Armac. vel Dublinensi." Further on, he casually informs the reader‡ of the depository where this manuscript was preserved at the time these various extracts were made, where he makes honourable mention of the services of Father Francis Matthews, who, about the year 1626, with great pains and diligence, caused transcripts to be made of two manuscript volumes on parchment, one of which belonged to the Church of

* See Haliday's Keating, pp. xevi., 120, 304; also O'Mahony's translation pp. lxi., 83, 208, 412. The latter Editor, however, in his note, p. lxii., ignorantly confounds the authority referred to by Keating with the Canon Phadrug, whose contents are altogether of another class.

† Published by Thomas Sirinus, Lovanii, 1667.

‡ His words are: "Quæ cum aliis plurium Sanctorum Hiberniæ Legendis, quas S. P. Franciscus Matthæus, nunc Collegii nostri Guardianus, et nuper Provincialis Minorum nostræ Provinciæ circa annum 1626, summo studio ac diligentia, ex duobus MSS. voluminibus pergamineis (quorum unum ad Ecclesiam Ardmachanam vel Dubliniensem spectat, et in Bibliotheca Jacobi Usserii, ex ordinatione Regis Angliæ, Primatis Ardmachani, asservatur; alterum ad Insulam quæ *omnium Sanctorum dicitur* pertinet) transsumi curavit, ac ad Collegium nostrum transmitti, vel hoc nomine de afflictæ Hiberniæ antiquitatibus optime meritis." *Collect. Sac.* s. 431. See also p. 438 *b*. This Francis Matthews, who assumed the name of Edmundus Ursulanus, was executed at Cork in 1644 for alleged conspiracy. See Cox, *Hib. Anglican.*, ii. p. 143; Harris' Ware, vol. ii., *Irish Writers*, p. 119.

Armagh or Dublin, and was at the time in the library of James Ussher, Primate of Ireland by the appointment of the King of England; the other to the Island of All Saints; which copies were sent over to "our College," that is, of Louvain. Thus we learn that the copious extracts which were described by Fleming as borrowed from the *Codex Ardmachanus* were derived from a parchment or vellum manuscript in Archbishop Ussher's collection; but twice he wavers between Armagh and Dublin, as its source, though on every other occasion he designates it as of Armagh. Ussher probably obtained it there, as he did the great manuscript Antiphonaries which are still preserved in his library. Besides this, he had a second manuscript collection of "Lives of Irish Saints," which he occasionally refers to in the 17th chapter of his "Antiquities of the British Churches," when treating of the early Irish ecclesiastics. This still exists in his library, preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, Cod. E. 3, 11, and it appears by some scribbling on some of the pages to have previously belonged to John Dillone, and it may have been procured by Ussher when he was Bishop of Meath; but there is not a trace of his handwriting throughout the volume, which, in the order of its contents, agreed almost exactly with his other manuscript, which is now preserved in Archbishop Marsh's library, under the press mark V. 3, 1, 4. In the Catalogue it is marked, and has often been quoted, as the *Codex Kilkenniensis*.* This name, however, is of comparatively modern origin, having been suggested by the late George Downes, who, finding in it the lives of several of the saints whose acts are printed by Colgan, from a manuscript designated by that title, as having belonged to the Franciscan Convent of Kilkenny (Conventus Fratrum Minorum Kill Cannie), concluded that this was the identical volume so referred to, and accordingly reported on it as such. But on closer examination it has been found that, though all the seven lives printed by Colgan from the *Codex Kilkenniensis* are contained in this book, and agree in the main, there are yet discrepancies sufficient to show that Colgan's matter was derived from a different exemplar. This name, therefore, had better be abandoned, and its true name, *Codex Ardmachanus*, be reimposed upon it.

Above twenty years ago I mentioned to the late Marquis of Ormonde my objections to the title *Codex Kilkenniensis*, and he accepted my statement in the preface to his *Vita Sancti Kannechi*, p. vi. In 1857 I had occasion, in the preface to my edition of Adamnan's Life of S. Columba, to speak of this manuscript, and protested against the name *Book of Kilkenny*, suggesting that "*Codex Ardmachanus* was more likely to be its correct designation;" and I adduced evidence to prove that the life of S. Columba in that

* See Petrie's Tara, in Transact. R.I.A., vol. xviii., p. 127; Petrie's Round Towers, p. 169.

† See pp. xxvi., 6, 9.

volume is the identical one which Ussher spoke of as "MS. meus," and "MS. quo usus sum codice."*

Further, this manuscript contains in various parts short marginal notes, written in that peculiarly minute and delicate hand which Land described as his "small close hand,"† and which any one conversant with his writing will unhesitatingly recognise as his. How or when this volume passed into its present depository is unknown; possibly it is one of the many books which were stolen while the Archbishop's library was stored in the Castle of Dublin previous to the accession of Charles II. (See Ussher's Life, by Elrington, p. 303.)

I shall now produce my *argumentum crucis* to prove that this manuscript is the *Codex Ardmachanus* of Fleming. In the 17th section of the "Life of Saint Comgallus," at fol. 91 *ba*, near the foot, an account is given of some thieves and robbers who carried off the vegetables and fruit of the brethren, of which they complained to their abbot, saying, "Laboramus frustra pater, quia labor noster nec fratribus nec hospitibus prodest, tollentes malifici illud a nobis." So it is in the Trinity College MS.,‡ and so it was written *prima manu* in the Marsh manuscript. This was in conformity with the construction often observable in the rustic Latin of Irish hagiology, where the nominative absolute is used instead of the ablative. But a later hand, desiring to improve the Latinity of the passage, altered *tollentes malifici* into *tollentibus malificis* thus:—

69
tollentes malificis illud a nobis,

putting the *dele* mark under the *es* in 'tollentes,' and writing the contracted *bus* over it, inserting also a slender *s* at the end of 'malifici.'

But strange to say, the scribe, who in 1626 copied this piece for Fleming—whether Francis Mathews, or a person employed by him—so far forgot himself as not only to read the correction as intended, but also to regard the interlineation 69, *bus*, as the numeral 69, and he accordingly took down the words, as they appear in Fleming's printed text, and nowhere else—"tollentibus sexaginta novem malificis illud a nobis."§

This was a large band, indeed, for one neighbourhood, and, what is ludicrously remarkable, counted so accurately as not to deal in whole numbers, although the outrage had been committed in the dark; unless we suppose that the country about Bangor was infested by a gang of sixty-nine, like Ali Baba and the forty thieves!

* Ussher's Works, vol. vi., pp. 236, 415.

† Letter to the Lord Deputy (Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., p. 24).

‡ E. 3. 11. fol. 58 *ab*.

§ Collectanea, p. 306 *b*.

The truth is that *sexaginta novem* is an unwarrantable and absurd interpolation, which can be accounted for only by some misapprehension of the text; and the manuscript affords a most amusing solution, in that it exhibits the contraction of the syllable *bns* in such a form that the copyist took it to be the numeral 69.

This noble manuscript has the folios numbered in a hand of the commencement of the seventeenth century. The numeration extends to 158 folios;* but 32 had perished at the beginning, before the volume was bound in its present form, which was about a hundred and fifty years ago. At that time the leaves were cropped at front, top, and bottom, so that the original dimensions of $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches have been reduced to their present size of $13\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. However, the binder's plough was not so ruthlessly employed on this book as on the Book of Kells in Trinity College, where venerable Irish charters were unsparingly mutilated for the sake of producing a clean face; for in this manuscript the marginal notes, which ran close to the edge, were spared, and folded over, and thus escaped the trimming to which the blank spaces were subjected.

The writing is in double columns, each measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with an average of 44 lines. These are in this paper indicated by the letters *a* and *b*, which also indicate the "recto" (*a*) and "verso" (*b*) of each page. It appears to belong to a late period in the fourteenth century, but not to be all in the same hand. The form of the letters is not Irish, except occasionally in proper names, and where Irish words are introduced, but rather in the monastic style of the day. All the saints whose lives go to compose the volume are Irish, except St. Antony of Padua, and his, though imperfect, is the opening one of the volume as it now stands; suggesting the idea that the compilation was made for the use of some Franciscan house.

The following is a catalogue of the contents, in their existing order:—

1. Vita S. Antonii [de Padua], commences fol. 33 *a a*, ends 34 *b b*.

ta S. Edani sive Maedhog, episcopi et confessoris, fols. 51 *ba*

quidam vir nobilis in regionibus connachtorum nomine sethna et nomen
(ethne de semine amhlaygh."

is St. Maidoc or Mogue, of Ferns, whose day is the 31st
ry. Colgan has printed a similar life in his *Acta Sanctorum*
208. There is a foot-note in Irish at fol. 51 *b*, in a good
ish hand, beginning,—*Ṣṁṁṁṁṁṁ. mo ṁṁṁ ṁṁṁ*, and followed
digree.

ta S. Brendani, abbatis et confessoris, fols. 56 *ba* to 64 *bb*.

us est beatissimus brendanus abbas in zepharia mumensi plaça in
di dicitur kyarraghi. cujus pater findluag nomine

edigree is at the foot, in the same Irish hand as in the last,
throughout the genealogical foot-notes of the book. The *Navigium*
fol. 57 *ba*. This is St. Brendan, founder and patron saint
rt, whose day is the 16th of May.

ita S. Coemhgeni, episcopi et confessoris, fols. 64 *bb* to

erat in provincia luginensium que est quinta pars hybernie in plebe viz.
orb. cuius nomen dicebatur coemlogha."

the foot is his pedigree. This is St. Kevin of Glendalough,
y is the 3rd of June.

ta S. Molyng, episcopi et confessoris, fols. 70 *ba* to 74 *aa*.

australi luginensium plaça que dicitur kennselach.
ir vite venerabilis nomine molyng, pater oilain* dicebatur."

edigree is at the bottom of the page. This is St. Moling of
whose day is the 17th of June.

ta S. Fintani, abbatis et confessoris, fols. 74 *aa* to 76 *ba*.

tus abbas fintanus vir vite venerabilis de provincia luginensium ori-
pater eius vocabatur crymthann mater vero findnat."

n has printed,† from the (veritable) Codex Kilkenniensis, a life
this, but it gives *Gabhrenus* as the father's name,‡ and this
ation is sufficient to prove that our manuscript was not
exemplar.

ta S. Senani, episcopi et confessoris, fols. 76 *ba* to 80 *ab*.

ex nobilibus | procreatur parentibus | et ab ipsis cunabulis | fidelibus
| qui magni dei gratia | habebantur in scothia | Quorum hec sunt voca-
anus et coemgella."

* *Ṣṁṁṁṁṁṁ*, in the pedigree at foot. The initial consonant is omitted in
e of phonetic spelling.

Sanctorum Hiberniæ, p. 349.

e pedigree at the foot of fol. 74 *aa*, his descent is thus given:—*Fintan*
tein mic Conccain mic cnai; and in the margin opposite *crymthann*
is written *Ṣṁṁṁṁṁṁ*. See Colgan's note, *Act. SS.* p. 353 *b*, n. 2.

a Liadhain matre sancti Kiarani sic dicta." This is St. Ciaran of Saighir, or Seirkieran, in King's County, whose festival is the 5th of March, at which day Colgan has printed, from the "Codex Kill-Kennensis," a life of this saint almost identical with the present.*

18. Vita S. Ythe virginis, fols. 109 *ba* to 112 *ba*.

"De vita et miraculis beatissime virginis yte aliquam commemorationem breviter enarrare cupimus."

Her pedigree is at the foot. Colgan has printed her life, from the Codex Kilkennensis, which is almost the same in this.† St. Ita is commemorated at the 15th of January, under which name she is the patron saint of Killeedy; and under Mida, its devotional form, of Kilmeady, both in the county of Limerick.

19. Vita S. Molue, abbatis et confessoris, fols. 112 *ba* to 116 *ab*.

"Fuit vir vite venerabilis de provincia mumenie de regione huafigenti de plebe corcoiche cuius pater vocabatur carthach sed vulgo coche dicitur mater vero eius sochla .i. larga dicebatur."

His pedigree is at foot. This life is printed from this manuscript in Fleming's Collectanea, under this title: "Vita S. Molue seu Luani abbatis et confessoris ab anonymo sed fideli et antiquo authore conscripta ex MS. codice Ardmachano nunc primum in lucem edita."‡ This is St. Molua of Kyle, otherwise Clonfertmulloe, whose day is the 4th of August.

20. Vita S. Laurentii archiepiscopi Dublinensis, fols. 116 *ab* to 124 *aa*.

"Dilectus igitur deo et hominibus sacerdos dei pontifex Laurentius."

This life was written by a monk of Augia, or Eu, in Normandy, where the saint died in 1180. At fol. 121 *ab* is his *Canonizatio*.§ This is St. Laurence O'Toole, of Dublin, whose day is the 14th of November.

21. Vita S. Cainnici abbatis, fols. 124 *aa* to 127 *ab*.



near 1848, published for private distribution a life of this saint, preserved in the Codex Salmanticensis at Brussels, with the various readings of our manuscript. This is Canice, who is patron saint of, and gives name to, Kilkenny; and his day is the 11th of October.

22. Vita S. Munnu abbatis, fols. 127 *ab* to 129 *bb*.

"Erat vir vite venerabilis nomine munnu de claro genere hybernie sc. de nepotibus neill cuius pater vocabatur Tulchanus . . . mater nominatur fedhelyn."

His pedigree, of only five generations, is at the foot. In the margin of fol. 127 *ab* is written, in a comparatively modern hand, $\frac{1}{4} \frac{8}{8} \frac{9}{9}$. This is St. Finntan, otherwise Munna, of Clonenagh and Taghmon, whose day is the 21st of October.

23. Vita S. Colmani abbatis, fols. 129 *ba* to 132 *ba*.

"Fuit vir vite venerabilis Colmanus nomine de nobili genere hybernie sc. de nepotibus neill pater eius beogne vocabatur."

At folio 131 *bb*, opposite the name *Cluayn cayn* (now Clonkeen), is written *prima manu* in the margin, "Ista cella cluayn cain est juxta Dubliniam."* This is St. Colman Ela, or Colmanell, of Lynally, whose day is the 26th of September.

24. Vita S. Barri, episcopi et confessoris, fols. 132 *ba* to 134 *ab*.

"Sanctus dei electus atque dignus pontifex barrus de gente connachthorum."

His pedigree is at the foot. In the margin of fol. 133 *aa* is written, "S. Barrus et S. Locanus idem."

This life is printed from our manuscript by Dr. Richard Caulfield, in his "*Life of Saint Fin Barre*," 4to., Lond., 1864.

This is St. Finnbar of Cork, whose day is the 25th of September.

25. Vita S. Edi, episcopi et confessoris, fols. 134 *ab* to 135 *ab*.

"Beatissimus edus episcopus filius bricht de nobiliori hybernie genere .i. de nomine Cuind .c. cathaidh."

His pedigree of four generations is at the foot. At fol. 134 *aa*, opposite *Cuind .c. cathaidh*, is written by Ussher, "al. Cuind Cedcathi," i. e., Conn of the Hundred Battles. Colgan has printed, from the Codex Kilkennensis, a life of the saint substantially the same as the present.†

This is Aedh mac Bric, of Killare, vulgarly called St. Hugh Breaky, whose day is variously placed at the 28th of February, the 4th of May, and the 10th of November.‡ Colgan has adopted the first, but the last is preferable.

* The very same note, and in the same manner, and at the same place, is written *prima manu* in this saint's life contained in the MS. E. 3. 11., T. C. D.

† Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae, p. 418.

‡ See the note in the Martyrology of Donegal, p. 311.

26. Vita S. Albei archiepiscopi et confessoris, fols. 135 *ab* to 138 *ba*. Fol. 137 has been cut out.

"Albeus episcopus virorum mumentium pater beatissimus et tocius hybernie insule post sanctum patricium secundus patronus ex orientali parte regionis elyach pater olenais [mater] Sandith."

Opposite *Sandith*, Ussher has written in the margin, "al. MS. Sanctit."* Sant is the name in the Irish Calendar. In the margin of fol. 130 *ab* is written, "12 Colmani, 12 Coemgenii, 12 Fintani." In fol. 138 *ab* there is an Irish rann or stanza, with an interlinear Latin translation in very minute writing, but *prima manu*. It is exactly the same, but more distinct, in the T. C. D. manuscript, E. 3. 11, fol. 135 *aa*, as follows:—

"1. Ne invenias cor tuum ad perjurium et posside tun .i. veritatem .i. depone a te
 Do neiteach nippne cor : 7 realbaso for cun norcuch
 morbos peccatorum commissorum .i. preterita mitiga et diminue et plange in cella tua.
 ochar tapt nangaba. reach minni oe anrealia."†

27. Vita S. Abbani abbatis, fols. 138 *ba* to 144 *bb*.

"In occidentali plaga tocius orbis est insula posita cuius nomen hybernia dicitur pater vocabatur connacus qui erat rex lagingensium mater autem eius vocabatur mella."

His pedigree is at the foot, commencing, Δβάν μοιγε πατρις. At fol. 138 *bb* is a stanza in Irish, opposite which is written in the margin, πανν ανηρο; and another, with a translation. At fol. 141 *ba*, opposite Cul colling, in the text, is written in the margin "Kilcullen."‡ At fol. 142 *ab*, opposite "Ego autem qui vitam beatissimi patris abbani collegi et scripsi sum nepos ipsius filii quem sanctus Abbanus baptissavit," is written in the margin, "Hic author se declaravit floruit ante mille annos." Colgan has printed, "ex MS. membraneo Codice Kilkenniensi," this life entitled "Vita S. Abbani de Magharnuidhe."§

This is St. Abban of Moyarney, in the county of Wexford, and of Killabban, in Queen's County, whose day is the 16th of March.

1 beati Malachie archiepiscopi Ardmachani, secundum
fols. 148 *ab* to end.

r quidem" &c.*

St. Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair, commonly called St. Mal-
air, whose day is the 3rd of November.

conclude this paper I may mention that the manuscript
have already alluded, that of Trinity College Library,
closely allied to the present one, not only as having been
in Ussher's possession and employed by him, but in its
text, and the order of its contents. Like our manuscript,
on vellum, in double columns, but in a hand rather earlier,
regular and elegant. The ink has generally assumed a
red, and with artificial light is very trying to the eyes. It
was written by Mullen, in the dark age of Trinity College
Library; previously suffered greatly in the loss of many of its
pages, but what remains is very valuable, and, with two exceptions, is
like our manuscript in matter and arrangement, as may be
seen by the following comparison of the contents:—

<i>ss. Armachanus.</i>	<i>Codex E. 3. 11, T.C.D.</i>	
ita S. Antonii de Padua.	. . . . .
ita S. Flannani.	. . . . .	[Chasm in the manuscript.]
ita S. Columbæ.	. . . . .
ita S. Edani.	. . . . .
ita S. Brendani.	S. Brendanus.	
ita S. Coemgeni.	. . . . .
ita S. Molyng.	. . . . .	[Chasm.]
ita S. Fintani.	. . . . .
ita S. Senani.	. . . . .
ita S. Moccoemog.	S. Mochoemoc.	
ita S. Finiani.	S. Finanus.	
ita S. Ruadani.	S. Ruadanus.	
ita S. Cronani.	S. Cronanus.	
ita S. Comgalli.	S. Comgallus.	
ita S. Carthagi.	S. Carthagus.	
ita S. Declani.	S. Declanus.	
ita S. Kyarani.	S. Kiaranus.	
ita S. Ythe.	. . . . .	[Chasm.]
ita S. Moluc.	S. Molua.	
ita S. Laurentii.	S. Laurentius.	
ita S. Cainnici.	. . . . .	[Chasm.]
ita S. Munnu.	S. Munnu.	
ita S. Colmani.	S. Colmanus.	
ita S. Barri.	S. Barrus.	
ita S. Edi.	S. Edus.	
	S. Ludovicus.	
	S. Anthonius de Padua.	
ita S. Albei.	S. Albeus.	
ita S. Abbani.	S. Abbanus.	
ita S. Kiarani.	. . . . .	[Chasm.]
ita B. Malachie.	. . . . .

by St. Bernard is printed in all the editions of his Works, and is
also in Messingham's Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum, p. 352. See the
Lives of the Saints of O'Morgair, by Rev. John O'Hanlon, 8vo., Dublin, 1859, p. 5.

Thus it appears that the only two variations are, that the life of St. Antony is No. 1 in our manuscript, whereas it is now No. 17 in the other, and that the Life of St. Lewis exists in the latter, though omitted by the former. But with the exception of a few differences in orthography, the remaining matter is identical in both. This introduction of the St. Lewis, of the order of St. Francis, Bishop of Toulouse, in addition to that of St. Antony, is strong evidence that this manuscript, as well as the other, was compiled for the use of a Minorite house, and the strong probability is that both were copied from a common original, also belonging to a house of the same order. The Codex Kilkenniensis of Colgan likewise belonged to a Franciscan house, and it evidently was very much akin to our manuscript, indicating three emanations from one library. In this they differ widely from the other three great repertories of Irish hagiology, the Codex Salmanticensis of Brussels,* and the two Oxford volumes, which went to England in the Clarendon collection, and being subsequently purchased at public sale, were bequeathed by the buyer, under whose name they are now classed *Rawlinson*, B. 485 and 505, in the Bodleian Library.†

* For a list of the contents of this MS., which once belonged to the Irish College at Salamanca, see our *Proceedings*, vol. iii. p. 498.

† For a list of the contents of these two MSS., see Macray's *Catalogi Codd. MSS. Bibl. Bodleianæ*, pt. v. fascic. 1, cols. 702 and 723.

VI.—THREE ADDITIONAL NOTES ON OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS AT MONATAGGART, CO. CORK. Communicated by SAMUEL FERGUSON, LL. D., Q. C., V. P. R. I. A.

(In continuation from page 297.)

[Read 25th January, 1875].

I. By JOHN RHYS, M. A., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.

Writing on the subject of the second and third Monattaggart texts, Mr. Rhys says:—

The reading "*Dalagni Magi Dali*" chimes in very satisfactorily with the diminutive force of *agn*, and its subsequent use as a patronymic perhaps: cf. Gaulish *eni* (genitive), and *-enos* nominative, as in *Drutis* and *Drutienos* (I am quoting from memory). I would not identify *Dalagni* with *Talagni*, for I see no reason why the two should not have co-existed. The latter is, in Welsh, *Talan*. As to the other inscription, it is, of course, very much harder. I would treat \times here and in some other inscriptions as a mere word divider, or as the Christian \dagger preceding names in the 8th, 9th, or 10th centuries. Then in case the strokes number five, are you sure that you could or should not read *grenalugos*? ("the tomb) of Broinienna, the grandson of holy Crenagh (or of Netaqrenalugos)?" But the query then would be as to the name *Qrenalugos*. As to *neta*, I take it to be equivalent to *netta*, and mean *pure*, *clean*, or the like, as I connect it with *Welsh nith-io*, to sow corn; if so, *Nettalami* would mean pure-handed or clean-handed. Here, as the name is already a compound, I should take it as a qualifying epithet. I consider the Irish word *oi* (modern *o*, genitive *ui* or *i*), as having once begun with a *p*, but that *p* is believed to have disappeared before the separation of the Gauls and Goidelo-Kimric Celts; so one could not consider \times as standing for *p*.

The genitive *oi* goes a considerable way to show that *mucoi* (Welsh *maewy*, 'a young man, a groom'), is a compound of it and another word: it appears in MS. old Irish as *mocu*, *macu*, resolved later into *mac ui*. What I have said above of *neta* is hypothetical. There are other ways of attempting its explanation, especially by reference to *cath*, 'battle,' and *Neid*, the god of the ancient Irish.

II. By the REV. DANIEL H. HAIGH, D. D., Erdington.

Mr. Haigh observes:—There are clearly but two ways of reading the legend:—

Broinienas	{	poinetat Trenalugos.
	{	poineta Ttrenalugos.

I should like to see the *Broinienas* legend, before I say my thought about the first word; and with regard to the second, I would remark that the alien words, naturalized in the Irish language, must not be all regarded as of Latin origin, but may be partly Greek. Thus *tre-datu* is nearer of kin to *triad-s* than to *trinitat-s*. Greek-speaking missionaries brought Christianity first to Britain; and, from Britain either they or their disciples carried it over to Ireland. Under the auspices of these, some Greek words would be naturalized in Britain, and in Ireland. Later, the Latin speakers, Palladius and Patricius, would introduce some Latin words. Now the word *poineta* or *poinetat* is strikingly like with *πενήτης*, on the one hand, and *penit-ent-s* on the other. But then you say that you have seen a cast of an inscription in which *poi* is manifestly a distinct word; and from this, *poi-nds* might be a derivation (diminution or otherwise). Thus I could attach myself to your theory, that *poi-net-at* is a derivation from the Latin, the Irish *at* representing its Latin equivalent *ent*, and so that this legend commemorates, '— penitent Trenalugos;' but with reserves.

Of the thousands of Christian epitaphs which remain from the primitive times, there is not one which names any one of these classes, and I cannot recognise your *glunlegget* as belonging to the third. Like all the other *gluns* we know, I should fancy this was a soubriquet be-

III. By WHITLEY STOKES, LL. D., M. R. I A., Calcutta.

The Monataggart inscription is interesting, and (I doubt not) rightly transliterated. Cannot the *gg* of *-legget* be read *lenget*, as in Greek γγ is = νγ? Thus *dosreggat* for *dosrengat* occurs in the *Liber Hymnorum*, fol. 21 b. top margin. In the Book of Armagh, 17, b. 1, *dir-róggel*, 186. 1, and *nuggabad* stand for *dir-ró-n-chel*, *nu-n-gabad*; and Mr. Hennessy can doubtless supply many other instances. In the *len-get* or *-slenget* which we thus get, we may possibly have the Old Irish cognate of the Teutonic *slingan* 'torquere,' and *glán(s)lenget* would seem to have been a name or a nickname, meaning one whose knees were (or whose knee was) twisted. Compare the Latin name *Varus* 'knock-kneed.' I merely throw this out as a conjecture for consideration. I think that in the modern Irish *léigim* 'I cast' (= O. Ir. *léicimm*:—cf. *dol-léici* 'he cast,' LH., *tar-laic* LL) initial *p* = Teutonic *f*, has been lost as usual, and that the word is identical with the English *fling*, Old Norse *flangia*. This, of course, has no connexion whatever with the Latin *lego*.

As to the proposed reading of *legget* as *lenget*, it may be worth noting that *gg* = *ng* is very common in Old and Middle Welsh: e. g., *loggau*, 'naves' (*longau*, Ir. *luing*), *Lyggesauc* (= *Lyngesauc* for *longgrech*). See more in Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, Edn. Ebel, p. 117.

Of the practice of disguising words by the introduction of arbitrary ingredients, there are, I think, at least three examples in the *Amra Choluimbchille*, to wit:

<i>Col-úa-in</i>	} = <i>Coluin</i> 'flesh.'
<i>per metathesim</i>	
<i>Con-ua-it</i>	

an-ua-im = *anim*, 'soul.'

In a poem contained in a note to the Féilire, Jan. 15, we find
uas-uo-an, 'above us.'

In the notes on the *Amra*, contained in *Lebor na Huidra*, fol. 7 a, are several examples of the disguising words by the addition of a word or a syllable. Those are *ten-d*, 'fire'; *terc-da*, *gand-on* ("on" *hic exemitur*, says the glossographer) and *ann-ón*. In the poem above referred to we find *dothisat-an*.

- [LVII.—ON TWO NEW DEPOSITS OF HUMAN AND OTHER BONES DISCOVERED IN THE CAVE OF DUNMORE, CO. KILKENNY. By EDWARD T. HARDMAN, F. G. S., F. R. G. S. I.]

[Read 22nd of February, 1875.]

REFERENCE NOTE.


This paper, with an illustrative plate (No. 18), and a descriptive list of the bones found, is printed in the Science portion of the "Proceedings"—2nd Ser., Vol. II., pp. 168-176.

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- [LVIII.—ON THE EXPLORATION OF BALLYBETAGH BOG, CO. DUBLIN. By RICHARD J. MOSS.]

[Read 10th of April, 1876.]

REFERENCE NOTE.

This paper, with a list of the bones of *Cervus Megaceros*, found in the cuttings made at Ballybetagh, is printed in the Science division of the "Proceedings"—2nd Ser., Vol. II., pp. 547-552.



LIX.—ON THE CEREMONIAL TURN, CALLED "DESIUL." By SAMUEL FERGUSON, Q.C., LL.D., V.P.

[Read June 12, 1876.]

I would preface what I propose to say by adducing a fable, hitherto, I believe, unexplained, from Hyginus (Fab. ccv.) :—

"Arge, a huntress, pursuing a stag, said, 'Although thou followest the course of the Sun, yet will I follow thee;' at which the Sun, being displeased, changed her into a doe."

[Arge venatrix, cum cervum sequeretur, cervo dixisse fertur: Tu licet Solis cursum sequaris, tamen te consequar. Sol, iratus, in cervam eam convertit.]

Ovid has not dignified this fable by admitting it into his *Metamorphoses*; and Arge's offence remains only thus obscurely indicated. We shall find its explanation here in the west of Europe; but will better approach it by the way of some further illustration from the Classics.

Plutarch, in his *Lives*, relates the following incident, which happened to Marcellus when he led the Roman Legions against the Gauls, under their king Viridomarus :—

"He was now advancing to the charge, when his horse, terrified with the shouts of the Gauls, turned short and forcibly carried him back. Marcellus, fearing that this, interpreted by superstition, should cause some wonder in his troops, quickly pulled the rein, and, turning his horse again towards the enemy, paid his adorations to the sun, as if that movement had been made, not by accident but design, for the Romans always turn round when they worship the Gods."

[Ἦδη δὲ πῶς εἰς ἐμβολὴν ἐπιστρέφοντος αὐτοῦ, συντυγχάνει τὸν ἵππον πυρρέντα τῇ γαυρότητι τῶν πολεμίων ἀποτραπέσθαι καὶ βίᾳ φέρειν ὀπίσω τὸν Μάρκελλον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο δέσας, μὴ ταραχὴν ἐκ δεισιδαιμονίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεργῶσθαι, ταχὺ περισπᾶσας ἐφ' ἥντιν τῷ χαλινῷ, καὶ περιστρέψας τὸν ἵππον ἐναντίον τοῖς πολεμίοις, τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸς προσεκύνησεν, ὥς δὴ μὴ κατὰ τύχην ἀλλ' ἐνεκα τούτου τῇ περιγυγῇ χρησάμενος, οὕτω γὰρ ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις προσκυθεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς περιτρέφοντους.]

If we inquire how it was that Marcellus, in his career, performed the ceremonial of worshipping the sun, we may refer again to the same source, where, in his *Life of Numa*, Plutarch,—after stating that the Pythagoreans place the element of fire in the centre of the Universe, supposing the earth "not to be without motion, nor situated in the centre of the world, but to make its revolution round the sphere of fire,"—goes on to say, "Many of his institutions resemble those of Pythagoras; as, *inter alia*, to turn round when you worship;" and adds—

"The turning round in adoration is said to represent the circular motion of the world. But I rather think that, as the temples opened towards the East, such as entered them, necessarily turning their backs upon the rising sun, made a half turn to that quarter, in honour of the God of day, and then completed the circle as well as their devotions with their faces towards the God of the temple."

Classical and gentile antiquity abounds with evidences of some kind of rotation forming part of the ceremonial of religious worship. Thus, Lucretius (*De Rer. Nat.* v. 1197) shows us the worshipper making his gyration before the pillar-stone :—

“ Call it not Piety that oft you’re found
Veiled, at the standing-stone, to make your round.”
[*Nec pietas ulla est velatum sæpe videri
Vertier ad lapidem.*]

And when it became customary to pay divine honours to the Cæsars, this was part of the ritual, the discredit of introducing which is ascribed to Vitellius—

“ A man,” says Suetonius, “ wondrously accomplished in the adulatory arts, who was the first to adore Caius Cæsar as a God; when, on his return from Syria, he durst not approach him otherwise than with veiled head, turning round, and then prostrating himself.”

[*Miri in adulando ingenii primus Caium Cæsarem adorari ut deum instituit, cum, reversus ex Syria, non aliter adire ausus esset quam capite velato, circumvertensque se, deinde procumbens.*” *Vitell.* c. 2.]

In the Eastern practice, so introduced, the earth was touched with the forehead. This appears to have been the form of adoration offered to the Irish idol Crom, and may explain the nature of the prostrations from which the scene of this worship had its name, *Moy-Slecht* = *Campos prostrationis*. One of the more obscure of our old Irish texts is that part of the *Dinnsenchus* in the Book of Lecan which describes the fanatic zeal of King Tigernmas and his subjects in casting themselves down before this idol, till they ruptured their nails, and fractured their knees and noses. We may now understand that they did not thus fling themselves to the ground till after they had become dizzy by a dervish-like rotatory preparation.

Since O’Connor declared his inability to render the older portion of the Irish text, a great advance has been made in our means of getting at meanings hidden under corrupted transcripts; and in the hope that something more may be extracted from the poem which baffled

Ba he an dia in crom cruach co nimad cin. in luchtain
ereid as each cuan a flaithis buan nochus bia.
Do cheand mbuad marbdais a clann tosach
truad. conimad nguil agus ngair a fuil dadail in crom cruach.
Bliocht is ith uad rochuindgidis for rith. tar cend
trin a sotha slain fa mor angrain isangrith.
Is dosin roslehtaidis gaidil gloin. is diadrad ilar necht
ita magslecht arinmoig.
Tasie tigersmas triath temra thall. aidchi samna lin asloig ro
bai damna broin don bann.
Laised ole buaisled basa bruidsed corp. acal re demon rus.
Dera fersad frasa faena folc.
Marba fir sluaig na banba combri mbil.
im Tigernmas do glan tuath dadrad chruim chruaich nimus cin.
Uair adgen sed ceathroime gneideal ger. fear amb
eathaid truag insas nidechaid can bas na bel.
Im chrom chruaich and roslehtaidis na sluaig.
ciadus fuc fo melaib mairb lenaid a ainm dos moigthuaid.
Nasreathaib tria idail eloch focheathair. fri
sebad faserb in slog dealb inchruim dor do deachaid.
O bae ifaith eremoim air dfear in raith. adrad
ro bai for na clacha co tiacht padraic macha maith.
Ord dom chruim rogob obaithis co bunn. ro dicair can gallacht
ngann intairacht robai ann sunn. s.u.n.d. Lib. Lecan. p. 500 a.

It will be observed that the obscurity arises in great measure from the divisions of the lines of the manuscript not tallying with the divisions of the lines of the rhythm, and from these latter, although indicated by points in some instances, not being so in all.

Welsh tradition also furnishes us with an example of the rotatory form of idol-worship on the Continent, in the 6th century. In the Life of Saint Sampson (Lib. Land. p. 21) one of the incidents turns on the resuscitation of a youth who had fallen from his horse, and broken his neck, whilst riding round an idol amongst other worshippers "*profano ritu bacchantes*," at a place called Tricurum, in Brittany:—

"Puer quidam equo insidens, et circa idolum currens, ad terram corruit, fracture collo mortuus jacuit."

We now perceive that it was, in part at least, by riding his horse in a round that Marcellus paid his seeming act of adoration; but it does not yet appear whether it was a round by the right hand or by the left. Here Plutarch will again assist us. It is now from his Camillus I cite the account of an incident (related also by Livy, v., c. 21) which occurred while Camillus was making an impassioned appeal to the Gods:—

"While he spoke, and, as is the custom of Roman worshippers in offering prayer, turned himself round *right-hand-wise*, he slipped and fell."

[Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, καθάπερ ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος, ἐπευξαμένοις καὶ προσκυνήσασιν, ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἐξελίττειν, ἐσφάλῃ περιστρεφόμενος.]

The action of Camillus in the utterance of his prayer may explain that of the Irish druid Cathbad, who, we are told in the Book of Fenagh, used to utter his vaticinations, "*desiul*," right-hand-wise,

turning, we may presume, in a like gyration:—"Desiul do níd Cathbad draí cach faitsine." (*Book of Fenagh*, p. 266).

To the evidence of Plutarch I may add that of Plautus. In one of his comedies, *Phædromus* says, "Which way to turn myself I know not." *Palinurus* jestingly replies:—"If you worship the Gods, right-hand-wise, I apprehend." [*Ph.* "Quo me vertam nescio." *Pa.* "Si Deos salutes, dextroversum censeo." (*Curculio*, i. i. 69.)]

I may also add the evidence of Valerius Flaccus (*Argon.* viii. 243):—

"Here, where this altar now receives thy vows,
Comes young Æsonides and comes his spouse.
Together they approach, together pray;
Pollux advanced the nuptial torches' ray
And ritual water, while, in holy round,
Right-hand-ways they together tread the ground."

[Inde ubi sacrificas cum conjuge venit ad aras
Æsonides, unaque adeunt pariterque precari
Incipiunt. Ignem Pollux undamque jugalem
Prætulit ut dextrum pariter vertantur in orbem.]

Seeing, then, that a round to the right was a ceremonial observance having some religious reference to the sun, we may conclude that Arge's stag was running in that direction, and that her offence consisted in referring profanely to an act of solar adoration.

Let it not be thought that the lower creation are outside the notice of observers of such ceremonials. I shall now draw from a source nearer home; and, passing over a great tract of time and the entire expanse of Europe, present you the same ideas, as they subsisted down to our own time, and among a people nearly related to ourselves. Martin, in his instructive and truly agreeable description of the Western Islands of Scotland, furnishes us with a great variety of instances of the practice of the ceremonial turn called the *Dessil*, as observed by the natives of those remote parts of the old world. Having described the "*dessil*," which is performed by carrying fire in the right hand (whence he seems to think the word derived) round homesteads, and round women before churching, and infants before baptism, he says:—

"Some of the poorer sort of people in these islands retain the custom of performing these rounds *sun-ways*, about the persons of their benefactors, three times, when they bless them and wish good success to all their enterprizes. Some are very careful, when they set out to sea, that the boat be first rowed about *sun-ways*; and if this be neglected, they are afraid their voyage may prove unfortunate."

"I had the ceremony paid me when on the Island of Ila, by a poor woman, after I had given her an alms. I desired her to let alone that compliment, for I did not care for it; but she insisted to make those three ordinary turns, and then prayed that God and *Mac Charmig*, the patron saint of that island, might bless and prosper me in all my designs and affairs." (*Western Islands*, p. 118.)

Amongst other instances, Martin also tells us, in his account of the Island of Fladda:—

"There's abundance of sea-fowl that come to hatch their young in the isle; the *coulters-nebs* are very numerous here. It comes in the middle of March, and goes away in the middle of August; it makes a tour round the isle *sun-ways*, before it

settles on the ground, and another at going away in August, which ceremony is much approved by the tenant of the isle, and is one of the chief arguments he makes use of for making the like round as he sets out to sea with his boat.

"There is a great flock of plovers, that come to this isle from Skie, in the beginning of September; they return again in April, and are said to be near two thousand in all. I told the tenant he might have a couple of them at every meal during the Winter and Spring, but my motion seemed very disagreeable to him; for he declared he had never once attempted to take any of them, though he might if he would; and at the same time told me he wondered how I could imagine that he would be so barbarous as to take the lives of such innocent creatures as come to him only for self-preservation." (*Western Islands*, p. 167.)

If the plovers were safe in the humanity of this generous islander, we may conclude that the *Coulter-neb* was equally so in his religious regards, and may well believe that he would have considered any molestation of it, while making its round, to be a great offence and justly punishable by some mark of heavenly displeasure.

The language of Martin may also solve a further question which the Classical examples will have raised in our minds but failed to satisfy. Why should a ceremonial turn to the right be more appropriate to the worship of Apollo than a turn to the left? The answer is: Because that was the turn "sun-ways," as Martin expresses it; being, in other words, the idea that Plutarch, in Numa, suggests by saying that the *περιστροφή ἐπὶ δεξιὰ* was a symbol of the cosmical rotation; and, in turning round or performing a circuit from left to right, or right-hand-in-wise, we so far follow the course of the sun, that, whilst looking southward, the motion we make accompanies the apparent path of the sun in the heavens; and, in completing the circuit, whilst facing the north, our motion corresponds to the sun's returning progress under the horizon; and, if we followed the course of the luminary so much farther north as to give a continuous view of its apparent progress, would correspond to it all round.

But, in latitudes south of the Equator, these motions should be reversed; and if we would follow the course of the sun there, we should turn from right to left, or left-hand-in-wise, which may afford a pretty sure argument that the practice originated in our northern hemisphere.

To the spectator regarding such a round from a fixed point, it is obvious that what in the more distant part of the course is, as regards him, from left to right, will, in the nearer semicircle, appear from right to left—as, for example, the horses that start in a race are at first seen by the spectator to pass from right to left, then, at the farther side of the course to repass from left to right. But the course of the race itself is, all the while, according to ancient observance, from left to right, *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ*, *dextroversum*, right-hand-in-wise, and according to the course of the sun.

The same course of movement is taken by all processions. It is the turn which the host gives to the service of his table, which the house-wife gives to her spinning-wheel, and the soldier to his brandished weapon. That it results from some physiological impulse to use the right hand in preference to the left, and to use its inward and

upward action in preference to its outward and upward, is perhaps the true solution of the practice. But, however it may have originated, it is to its agreement with the course of the sun that regard appears to have been had in its adoption into the ceremonial of religion.

The apparent reversal of the motion, according to the side from which we regard the moving object, has been a fruitful source of seeming contradictions. In a passage of Pliny's twenty-eighth book of Natural History (c. 5) a statement is made which has led to much of this kind of confusion:—

"In the act of adoration, we carry the right hand to the lips, and turn round our whole body, which the Gauls esteem it *religiosius* to do left-hand-wise."

[In adorando dextram ad osculum referimus totumque corpus circumagimus, quod in lævum fecisse Galli religiosius credunt.]

Here note the kissing of the right hand, which probably formed part of the demonstration made by Marcellus towards the sun, as he reined his horse into the "right-wheel." We may also here observe the common idea which connects the Greek *προσκύνειν*, "to worship" (literally "to kiss"), with the less favoured derivation of the Latin *adorare*—"manum ad os admovere;" and in this connexion we may glance at that phrase of Job:—

"If I beheld the sun which shined, or the moon walking in brightness; if my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand." (xiii. 26, 27.)

Now, Pliny, as he has been generally understood, seems here to draw this distinction between the Gaulish and Roman modes, that whereas the Romans used to turn right-hand-ways, in their worship, the Gauls, on the contrary, thought it more proper to turn left-hand-ways.

Considering the intimate associations between Gaul and the British Isles, in Cæsar's time, in all matters of religion, and the religious observance in these islands, down to the present day, of the Latin "round" (for we may still see it practised at all our "stations" and places of pilgrimage), it appears difficult, at first sight, to give credit to this statement of Pliny. It is, apparently, in direct contradiction to what Athenæus (iv. p. 152) adduces from Posidonius, as to the custom of the Celts:—"They worship the Gods, turning round to the right,"—"Τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι."

In commenting on it, Hermolaus Barbarus, Pliny's first editor, whose note has been transmitted through subsequent editions, falls into great confusion, owing, apparently, to his regarding the movement at one time in the point of view of a spectator, and, at another, of an actor. "Contrariwise," says he, "the Romans turned themselves round from the right towards the left [where he ought to have said "from the left towards the right"], which our priests at the present day religiously take care to do, in their turns at the altar; quite differently from those ancient Gauls who turned themselves left-hand-ways, and wheeled round from left to right" [where he ought to have said "from right to left"].

[Romani e contrario a dextra sinistram versus in orbem convertebant sese; quod et a nostris sacerdotibus in suis ad aram conversionibus hodie religiosissime observatur; aliter atque prisci illi Galli, qui sinistrorsum et a læva dextram versus circumagebantur. (*Plin. Hist. Nat., Ed. Delph., loc. cit.*)]

Neither has modern ingenuity been more successful in explaining Pliny's meaning. Toland, writing in 1815, thus attempts it; but falls, as will be seen, into no less confusion:—

"The vulgar in the Islands never come to the ancient sacrificing and fire-hallowing *carus*, but they walk three times round them, from east to west, according to the course of the sun. This sanctified tour, or round by the south, is called *deisul* (*dextrorsum*), as the unhallowed contrary one by *tuapholl* (*sinistrorsum*"). . . . "This custom was used three thousand years ago, and God knows how long before, by their ancestors, the ancient Gauls, of the same religion with them: *who turned round right-hand-wise*, when they worshipped their Gods, as Athenæus (lib. iv. p. 152) informs us out of Posidonius, a much older writer: '*Tous theous proskunousi epi ta dexia strephomenoi.*' Nor is this contradicted, but clearly confirmed by Pliny, who says that the Gauls, contrary to the Romans, turned to the left in their religious ceremonies; for, as they began their worship towards the east, so they turned about, as our Islanders do now, from east to west, according to the course of the sun, that is, from right to left [?], as Pliny has observed; whereas the left was, among the Romans, reputed the right in Augury, and in all devotions concerning it. . . . It is, perhaps, from this respectful turning from east to west, that we retain the custom of drinking over the left thumb, or as others express it, according to the course of the sun, the breaking of which order is reckoned no small impropriety, if not a downright indecency, in Great Britain and Ireland. And no wonder, since this, if you have faith in Homer, was the custom of the Gods themselves. Vulcan, in the first book of the Iliad, filling a bumper to his mother Juno:—

'To th' other Gods, going round from right to left,
Skinked nectar sweet which from full flask he poured.'"

Letters to Lord Muncaster, pp. 142-5.

Toland's argument, if at all acceptable to the reason, is this: The right was deemed left, and *vice versa*, in Augury; so that when Pliny says the Gauls turned to the left, he speaks as an Augur and means to the right; which were little to the credit of a writer of Pliny's accuracy.

Whatever differences existed between Roman and Greek augurial usage, the popular Latin "right" and "left" corresponded strictly, as with the Celts, to south and north. Columella has fixed the application of *sinistrum* to the north. *Dess* and *dextrum* must, consequently, agree in meaning as in verbal identity with "south" and "right" in both.

And indeed, the more closely these augurial anomalies are examined, the less will the substantial difference be found to be. It would be erroneous to say that omens in the left part of heavens were deemed auspicious. The omens that were reputed lucky were those coming from the left and towards the right, and *vice versa*, in substantial consistency with the "Desiul." Thus, Dion. Halicarnass. explains the "*intonuit lævum*:" *τίθενται δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ ἀστραπὰς αἰετοῦς.* (Lib. ii., ad init.)

Infinite confusion, however, has resulted from these seeming contrarieties; and Cicero has not failed to turn them to account in his commentary on the fatidical pretensions of the Augurs:—

“But what convenient or coherent consistency is there amongst Augurs? Ennius says, agreeably to our augurial custom:

‘When favoring Jove through clear skies *thundered left*.’

But your Homeric Ajax (Ulysses, *Il.* ix. 236), making some complaint, I know not what, to Achilles concerning the ferocity of the Trojans, delivers himself thus:

‘Good omens Jove bestows them, thundering *right*.’

So that what our Augurs deem better, and call ‘left,’ appears to the Greeks and Barbarians as ‘right.’”

[Quæ autem est inter Augures conveniens et conjuncta constantia? Ad nostri Augurii consuetudinem dixit Ennius:

‘Quum tonuit lævum bene tempestate serena.’

At Homericus Ajax (Ulysses, *Il.* ix. 236), apud Achillem querens de ferocitate Trojanorum nescio quid, hoc modo nunciat:

‘Prospera Juppiter his dextris fulgoribus edit.’

Ita nobis sinistra, videntur Græcis et barbaris dextra meliora.” (*De Div.* l. ii. c. 39.)]

Neither need the ἐνδεξία of Homer perplex our judgment. The cups going right-hand-wise can only be said to go “from right to left” through the nearer semicircle, but must be deemed to be borne from left to right, if we regard the person of the cup-bearer. Nevertheless, in this exposition of Toland’s, the fact appears which, had he perceived its relevancy, might have given him the true clue for finding his way out of Pliny’s labyrinth; namely, that *Tuathpholl*, or the turn to the left, is deemed the “unhallowed” one, in contradistinction to the *desiul*, or “sanctified tour round by the south,” where, remembering that the spectator is supposed to regard the east, the turn is necessarily *dextrorsum*.

The mention of the “unhallowed” turn to the left will recall various examples of things sinister in the double sense of being “left” and “unlucky.” I dare say there might be assembled under the head *withershins*, which, in Lowland Scottish, expresses the leftward turn, a large array of examples from our folk-lore and popular phraseology—from the witch-prayer and the humiliating bend in heraldry to the common expression “over the left shoulder.”

I am not aware of any direct evidence that in the Celtic practice of “turning the stones,” such as the *clocha breca* at Innismurry, when imprecating evil on one another, the practisers of this rite turn them *sinistrorsum*; but suppose the fact is in accordance with the general inauspiciousness ascribed to that movement.

The bardic history of the Battle of Moyrath affords a notable example. Sweeny, son of Colman, having incurred a curse, is assailed

in the battle by swarms of *left-wheeling* demons in the air, "*ina armaib troma . . . tuaithbel, gan tairisium*" (Cath. M. R. 230), which, as in the similar case of Merlin at Arderidd, drive him into fatigued madness. Another probable example is supplied by a MS. illustration of the account given by Giraldus Cambrensis of a ceremonial circuit performed by contracting parties, among the Irish of the twelfth century, each in turn carrying the other on his shoulders three times round the church:—

"Sub religionis et pacis obtentu, ad sacrum aliquem locum conveniunt:—deinde per circa ecclesiam se invicem portant." (*Top. Hib.* c. xxii.)

The scribe who has illustrated this text, about to appear amongst the "*Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*," has, by a singular, though possibly a chance, coincidence, shown them making their circuit left-hand-wise, which would be quite consistent as imprecatory of misfortune in the event of a violation of the pact. But no great reliance can be placed on those illustrations which are the work of an Anglo-Norman scribe, nor does Gerald himself say anything to determine the direction in which the parties made their round.

With these considerations before the mind, we may approach the *religiosus* of Pliny with a better prospect of ascertaining the true meaning in which he has employed it. *Religiosus* is a word of many meanings, having relation to superstitious and execrable, as well as pious observances. Amongst its other forces, it signifies *unlucky, ominous, inauspicious, forbidden*:

"Religiosi dies dicuntur tristi omine infames, impeditique." (Gell. l. iv. c. 9.)
 "Majores nostri funestorem diem esse voluerunt Aliensis pugnae quam urbis capta:—Itaque alter religiosus etiam nunc dies." (*Cic. Epist. ad Attic. lib. ix.* 5).
 "Navos in facie tondere religiosum habent etiam nunc multi." (Plin. l. xxviii. c. 4),

and the other examples in Forcellini, *sub voce*, where it appears plainly that *religiosus*, in this acceptation, is strictly the equivalent of what, among the Irish Celts is called *gaes*—"prohibitio," or, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. Hennessy, in the language of other old populations, something "taboo." Thus, it was deemed *religiosum* for a man to enter the Temple of Bona Dea; *religiosum* to eat the crop grown on certain fields which, therefore, were cast into the Tiber; and, generally, in the words of Aelius Gallus, cited by Festus, *religiosum* for a man to do a forbidden thing in the doing of which he should appear to contravene the will of the Gods. O'Donovan in his definition of *geis* (Book of Rights, xlv.)—"any thing or act forbidden, because of the ill-luck which would result from its doing,"—comes nearer the reason of the thing than the Classical expositor. I fail to find an exact equivalent in the English language; but the Lowland Scotch "*uncanny*" expresses the meaning exactly, and in this sense we seem to obtain a comprehension of the true meaning of Pliny, whose words we may now render:—"When we adore the Gods, we raise the right hand to the lips, and turn ourselves entirely

round, which the Gauls deem it a direful thing to do left-hand-ways;" in other words, that the turn, which was usually practised towards the right by the Romans, was sometimes, on occasions of imprecatory or malignant appeals to the Gods, practised by the Gauls to the left.

There remains still another cause of confusion in the idea that Gods and men looked at the world from opposite points of view, so that what was *right* in the language of men was *left* in that of the Gods. The notion may have arisen among the Greek Augurs, who regarded the northern heavens as the abode of the divinities; or it may look to some older and more general idea of a celestial region, to arrive at which one should travel "beyond the blameless Ethiopians:" but, whencesoever derived, it seems to account for some at least of the discrepancies that beset us in this obscure inquiry. Thus, assuming the oracle of Aesculapius to use this ambidextrous language, in prescribing the course which the blind man Caius should take from right to left of that God's altar, as recorded in the inscription commemorating the cures effected by Aesculapius, in his temple on the Insula Tiberina (Gruter, lxxi. 1), we might reconcile that "right to left" with the "left to right" of the common formula:—

"In those days, the God directed as to one Caius, a blind man; let him come to the sacred altar, and kneel; let him come from the right-hand side to the left, and put his five fingers on the altar, and let him raise his hand and put it on his own eyes. And he saw aright in the presence of the people," &c.

[Αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις Γαῖον τινι τυφλῷ ἐχρημάτισεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βῆμα καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, εἶτα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν καὶ θεῖναι τοὺς πέντε δακτύλους ἐπάνω τοῦ βήματος, καὶ ἄραι τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπὶ θεῖναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ ὀρθὸν ἀνέβλεψε τοῦ δήμου παρестῶτος, κ. τ. λ. (Gruter, lxxi. 1.)]

The subject at this point will hardly appear otherwise than trivial; but we are here amongst ideas which lie at the basis of certain observances in mediæval Christian architecture, of some solid relevancy to modern life, and very well worthy of further examination.

LX.—ON A COINCIDENCE BETWEEN A BABYLONIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR, AND A PASSAGE IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL. By DENIS CROFTON, Esq., B. A., M. R. I. A.

[Read June 14, 1875.]

I wish to direct your attention shortly to a coincidence between a part of Nebuchadnezzar's eight-line cuneiform brick inscription, and a passage referring to the same king, in the Book of Daniel, chap. iv., verses 26, 27, (29, 30, Eng. Auth. Version).

The part of the inscription alluded to may be found in Oppert, "Expedition Scientifique en Mesopotamie," tome II., page 277, as under:—

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 .
 'I - NU - MA. HEKAL. A - NA. MU - SA - AB.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 .
 SAR - RU - TI - YA.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 .
 I - NA. IR - SI. IT BAB - ILU.

𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 .
 SA. KI - RIB. BA - BI - LU. 'I - PU US. VA.

The Babylonian or Assyrian words in this passage have their analogues in Hebrew, thus:—

Inuma corresponds with עֲנִיָּה. *Hekal*, signifying a "palace," is a complex monogram or ideogram, compounded of *bit* corresponding with בֵּית, and *rab* with רַב. *Ana* is an Assyrian preposition, and answers to ל; *musab* is a derivative from אֲשַׁב, equivalent to the Hebrew יִשָּׁב; *sarrutiya* is one from a correspondent to שָׂרֵר, being a derived noun with a pronominal suffix; *ina* is another Assyrian preposition, and corresponds with ב; *irsit* with אֶרֶץ. *Babilu* is the first time here, expressed ideographically, as בַּבֶּל אֶל, "Gate of the God of the deluge," and with an ideogram for a country, (syllabically *ki*) after it. *Sa* answers to שׁ or אֲשֶׁר; *kirib* corresponds to קִרַּב. *Babilu* is next given, spelt phonetically. *Ipusva*

comes from a Babylonian or Assyrian root, עבש, or עבש, the grammatical forms of which constantly occur, but to which there is no direct correspondent in the sense used here, known in the other Semitic languages.* The signification of it, however, is thoroughly established from its use in the Behistán and other trilingual inscriptions, to render the ancient Persian *kar*, the equivalent of the Sanskrit root कृ *kri* to "do" or "make."

The literal translation is as follows :—

"I say the palace (or great house) for the seat of my principality in the land of Babylon which (is) the centre of Babylon I have made."

The passage in Daniel, ch. iv., is :—

לְקַצַּת יִרְחִין תְּרִי-עֶשֶׂר עַל-הַיֵּבֶל מְלֻכּוֹתָא דִּי Ver. 26.

בְּבֵל מְהֵלֵךְ הָנָה :

עָנָה מְלָכָא וְאָמַר הֲלָא דָא-הִיא בְּבֵל רְבָתָא Ver. 27.

דִּי-אָנָה בְּנִיתָהּ לְבֵית מְלָכּוּ בְּתִקְוָא חֲסִנִּי וְלִיקַר הַדְרִי :

The literal rendering of this is :—

Ver. 26.—"At the end of twelve months he was walking upon the palace of the kingdom which (is) of Babylon."

Ver. 27.—"The king spoke, and said, Is not this itself Babylon the great which I have built it for a house of a kingdom, by the might of my strength and for the honour of my majesty."

The self-exaltation of Nebuchadnezzar comes out from the history in the two records, and they have a remarkable agreement. In both

LXI.—ON THE BOOK OF LEINSTER AND ITS CONTENTS.

By PROFESSOR O'LOONEY, M.R.I.A., F.R.H.S.

[Read 13th January, 1873.]

THE Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, styled the "Book of Leinster," has for many years past been regarded as of very high importance in connexion with the early history and language of Ireland. For some time this manuscript was supposed to have been the ancient *leabhar glinne na lochs*, or Book of Glendalough, under which title it was quoted by Dr. Petrie in his "Essay on the Antiquities of Tara Hill;" but subsequently it was ascertained by Professor O'Curry to be the Book of Leinster. This discovery was first made known by the late Rev. Dr. Todd, in his edition of the *Irish Nennius*, published by the Irish Archæological Society in 1848, and the manuscript has been since known as the Book of Leinster. A number of entries occur in the body of the book which enable us to fix the age and to identify the writer of the work. A few illustrations will serve the present purpose:—

At folio 16, *a. a.*, page [31], commences a poem ascribed to Cinaed Ua Artacain, on the manner and places of death of a number of warriors, chiefly Ultonians, whose names occur in our ancient tales, and who flourished between the time of Conor Mac Nessa, King of Ulster at the time of the Crucifixion, and Fiannachta, the Festive Monarch of Erin, who died A.D. 693. At page [32], col. 1, line 2, ten quatrains are interpolated, by which the chain of historical events is carried down from the death of Fiannachta to the Battle of Moin Mor, fought A.D. 1151, by Torlough O'Connor, King of Connaught, and Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, with their united forces, against Torlough O'Brien, King of Munster, and his Dalcassian followers, of whom it is stated that seven thousand fell in this battle.

The following entries on the margin, all written in the original hand, indicate the extent of the interpolation, and show clearly that the verses added as well as the writing may be attributed to Find [O'Gorman], Bishop of Kildare, who died A.D. 1160:—

hic usque Cinaed cecinit—"Hic usque Cinaed cecinit." And at the next line is added: *Find eppcop cillidara hic ascribit*—"Find Bishop of Kildare added this." And again, at the end of the part interpolated, there is a marginal title ascribing the two last verses to the original author. It runs thus: *Cinaed hic uerbum cecinit*—"Cinaed hic versum cecinit."

We have now no power to ascertain the original size or bulk of the manuscript, but the following entries may be interesting in considering the question.

Folio 116, page [231], foot margin, the following entry occurs

hand about three hundred years old:—*Iré lin do builleogsaib plinn leabairio i cuic builleoga ir veich fichit iter bec ocuf mór. Emano qui scripsit in him annra grianan . . . irisunach in bliadain roám*—"The number of leaves contained in this book is five leaves and ten score (205) including both the small and the large ones. Emand [Edmund] qui scripsit the enumeration in the Grianan . . . Irisunach in this year in which I am."

A subsequent entry on the blank page [105] shows a deficit of five folios: *ducenta folia quae percurramur mpro libro*, which may be rendered—"Two hundred folios which I have cursorily gone over in this wonderful book." And it is quite evident from the following entry on the foot margin of p. [259] that the leaves had become detached and distributed between different persons so early as the year 1583. *Miri in blas do lebor an cholbaig ata ar iarach as reas an O Cheirun ocuf ir feairi ferom an chalbaigh fein dom ina ferom tressan. Anno domini 1583.* "I am the portion of the Colbach's book which is on loan with John O'Ceirin (Kerin), and the title of the Calbhach himself to me is better than the title of John. Anno Domini 1583."

The detachment and distribution of the manuscript in this manner led to the loss of several staves and folios of the vellum, as is evident from the various gaps and chasms now remaining, and from the fact that eleven folios of it have been discovered in the manuscript collection at St. Isidore's at Rome. These folios, too, appear to have been detached at an early date, and to have been lent for literary purposes. Dr. Todd throws out the conjecture (n.* p. 376) that they might have been lent to Colgan, yet he does not say by whom. Though Colgan's handwriting remains, in three different places on the detached folios, to testify that they were in his possession, there is reason to believe that they became detached long before his time; that they came into his possession indirectly, and that they were regarded by him as belonging to the Franciscan Convent of Donegal. The following are the three entries in Colgan's handwriting, already referred to:—(1). On the front of the vellum wrapper in which the manuscript is bound: "*Martyrologium Tam-lactense et opuscula St. Angusii Keledei.*" (2). On the second folio, page 1, foot margin, is the following: "*Ex libris Conventus Dungallensis;*" and (3) on the last folio of the stave, page 2, foot margin, the same note is repeated.

At folio clxxxvii., page [269], the following entry, written in English characters and in a hand about two hundred years old, points to a gap of eight folios—a full stave—between folios clxxxvi. and clxxxvii., pages [268-9], where, notwithstanding the consecutiveness of the old pagination, there is a chasm as indicated; the tale of the Inebriety of the Ultonians terminating abruptly with folio clxxxvi., page [268], and followed at folio clxxxvii., page [269], by the story of the destruction of Dindrigh. I have noted down all such defects in my examination of this manuscript, and shall mention them further on.

Of the contents of the Book of Leinster, a general description was given by the late Professor O'Curry in his *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History*.

After having described Leabhar na h-Uidhri, since published in lithographic facsimile by the Academy, he proceeds (pp. 186-8):—

The next ancient book which I shall treat of is that at present known under the title of the Book of Leinster. It can be shown from various internal evidences, that this volume was either compiled or transcribed in the first half of the twelfth century, by Finn Mac Gorman, Bishop of Kildare, who died in the year 1160; and that it was compiled by order of *Aodh Mac Crimthainn*, the tutor of the notorious Dermot Mac Murrough, the king of Leinster, who first invited Earl Strongbow and the Anglo-Normans into Ireland, in the year 1169.

The book was evidently compiled for Dermot, under the superintendence of his tutor, by Mac Gorman, who had probably been a fellow-pupil of the king. In support of this assertion, I need only transcribe the following entry, which occurs in the original hand at the end of folio 202, page 6 (now p. [288]) of the book:—

Beatha ocur pláinte ó Finn eppcop (i. Cillí Dána)* do aed mac Crimthainn, do fín leigino aipo nús lechi moğa (i. Nuadat), ocur do comarbu Colaim mic Crimthainn, ocur do þrim-fenchard laigen ar gær ocur eolur, ocur trebairne lebur, ocur feirra ocur foglomma ocur ferib-ðar dam veireo in fceoil bice co cinnte ùit a aed amnair, aip cor in naoboll-mair; Cian po púem voo(?) h-mgnair, † man dam do bi cum domgnao. Tuctar dam uanairne mic lonam con faicemur a cialla na n-uaoan pilet ann. ec uale in Chpirt, etc.

"Benediction and health from Finn, the Bishop of Kildare, to *Aedh Hugh Mac Crimthainn*, the tutor of the chief king of *Leth Mogha*, *Nuadat* [or of Leinster and Munster], successor of Colum, the son of *Crimthann*, and chief historian of Leinster in wisdom, intelligence, and the cultivation of books, knowledge, and learning. And I write the conclusion of this little tale for thee, O acute *Aedh*! [Hugh] thou possessor of the sparkling intellect. May it be long before we are without thee. It is my desire that thou shouldst be always with us. Let Mac Lonan's book of poems be given to me, that I may understand the sense of the poems that are in it; and farewell in Christ," &c.

This note must be received as sufficient evidence to bring the date of this valuable manuscript within the period of a man's life, whose death, as a Catholic bishop, happened in the year 1160, and who was, I believe, consecrated to the ancient see of Kildare, in the year 1148, long before which period, of course, he must have been employed to write out this book.

NOTES BY PROFESSOR O'LOONEY.

* (i. Cillí Dána) i. e., "of Kildare." This explanatory parenthesis is written in the original as a gloss over the word eppcop—"bishop," in the same handwriting as the note itself.

† Nuadat.—This explanation is also in the original, as a gloss over the word mogha. Diarmait claimed to be king of Munster, or Leath Mogha, i. e., Mogh's half, the southern half of Ireland, so called from Eogan Taidelech, surnamed Mogh Nuadat, or Nuadat's slave. See O'Curry's *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 3.

‡ Cian po púem voo (?) h-mgnair. This passage is obscure in original. Dr. Todd, while declaring his belief that O'Curry's reading of these words was wrong, and admitting his own inability to correct it, suggested that the proper reading should be Cian gar; ceip lich ic h-mgnair, of which he says he can "make no sense." The present state of the original manuscript suggests the following reading:—Cian gar ic mplaic ic h-mgnair, which may be rendered: "The short [time] becomes long at . . . in thy absence."

Of the *Aedh Mac Crimthainn*, for whom he wrote it, I have not been able to ascertain anything more than what appears above; but he must have flourished early in the twelfth century to be the tutor of Dermot MacMurroch, who, in concert with O'Brien, had led the men of Leinster against the Danes of Waterford, so far back as the year 1137.

That this book belonged either to Dermot MacMurroch himself, or to some person who had him warmly at heart, will appear plainly from the following memorandum, which is written in a strange but ancient hand, in the top margin of folio 200, page a:—

"[Δ μνημ] ἀρ μορ in 5m to pūgnat in h-erinn moir .i. h-ī calainn a8ypr. Diarmaid mac Donnchada mic Murchada, mī Lagen a8ypr 5all, to mnarba to fepaib h-ereno [cap in mup pāp.]* uē, uē a comou cto 8ogen."

"O Virgin Mary! it is a great deed that has been done in Erin this day, the kalends of August, viz.: Dermot, the son of Donnoch Mac Murroch, king of Leinster, and of the Danes [of Dublin], to have been banished over the sea eastward by the men of Erin. Uch, uch, O Lord! what shall I do?"†

The book consists, at present, of over four hundred pages of large folio vellum, but there are many leaves of the old pagination missing.

To give anything like a satisfactory analysis of this book would take at least one whole lecture. I cannot, therefore, within my present limited space, do more than glance at its general character, and point, by name only, to a few of the many important pieces preserved in it.

It begins, as usual, with a Book of Invasions of Erin, but without the Book of Genesis; after which the succession of the monarchs, to the year 1169, and the succession and obituary of the provincial and other minor kings, etc. Then follow specimens of ancient versification—poems on Tara, and an ancient plan and explanation of the *Teach Míchearta*, or Banqueting Hall of that ancient royal city. (These poems and plan have been published by Dr. Petrie, in his paper on the history of Tara, printed in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy for 1839, vol. xviii.)

After these come poems on the wars of the Leinstermen, the Ulstermen, and the Munstermen, in great numbers, many of them of the highest historic interest and value; and some prose pieces and small poems on Leinster, of great antiquity—some of them, as I believe, certainly written by *Dubthach*, the great antiquarian and poet, who was Saint Patrick's first convert at Tara. After these, a fine copy of the history of the celebrated Battle of *Ross na Rígh*, on the Boyne, fought between the men of Leinster and Ulster, at the beginning of the Christian era. A copy of the *Mesca Uladh*, or Inebriety of the Ultonians, imperfect at the end, but which can be made perfect by the fragment of it already mentioned in *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*. A fine copy of the Origin of the Boromean Tribute, and the battles that ensued down to its remission. A fragment of the "Battle of *Cennabrat*," in Munster, with the defeat of Mac Con by *Oilioll Oluin*, Mac Con's flight into Scotland, his return afterwards with a large force of Scottish and British adventurers, his landing in the Bay of Galway, and the ensuing battle of *Magh Muehruiní*, fought between him and his maternal uncle, Art, the monarch of Erin, in which battle the latter was defeated and killed, as well as the seven sons of *Oilioll Oluin*.

* [Cap in mup pāp]. These words have been supplied in brackets by O'Curry, and adopted by Dr. Todd, but they are not now visible in the original manuscript.

† A.D. 1166.—Diarmaid Mac Murchada was banished over the sea, and his castle of Farna was demolished.

A.D. 1167.—Diarmaid Mac Murchadha returned from England with a force of Galls, and he took the kingdom [sovereignty] of *Ui-Cendsealaigh*.—*Annals of the Four Masters*.

A variety of curious and important short tracts relating to Munster are also to be found in the Book of Leinster, besides this last one, up to the middle of the eighth century.

This volume likewise contains a small fragment of Cormac's Glossary, copied, perhaps, with many more of these pieces, from the veritable Saltair of Cashel itself; also a fragment, unfortunately a very small one (the first folio only), of the wars of the Danes and the Gaedhils (*i.e.* the Irish); a copy of the *Dinnsenchus*, a celebrated ancient topographical tract, which was compiled at Tara about the year 550; several ancient poems on universal geography, chronology, history, and so forth; pedigrees and genealogies of the great Milesian tribes and families, particularly those of Leinster; and lastly, an ample list of the early saints of Erin, with their pedigrees and affinities, and with copious references to the situations of their churches.

This is but an imperfect sketch of this invaluable MS., and I think I may say with sorrow, that there is not in all Europe any nation but this of ours that would not long since have made a national literary fortune out of such a volume, had any other country in Europe been fortunate enough to possess such an heirloom of history.

The volume forms, at present, part of the rich store of ancient Irish literature preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and if printed at length, the Gaedhelic text of it would make 2000 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

It will be observed that O'Curry reserves for further notice the important pieces relating to the heroic period of King Conchobar Mac Nessa, and Queen Medb of Cruachan—an intention which he did not live to carry out. A few of those compositions may here be mentioned as of great interest for the history of the period to which they refer, because of the picture they present of people and customs. Of Conchobar MacNessa, King of Ulster, and his times, we have the following chain of interesting pieces in this manuscript:—1. Parentage, birth, and name. 2. Expulsion of Fergus MacRogh from the sovereignty of Ulster, and of the accession of Conchobar MacNessa to the sovereignty. 3. Economy of the reign of King Conchobar, his privileges and prohibitions among the Ultonians, and the arrangement of his household. 4. The exile of the sons of Usnea and fate of Derdri. 5. The exile of Fergus MacRogh and the Ultonian warriors. 6. The fate and tragic end of Conchobar MacNessa.

In these six stories we have a connected account of Conchobar MacNessa from birth to death; and of his times a history may be found, if we add the following series, also contained in the Book of Leinster. 1. The story of the inebriety of the Ultonians. 2. Courtship of the wife of Crund, whose imprecations are said to have caused the *Cesnaoidéan Uladh*, or the child-birth pains of the Ultonians. 3. Story of the *Cesnaoidéan Uladh*, and the debility of the Ultonians which gave Queen Medb of Cruachan an opportunity of invading and ravaging the province of Ulster. It also contains the thirty-two episodes which complete the story of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* with its prefaces and pretales (translations of which I had the honour to submit to the Academy some time ago); and thus we have pictures of social and political life in Erin during the reign of one of the most renowned kings of the heroic period.

There are similar stories of others of the same period, *e.g.*, of Cu-

chulaind:—1. Of his parentage, birth, and name. 2. Of his acquiring the name Cuchulaind. 3. Stories of his boyish exploits. 4. His position amongst the Ultonian heroes, his adventures, prohibitions, and privileges among the Red Branch heroes, etc. 5. Courtship of Cuchulaind, by Derbforgaill, daughter of the King of Britain. 6. Death of Cuchulaind. 7. The wailing lament of Emer on hearing of the death of Cuchulaind, her husband. These, and a variety of other pieces, such as the death of Medb, death of Celtchair Mac Uthathir, are of great importance in connexion with the history of this period. There are also a few Ossianic poems and pieces attributed to Find MacCumbail, Cailte, and Ossin, which may claim the attention of students of Ossianic lore.

To close my summary of the contents of the Book of Leinster, I may add that it contains a full copy of the Bull of Pope Adrian IV., authorizing King Henry II. of England to assume the government of Ireland. It is written in old court-hand, and, owing to the darkness of the vellum and the decay of the ink, parts of it are very obscure. It commences on folio 167 b, p. [334]:—“*Bulla concena regi anglie super collatione hibernie in qua nichil derogatur iuri hibernicorum sicut in ferie verborum patet.*” I do not propose to offer any opinion or comment as to the authenticity or importance of this document, but it seems to me that the fact of its being preserved in the Book of Leinster indicates pretty clearly the persons as well as the period to which it may be referred.

The want of a descriptive catalogue of the contents of so important a book as that of Leinster has long been felt, and to supply this I have now the honour to submit one in which I have endeavoured to specify every piece to be found in the manuscript, noting in all instances the page, column, and line where the composition commences, and giving the title or first line of each piece. The number of titles thus contained in this catalogue extends to about 1400.

To make this description as complete as possible, I have carefully examined and catalogued the eleven leaves of the Book of Leinster, which have recently been brought back to Ireland from Rome by the Franciscan Order. I have included the contents of those leaves in this catalogue, and thus we have, for the first time, an account of the contents of the entire remains of the Book of Leinster.

With respect to ten leaves of the Book of Leinster formerly in the convent of St. Isidore at Rome, but now in Dublin, Dr. Todd wrote as follows in his Introduction to the *Martyrology of Donegal*, 1864, pp. xiv.-xvii.:—

II. THE MARTYROLOGY OF TALLAGHT.

This work was contained in the Book of Leinster, a MS. of the twelfth century, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, but has long disappeared from that volume, which is now very imperfect.

During my visit to Rome, in 1862, I found eleven of the missing leaves of this precious manuscript (which I recognised at once) among the documents kindly shown me by the Superior of St. Isidore's Convent. These leaves contain some of

the curious Tracts attributed to Aengus Ceile De, together with a copy of the Calendar or Martyrology of Tallaght, referred to by Colgan, which however is itself also unfortunately imperfect, owing to the loss of a leaf. The defect includes the whole of November and the first sixteen days of December. This Calendar is a transcript of a very ancient Martyrology, containing a list of the saints and martyrs of the Universal Church under each day of the year, the Irish saints being added at the end of each day, and separated from the rest by a peculiar mark. The Calendar commences on Christmas Day, and not, as is more usual, on the kalends of January. At the beginning is this title in Rubric:—

I. *Incipit Martira Oenghusa mic Oiblean et Moelruain* [i. e., *hic*]. "Here begins the Martyrology of Oengus Mac Oiblean and Maolruain."

But this can only mean that the work was compiled from the collections of Oengus and Maolruain as its basis, for it exhibits internal evidence of more recent sources. It mentions Cairpre, Bishop of Clonmacnois, who died 6 March, 899, but contains no notice of Cormac Mac Cuillennain, King and Bishop of Cashel, who was slain in 909; neither is there found in it the name of any saint who died after the year 900. It gives the names of Aengus and Maolruain themselves at 11 March and 7 July, respectively, the days on which they were commemorated as saints. Therefore, as Colgan remarks, the work must have been composed at the close of the ninth, or very early in the tenth century.

IV. THE MARTYROLOGY OF MAOLMUIRE (OR MARIANUS) O'GORMAIN.

This work was composed in the times of Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh, or about A. D. 1167. It is written in Irish verse, and was taken, as the prefatory scholium expressly tells us, from the Martyrology, or *Felire*, of Tallaght. Its author was abbot of Cnoc-na-napstol [Hill of the Apostles], now Knock, near Louth. The saints commemorated are not exclusively Irish. The only copy of it known to me is that preserved among the Brussels MSS., of which a transcript by Mr. Curry is in my own possession. It contains scholia, written in the manner of a gloss, which add considerably to its value as an historical authority. O'Clery has made great use of this work in the compilation of the Martyrology of Donegal. All the names which he gives without a local designation are from O'Gorman, as well as those which have short local notices. Of these last many, if not all, are taken from the scholia. It is probable that the "Old," "Very Antient Vellum Book," so frequently referred to in the following pages, was a volume containing this and some other works on Irish Hagiology, from which the Brussels MS. was copied. In some places [pp. 35, 45, *et passim*] this "antient old book" is said to have contained "the Martyrology of Moelruain of Tamlacht, and the saints of the same name," and the names of the mothers of the saints." It contained also the comparison † of the saints of Ireland with those of the Universal Church, who were supposed to have been in the same habits and life. This description seems to identify the Old Vellum Book with the Book of Leinster, for all the tracts alluded to are to be found in the leaves of that book now at St. Isidore's, in Rome.

"A certain old book‡ of the Books of Erin" is mentioned (p. 105) as having contained the names of the fifty-two monks who were beheaded along with St. Donnan of Eg. This is unquestionably the Book of Leinster, for the Martyrology of Tallaght, in the loose sheets at St. Isidore's, contains all the names at length.

* This is a list of saints of the same name, as the Colmans, Finians, Brendans, &c.

† See pp. 23, 27, *et passim*. This has been published from the Brussels MS. in the *Book of Hymns*, p. 69, and reprinted by Dr. Kelly, *Calendar*, p. xii.

‡ The "old books of Erin" are spoken of generally, p. 123; and "a certain book," p. 167.

The next notice published of the manuscript was the following, by the late Rev. Dr. Todd, in the Introduction to the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, 1867:—

The following work has been edited from three manuscripts, two of them unfortunately imperfect.

The first and most ancient of these consists of a single folio, closely written on both sides, in double columns. It is a leaf of the Book of Leinster, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains the first twenty-nine sections only of the work; nevertheless, imperfect as it is, this fragment, for many reasons, is so important, that the Editor has thought it fit to preserve it, with a translation, in the Appendix.

The Book of Leinster is a *Bibliotheca*, or collection of historical tracts, poems, tales, genealogies, &c. It was written by Finn [Mac Gorman], Bishop of Kildare, or at least during his lifetime, for Aedh Mac Crimthainn, or Hugh Mac Griffin, tutor of Diarmait Mac Murchadha [Dermot Mac Murrough], the King of Leinster, who was so celebrated for his connexion with the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, in the reign of Henry II.

The following note occurs in the lower margin of folio 206 *b* of this MS. It is in a hand closely resembling that in which the book itself is written, and certainly of the same century:—

"Life and health from Finn, Bishop [*i.e.*, of Kildare] to Aedh Mac Crimthainn, tutor [rúleigim] of the chief King of Leth Mogha [*i.e.*, Nuadat], and successor* [comarbu] of Colum Mac Crimthainn, and chief historian of Leinster in wisdom and knowledge, and cultivation of books, and science and learning. And let the conclusion of this little history be written for me accurately by thee, O acute Aedh, thou possessor of the sparkling intellect. May it be long till we are without thee. It is my desire that thou shouldst be always with us. Let Mac Lonan's book† of poems be given to me, that we may find out the sense of the poems that are in it, et vale in Christo," &c.

Finn, Bishop of Kildare, died in 1160, according to the Annals of the Four Masters.‡ He appears to have occupied that see since 1148, in which year his predecessor, O'Dubhin, died; but he was a bishop when the foregoing note was composed, and therefore the portion of the book to which it relates must have been written between the years just mentioned, if not before.

Of Aedh Mac Crimthainn the Irish Annals have unfortunately preserved no record; but if he was tutor to King Diarmait Mac Murchadha (who was born in 1110), he must have lived very early in the twelfth century.

It will be observed that the foregoing note is written in a strong spirit of partisanship, the writer asserting boldly the claim* of his chieftain, Diarmait, to be the chief King of Leth Mogha, that is Leinster and Munster, the southern half of Ireland; and the same spirit appears in another place, folio 200 *a*, where a hand much more recent than that of the MS. has written in the upper margin the following strong expression† of grief:—

"[O Mary?] It is a great deed that is done in Erin this day, the kalends of August. Dermot, son of Donnehadh Mac Murchadha, King of Leinster and of the Danes,‡ was banished by the men of Ireland over the sea eastward. Uch! uch! O Lord! what shall I do?"

The event thus so pathetically lamented took place in the year 1166.§ We know not who it was that so recorded his despair, but the note is evidence that this book, to which the name of "Book of Leinster" has been given, was written in the lifetime of Dermot Mac Murrough, and was most probably his property, or that of some eminent personage amongst his followers or clansmen before the English invasion.

These circumstances are important, as proving beyond all reasonable doubt that the copy of the present work which this MS. once contained,* and of which only a single folio leaf remains, must have been written in the twelfth century, and the original must therefore have been still earlier. The author mentions no event later than the battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014, and was probably a contemporary and

follower, as he certainly was a strong partisan, of King Brian Borumha, who fell in that battle. The MS. of which we are now treating was therefore written certainly before 1166, and probably within the century after the death of the author of the work.

The Editor, in the notes upon the first twenty-eight chapters or sections of the text, has distinguished the various readings of this MS. by the letter L. It exhibits several peculiarities of spelling, interesting to the philological student of the Celtic languages; but it has not been thought necessary to notice all these, as the whole of this valuable fragment has been preserved in the Appendix.†

In his Appendix A. Dr. Todd added:—

The fragment of this work contained in the remains of the Book of Leinster, a MS. of the 12th century, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is evidently a much older text, and in a more ancient orthography than that which is found in the Brussels MS. It has therefore been given here with a translation, in parallel columns. This, it will be remembered, is the MS. which is for shortness referred to by the letter L in the notes, pp. 1, 31. There are unfortunately several illegible words and passages in this MS., which has suffered greatly from age and damp.

FOOTNOTES FROM *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill.*

* This signifies that Aedh was abbot or bishop of Tirdaglass, now Terryglass, County Tipperary, where was a celebrated monastery, founded by Colum Mac Crimthainn, who died A. D. 548.

† Flann Mac Lonain, a celebrated Irish poet, many of whose productions are still extant, died in 891.

‡ The Editor has taken the liberty of altering a few words of Mr. O'Curry's translation of this curious entry (*Lectures*, p. 186); but the passage in italics he has allowed to stand, because, although he believes Mr. O'Curry's reading of the original (App. lxxxiv.) to be wrong, he is unable to correct it. It is very obscure in the MS., having been written upon an erasure, which has caused some of the letters to be blurred or blotted; the words which Mr. O'Curry prints *cian no pucem uoo (?) hmgnar* appear to the Editor to be *cian ɣar; ceip lich ic h-mgnar*, of which he can make no sense. It will be observed that the foregoing note does not assert Bishop Finn to have been the scribe by whom the "Book of Leinster" was written. That he was so is inferred by Mr. O'Curry, from the great similarity of the handwriting of the note to that of the text; and Finn, if not the writer of the MS., was probably the writer of the note. The "little history," or historic tale, alluded to, if we suppose it to be that to which the note refers, ends imperfectly at the bottom of folio 206 b. The next leaf begins in the middle of a sentence, having no connexion with what went before; and the defect is of long standing, for the old paginations, made in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, take no notice of it, the next folio being marked 207. The page to which the foregoing note is appended contains the story of the progress of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Ailill Olum, into Meath, or the Battle of Crinna. See O'Curry, *Lectures*, App. lxxxix., p. 598; Keating (in the reign of Fergus Dubhdedach); O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, pp. 331-2. The words of the note—"Let the conclusion of this little history be written for me"—appear to intimate that the "little history" was unfinished when the note was written, and the inference is that it never was completed.

§ Finn, it will be observed, calls himself "bishop," not Bishop of Kildare, which is a subsequent insertion. This is an evidence of antiquity, the establishment of territorial dioceses being then recent, and the titles derived from them not having as yet come fully into use. This prelate assisted at the Synod of Kells in 1152, according to Keating, who calls him (as in some copies) "son of Cianain," but other copies read "son of Tigernain." The Four Masters call him Finn Mac

Gormain, and the Dublin Ann. Inisfall. (A. D. 1160) Mac Gormain, without any Christian name. Ware has "Finan (Mac Tiduain) O'Gorman." This is, no doubt, an error for Finn Mac Cianain O'Gormain, and is an attempt to reconcile the authority of Keating with that of the Four Masters. But the Four Masters call him Mac Gormain, not O'Gormain; there is no inconsistency in his being Mac Cianain, or son of Cianan, and also Mac Gormain. At that time Mac Gormain had come to be assumed as a patronymic or family name, instead of the more correct form O'Gormain. See O'Donovan's *Topogr. Poems*, p. liii., note (433). We have another instance of this in King Dermot, who is called Mac Murchadha, or Mac Murrough, from his grandfather, although he was the son of Donnchadh, and ought, therefore, to have been O'Murrough. *Topogr. Poems*, p. xlii., n. (393), and p. l. n. (405). See his genealogy in O'Donovan's note, *Four Masters*, A. D. 1052, p. 861; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 438.

* The same claim is made in another place in this MS. (fol. 20a) in an addition to a list of the Kings of Leinster, in which Diarmait is thus spoken of—*Diarmait mac Donnchada mac murchada .xlii. ocyr ba m lech mogaule eproe, ocyr mior eproe. Dec ipepna, iar m-buaro ongha ocyr achpigi m .lxi. anno detatyr iuae.* "Diarmait, son of Donnchadh, son of Murchadh [reigned] 46 [years]. And he was king of all Leth Mogha, and also of Meath. He died at Ferns, after the victory of unction and penance, in the 61st year of his age." This note is in a hand more recent than that of the MS., and was written probably in 1177, the year of King Diarmait's death.

† See the original Irish in "O'Curry's Lectures," App., No. lxxxv. The first words, "O Mary," are now so obscure in the MS. that they can only be considered as a conjectural restoration suggested by Mr. O'Curry.

‡ Meaning the Danes of Dublin.

§ See Four Masters. The foregoing note gives us the additional fact that Dermot fled on the 1st of August.

* The Book of Leinster is now very imperfect. The Editor found eleven of the original folia of it at St. Isidore's College, Rome. They were probably lent to Colgan, in accordance with a practice which has proved injurious to many of our Irish MSS. They contain some of the works of Ængus the Culdee, and also the Martyrology of Tallaght, wanting November and the first sixteen days of December, by the loss of a leaf.

† Some few examples of the peculiarities alluded to are given, p. 223, n. 3. They may probably be regarded as characteristic of the old Leinster dialect of the Irish language.

The following is a short description of the MS. in its present state.

The Book of Leinster consists of 194 loose leaves—inclusive of short ones and strips. With the folios in the St. Isidore's collection there are 205 still remaining. The general size of the vellum is 16½ by 9½ inches. The pages are written mostly in double columns, each column averaging 63 lines. The entire is preserved in a modern book-shaped case, classed H. 2. 18.

The old pagination followed by O'Curry in his examination of the manuscript extends to 250 folios; but there are several chasms and defects of which the following is a list.

The folio references in this list are irrespective of the old pagination and will indicate the order of the folios of the original vellum MS., as at present arranged, while the figures included in square brackets are intended to indicate the pagination of the lithographic fac-simile copy of that book, now in progress of publication by the Academy.

Folio 16, = pp. [31-2] is defective at both sides. It appears to have been originally too small to correspond with the general size of the

book. Strips of thin vellum, which were pasted on the top and back margins, and written upon, have disappeared.

Folio 18, = pp. [35-6] is defective at the lower corner of col. 2. A piece of vellum, pasted on the defective corner and written upon, has disappeared; and with it part of the four lowest lines on p. [35], and part of the six last lines on p. [36] have been lost. These observations will apply equally to a similar defect at folio 24, pp. [47] and [48].

Folio 21, = pp. [41-2]. A chasm of two folios between pp. [42] and [43].

Folio 24, = pp. [47-8], lines 44 to 53. Text defective. The vellum, defective here, was restored by pasting a piece on the hole, and this, which was written upon, has disappeared, with the greater part of the last 9 lines on front and back.

Folio 25, = pp. [49-50]. A chasm between pp. [50] and [51]. Noted by O'Curry, who wrote "Defect" in pencil on the foot margin of folio 26 *b*.

Folio 26, = pp. [51-2]. Eleven leaves are missing here between pp. [52] and [53]. This break is noticed by O'Curry, who wrote "Defect" in pencil on the foot margin of folio 26 *b*.

The folio following 43 (now folio 30, = pp. [59-60]) is numbered 45 in the ink pagination, from which it would appear that folio 44 is missing, but there is no break or defect in the text. The folio is now in its proper place, and should be numbered 44, *not* 45. O'Curry made the following note in pencil on the top margin of this folio, p. *b*:—"This folio is in its proper place, E. Curry, folio 44." Owing to this mistake the ink pagination is one folio in advance of the true number as far as it goes.

Folio 37, = pp. [73-4]. A chasm of one leaf here between pp. [74] and [75]. A note in pencil on the top margin of folio 41 *a* is as follows: "One folio wanting here, E. C."

Folio 52, = pp. [103-4]. The old pagination shows a gap between pp. [104] and [105]. The break is noticed by O'Curry, who wrote "Defect" in pencil, on the lower margin of folio 52 *b*.

Folio 53 *a*, = p. [105], is blank.

Folio 59, = pp. [117-8]. One leaf is missing, leaving a chasm between pp. [118] and [119]. This gap is noticed by O'Curry, who wrote "Defect, defect," in pencil, on foot margin of folio 59 *b*.

Folio 63, = pp. [125-6]. The old pagination shows a chasm of fifteen folios between pp. [126] and [127]. O'Curry noted this break, and wrote "Defect" in pencil on the lower margin of folio 63 *b*.

Folio 82, = pp. [163-4]. The old pagination shows a chasm of two folios between pp. [164] and [165]. O'Curry noticed this break, and wrote "Defect" in pencil on lower margin of folio 82 *b*.

Folio 85, = pp. [169-70]. The old pagination shows a chasm of 21 folios between pp. [170] and [171]. At foot of folio 85, O'Curry wrote in pencil, "Defect to folio 140. E. C."

Folio 90, = pp. [179-80]. A chasm between pp. [180] and [181]. O'Curry wrote "Defect" in pencil on foot margin of folio 90 *b*.

Folio 90 *b*, = p. [180]. The matter of this page is illegible. Col. 1 is blank, and only a few letters remain visible on col. 2.

Folio 94, = pp. [187-8]. A chasm between pp. [188] and [189]. O'Curry noted this break, and wrote in pencil "Defect" * * * and a few other words, now illegible, on foot margin of folio 94 *b*.

Folio 95, = pp. [189-90]. A chasm between pp. [190] and [191].

Folio 105, = pp. [209-10]. A chasm between pp. [210] and [211].

Folio 107, = pp. [213-4]. A chasm between pp. [214] and [215].

Folio 108, = pp. [215-6]. A chasm between pp. [216] and [217].

O'Curry wrote "Defect" in pencil on foot margin of folio 108 *b*.

Folio 122, = pp. [243-4]. A chasm between pp. [244] and [245], and the first column of p. [245] is blank, as if that and the missing portion had been reserved for the completion of the preceding piece (the Wars of Troy), which ends imperfectly with folio 122 *b*.

Folio 126, = pp. [251-2]. A chasm between pp. [252] and [253]. "Defect" in pencil in O'Curry's hand, on lower margin of folio 126 *b*.

Folio 134, = pp. [267-8]. The old pagination shows a chasm here between pp. [268] and [269], and an entry, written in English, in a hand about 200 years old, indicates as the extent of the gap, thus "from 196 to 204." See p. 368, *supra*. This is noted by O'Curry, who wrote "Chasm" in pencil on lower margin of folio 134 *b*.

Folio 145, = pp. [289-90]. There is a chasm of one or more folios between pp. [290] and [291]. O'Curry noted this break, and wrote "Defect" in pencil on foot margin of folio 145 *b*, p. [290].

Folio 149, = pp. [297-8]. There is a chasm here between pp. [298] and [299]. "Defect," appears in pencil, in O'Curry's hand, on foot margin of folio 149 *b*, p. [298].

Folio 150, = pp. [299-300]. A chasm of one or more folios here between pp. [300] and [301].

Folio 154, = pp. [307-8]. There is a chasm here between pp. [308] and [309] of the present pagination; or it may, I think, be presumed that the so-called Book of Leinster ends here, but abruptly, and there is no means of ascertaining the extent of the chasm, as the following portions of the manuscript are on different shades of vellum, and evidently written at a subsequent period, and by other hands. After the chasm there is a stave of ten folios of whitish vellum, written in a different hand, which appears to be a restoration, as far as it goes, of so much of the original manuscript now missing.

Folio 159, = pp. [317-8]. A chasm between pp. [318] and [319]. This break is noted by O'Curry, who wrote in pencil on the top margin of folio 160 *a*, p. [319], "A sheet [*i.e.*, two folios], missing here. E. C."

Folio 163, = pp. [325-6]. A break after this folio.

Folio 198. There is a break after folio 198, = pp. [387-8], and no connexion between its subject and the following piece—a fragment of six folios of the Wars of Troy, imperfect at both ends—the old paging is made to run consecutively, as if there was no break in the continuity of the text.

LXII.—ON A COPY, PROBABLY UNIQUE, OF "THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN," (*Epitome In Divae Parthenices Mariæ Historiam, &c.*), by ALBERT DÜRER; WITH THE WOODCUTS AND LATIN VERSE OF CHELIDONIUS. Described by DR. WILLIAM FRAZER, M. R. I. A.

[Read, February 25, 1878.]

THAT series of remarkable woodcuts which constitutes Dürer's well-known "Life of the Virgin," representing a succession of scenes relating to the Apocryphal and Biblical history of Mary, has always been ranked with the more perfect and elaborate of the inventions of the great artist of Nürnberg. Together with his other wondrous productions on copper and wood, they rendered his name celebrated all over the civilized world, and perhaps at no time were they more prized or studied than in the present age. Immediately on their appearance they must have been sold in considerable numbers in the book markets of Germany, the Low Countries, Italy, and probably France; and better evidence cannot be given of the wide-spread popularity and of the high position accorded to them by artists, than their having been copied, immediately on their publication, by Marc Antonio, who, with his own hand, reproduced these woodcuts upon copper plates, and is said to have sold them by hundreds in Venice. The complete series issued by Dürer consists of twenty woodcuts. Of these, Antonio pirated seventeen, omitting the beautiful title-page of the "Virgin and Child," seated on the half moon; the "Death of the Virgin," and the "Assumption."

To assist us in determining the period when Dürer produced this series, we find that three of the plates bear dates: thus, the "History of Joachim and Anna" have the year 1509, as I would read it: the last figure, which I read as 9, is peculiarly shaped; yet I cannot agree with some good French critics who consider it to be a 4 (see remarks on this point in the Sale Catalogue of the Firmin Didot Collection). The "Death of the Virgin" bears also a date, 1510; and the "Crowning of the Virgin" is marked with the same year. The two latter plates were not copied by Antonio, who also omits from his series the "Virgin seated on the half moon," as already mentioned.

An alleged "Premier Edition," as it is termed by writers, is supposed to have been published by Dürer. Its distinguishing marks are the absence of all text upon the verso of the plates, and the high quality of the impressions, which are usually very fine. From this series the "Virgin on the half moon" is invariably absent; it appears for the first time associated with the issue containing the verses of Chelidonius. I doubt greatly whether such an edition ever appeared as a connected series; if it did, it must be of exceptional rarity. M. Haussmann declares he failed to find it complete in any collection, even the most celebrated; and the copy sold at the Firmin Didot sale consisted of twelve plates printed upon paper with the water-mark of

the great crown; six on paper marked with the balance; and one on paper having the mark known as No. 42 of Haussmann.

The year 1511 is remarkable for Dürer having undertaken the systematic issue of several works which up to this period probably circulated in a more or less fragmentary manner. It is true that his "Apocalypse" appeared in 1498, with both German and Latin text; but he added to it for the first time a title-page, and issued it complete in 1511. In this year he got Latin descriptive verses prepared by the monk Benedict Chelidonium, of the cloister of St. Giles, in Nürnberg, and appended them to the completed series of the "Life of the Virgin," to those of his "Great Passion," and also to those of the "Lesser Life of Christ," adding, in addition to all of them, his well-known caution against piracy, *Heus tu insidiator*, &c., words that form the first distinct claim of an artist to the copyright and profits of the labours of his intellect. All these complete editions were issued during the year 1511, and bear on them that date clearly printed. Hence, whatever doubts may be entertained regarding the appearance of earlier editions, this at least is certain, that the work I now show is dated 1511.

We have an additional identification thereof in the special character of the typography of the Latin verses, compared with that of received ordinary impressions of the 1511 prints, with which it agrees in every respect, with the exceptions to be mentioned.

Its special claims to our notice appear to be:—

1. It is printed on paper of unusually thick description. The square 4to sheets are of their full size, with rough edges, just as they left the paper-maker's frames. All the ordinary impressions are upon oblong folio sheets of thinner paper: from this feature alone it would be recognised as an artist's proof copy. This thick hand-made paper, with its wire-marks, offers no example of "water-mark," so far as I can ascertain—an observation worthy of note. All students of Dürer's productions know the peculiar value that is attached in descriptive works to the water-mark, for identification of early impressions of the plates, but this paper appears to have been so thick, that its maker considered a distinctive water-mark unnecessary.

2. In this, again, consists its claim to our special attention. In every impression of these woodcuts that I have enjoyed the opportunity of studying, belonging to the edition of 1511, in either London or Paris, the verses of Chelidonium are imprinted on the back or verso of the woodcut. In this they are executed upon special and detached sheets, bound up alternately with the plates; and the caution against imitators, which in ordinary copies is printed beneath the margin of the last plate, is here honoured with an entire and separate sheet for itself.

These peculiarities enable us to recognise the book under consideration as a unique and peculiar impression designed for some distinct object, and not for general circulation. It is, in fact, what we term a "presentation copy" for gift to some esteemed friend or distinguished personage; and I am induced to think it was thus given to one whom Dürer held in special respect, his friend Bilibald Pirkheimer. Clear

proof of the fact will perhaps be impossible to obtain; this I know, that several books once belonging to Pirkheimer's library were on sale in London at the same time that I obtained the present copy, some of which attracted attention from having within them his book-plate, itself a work designed by Dürer, and much prized by collectors.

The estimation in which Dürer held Pirkheimer throughout his life is well ascertained. He wrote intimate letters to him when at Venice in 1506; he terms him, "My good Lord, the Honorable and Wise Wilbolt Pirkheimer, Burger of Nürnberg." He engraved his portrait in 1524—a head full of character and expression; and in the work on Geometry which Dürer published in 1525 at Nürnberg, there is this dedication, "To my dearly beloved Master and Friend, Wilibalden Pirkheimer." There is also in Windsor a painting of the same friend, which is described by Heller; and in another large painting, in Vienna, an altar-piece, the portraits of both Dürer and Pirkheimer are said to be introduced, standing under a tree. Now in examining the woodcuts of this "Life of the Virgin," I think we can without difficulty recognise the portrait of Pirkheimer introduced more than once amongst the figures which animate the plates; and I believe those who will compare his well-known portrait, as engraved by Dürer, with the corresponding face on the woodcuts, will arrive at a similar conclusion to that now stated, and be satisfied they represent the same individual.

I obtained the present work in 1876 in London. Its coverings had been removed and destroyed, but it was sewn like a pamphlet, and as fresh as if it had only left the publisher's office in Nürnberg. I believe it to have been a special presentation to Dürer's friend Pirkheimer, much of whose library was purchased by the great Earl of Arundel, in the time of Charles I., and from whom was obtained the priceless volume of Dürer's original sketches which constitutes one of the great art treasures of the British Museum. In any case, I can claim for it the rare distinction of being the only recorded artist's proof copy of Dürer's engravings of the "Life of the Virgin" in existence, and, as such, worthy of special notice from all who esteem the labours of the great artist of Nürnberg.

LXIII.—ON THE BRICK INSCRIBED WITH ARCHAIC BABYLONIAN CHARACTERS, IN THE MUSEUM OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN. By DENIS CROFTON, B. A., M. R. I. A.

[Read, April 9, 1877.]

THIS ancient monument is a brick of Nebuchadnezzar, and consequently about 2400 or 2500 years old. I have been unable to find out who was the donor, or how it came into the Museum—but it tells its own tale of previous history. It measures 31·5 centimètres in length, 31 in breadth, and 7·5 in height. The inscription, which is on the top, measures about 15·5 centimètres in length, by 9·5 in breadth, and is disposed in six lines. It has evidently been moulded into its rectangular form, and the inscription impressed by a stamp, whilst the material—which is a highly aluminous clay—was yet soft. It has then been probably sun-dried, and exposed to some considerable heat, such as might be obtained by baking in an oven, but there are no marks of vitrification, or any evidence that it has been exposed to the heat of a furnace. The hue is of a light brownish, or buff colour, and it weighs 11·6362 kilogrammes.¹ The inscription is as follows:—

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 .
Nabu - ku - dur - ri - uzur.

𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 .
Sarru. Ba - bi - lu.

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 .
za - nin. bit. SAG. GA. TU.

𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 .
au. bit. ZI. DA. pallu.

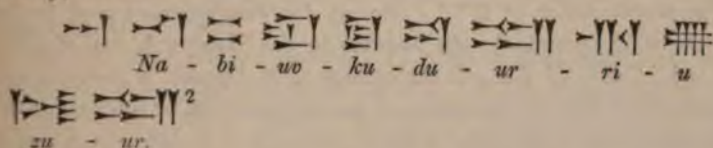
𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 .
ris - tan. Nabu - pallu - uzur.

𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 .
Sarru. Ba - bi - lu. anaku.

¹ The weight and size by the English standards are : weight, 25 lb. 10½ oz. avoirdupois. Length, 12½ inches ; breadth, 12¼ in. ; height, 3 in. Inscription, length, 6½ in. ; breadth, 3¾ in.


The inscription is in the Archaic Babylonian character, or one of the early stages after the primary hieroglyphics from which all the cuneiform writing has been derived; but, for the sake of convenience, I have reduced this to the Neo-Babylonian character.

The name of Nebuchadnezzar is here represented (after the vertical wedge used in the modern character as determinative for a man)—first, by the ideogram for the god Nebo—in which, if the characters were syllabic, they might be *an* and *ak*—then by three syllabic elements; and lastly, by a monogram for the verb *נצר*, here used as an imperative. The same name is elsewhere written entirely syllabically, as:—



This explains the right pronunciation, and affords an excellent illustration of one of the means by which the ideographism and polyphonism of the Anarian writing have been found out. Nebo, instead of being represented by an ideogram, is spelt by three phonetic characters with the non-phonetic determinative for a god prefixed. The same character which represents *ku* both on the brick and in the name spelt syllabically also representing *dur* on the brick; but in the other instance the second one of the doubled characters of the brick disappears, and instead of it we have two different characters representing *du* and *ur*, thus showing that one character can represent both *ku* and *dur*. The brick monogram of *uzur* is also in the second example resolved into *u*, *zu*, and *ur*. The name means, most probably, "Nebo protect the young man," as the middle element would correspond to the Arabic *كدر* (*kudurrun*), which has the signification of "a strong and thickset youth." *Sarru* is the equivalent of the Hebrew *שר*, and

² See in "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," published by the Trustees of the British Museum under the superintendence of Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K. C. B., vol. i., p. 51: No. 1, "Cylinders from the Temple of the Seven Spheres at Birs Nimrud;" No. 2, "Cylinders from the Temple of the Sun at Senkereh;" p. 52: No. 3, "Cylinder from Babylon;" and No. 4, "Cylinder brought by Mr. Rich from Babylon."

in the trilingual inscriptions renders the ancient Persian *ksháyathiya*, derived from a root corresponding to the Sanscrit, क्षि (*kshī*), to "rule." *Babilu* is spelt syllabically, and followed by a non-phonetic determinative for a country or town, which, if syllabic, might be *Bi*. *Zanin* is the present participle from a Babylonian or Assyrian root, זנן, shown by the verbs which it sometimes replaces to have the meaning of "constructing," or "restoring." *Bit. SAG. GA. TU* is evidently some edifice or palace, and has been considered by M. Jules Oppert to be the pyramid covering the tomb of Belus, the ruins of which are now called *Babil* or *Makloubeh*, and to have had, probably, the pronunciation of הרם (*Haram*), the Semitic word used in the sense of "Pyramid." *Au* answers to the Hebrew ו, and signifies "and." *Bit. ZI. DA.*, in the opinion of M. Oppert, is the ruin now called *Birs Nimrud*, the temple of the seven planets, or spheres, on the presumed site of the tower of Babel, and to have probably been named צרחה (*Zarha*) by the Babylonians. It must, however, be admitted that we have as yet no certainty as to the pronunciation of this name, or of that of *Bit. Saggatu*. *Pallu* is a monogram for "son," and contains the syllabic elements of *tur* and *us*. *Ristan* is a formation in ר, signifying "first-born," or "eldest," from רשת, equivalent to the Hebrew ראשית, "beginning," or from ארש, "to take a wife." It is followed by the non-phonetic determinative for an ordinal number, which, if syllabic, might be *kam*. *Nabupalluuzur* has the same initial and final elements as *Nabukudurriuzur*, with *Pallu* as the medial one, and signifies "Nebo protect the son." *Sarru* and *Babilu* have been already discussed, the latter being here, as in the former instance, spelt syllabically, and not represented, as it often is, by an ideogram. *Anaku* is the pronoun of the first person represented by א, a monogram for a "man," with the phonetic complement (or syllable in which the word should terminate if written syllabically)  is suffixed.

The translation of the whole inscription is, therefore (following the ordinary methods of spelling the kings' names):—

"I (am) Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, restorer of the pyramid, and tower, eldest son of Nabopallassar, King of Babylon."

V.—UPON A SCULPTURED SLAB FROM NINIVEH, WITH A CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN. By DENIS CROFTON, B.A., M. R. I. A.

[Read, 14th of May, 1877.]

slab respecting which I make the following record is preserved upstairs in the College Library, to the left of the visitors' entrance. It was presented to Trinity College in 1853 by Mrs. Rolland, who, with her husband Mr. Rolland, accompanied Mr. Layard on his first explorations at Niniveh, and brought it thence. I understand that many of the sketches in Layard's first book were executed by Mrs. Rolland.

The size of the slab is—breadth, 42 English inches; height, 31 in.; thickness, varying somewhat, about $4\frac{1}{2}$. It has been taken from the north-west palace at Nimrud—the Biblical Calah—and, like all the slabs from Nimrud, is composed of what is called the grey marble of Assyria, which is a kind of mixture of carbonate and sulphate of lime, forming a natural marble. It is not an artificial compound. I have been particular in mentioning this, as, from the quantity of sulphate, one might have been supposed that we had to deal with only a cast, but this is not the case. There is the following line of Cuneiform inscription on the basement:—



lekal. Assur - naṣir - pal. karib. Assur.

karib. an - nu - u. Ninip.

- ra - am. A - nū. u.

Da - gan. gu - su - us.

Plui. rabi.

The slab represents a winged male human figure, probably a priest,





¹ This character is omitted on the Dublin slab.

² The slab inscription ends here.

kneling on the right knee, before the sacred tree, with the hands extended towards it—the right, to its bottom: and the left, to its top. The sculpture is exactly similar to that in Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, at pl. 7 (A), except that this latter represents two figures, with the whole of the sacred tree between them, and the slab has only the left-hand one, and not the whole of the sacred tree.

The Cuneiform writing is the beginning of the "standard inscription," so called from its having been found on many of the slabs from the north-west palace.

The foregoing inscription I would thus analyse:—

Hekal is the well-known ideogram for a "palace," compounded of *bit* and *rab*, signifying "great house." Next come the set of monograms expressing the name of the king, *Assur-naṣir-pal*, preceded by the vertical wedge, as determinative of the name of a man. The first of these is the known monogram for *Assur*, the supreme god of the Assyrians. The second is used as one for *נצר*, "to protect," which is here under the form of a present participle—if syllabic, it might be *kur*. The third is one for *Habal*, *Pallu*, or *Pal*, "a son,"—if not ideographic, it might be *a*. The whole name, therefore, means "*Assur* protects the son." , the next character, which I have interpreted *karib*, is difficult. Its value, if syllabic, might be *lak*; but as a character in use as a monogram for *Assur* follows, there is a presumption that it is ideographic, and the ordinary interpretations of "seal" or "writing" do not answer. I have, therefore, searched the Syllabaries of Sardanapalus, or Assur-bani-pal, and find in "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," published by the Trustees of the British Museum, vol. ii., p. 1, No. 120,  explained in the first, left-hand, Proto-Babylonian, or phonetic column, by *ki si ip*, but in the third, right-hand, Assyrian, or ideographic column, by *ri it tum*. The latter may, I think, be paralleled with the Heb. root *רדד*, "to subdue," and we would thence get the signification of "vassal," or "servant." A better meaning still, however, is perhaps afforded by No. 373, where it is rendered by *la ak* in the first column, and by *ba an nu* in the third. This may be fairly assimilated to the Heb. *קרבן*, an "offering," from *קרב*, "to approach," and therefore I would render  by *Karib*, present participle from the corresponding verb in Assyrian, to *קרב*, and translate it "worshipper." Then comes *Assur* again. The following character,  which, if syllabic,

might be "ni," has offered some difficulty; but in one of the tablets brought home from Nineveh in 1874, by the late Mr. George Smith, and marked S 15 in the British Museum, now published in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," and edited by Mr. H. F. Talbot, vol. iii., at p. 505, No. 51, it is rendered in the first column by "ni i," and in the third, by "i." This latter we may parallel with the Heb. נִי, "a habitable land," and render, it a "dwelling."* After *Karib* a second time comes *Annu*. This I consider a derivative from the pael form of the verb equivalent to the Hebrew עָנָה, "to be oppressed," and to mean "afflicted" or "humble." To this succeeds the ideogram for *Ninip*, the Assyrian Hercules. The latter of the characters, 𐎶 forming this, has been omitted on the slab, but I have supplied it from Layard's copy of the "standard inscription." *Naram*, signifying "exalter," is a derivative from 𐎶𐎵, to "elevate" or "exalt." *Anū* is the Assyrian name for the god Oannes. *U* signifies "and," equivalent to the Hebrew וְ. *Dagan* is the "fish god" "*Dagon*," to whom there are some Biblical allusions, notably so in 1 Sam. c. v. *Gusus* I consider to come from 𐎶𐎶𐎶, to "touch," or "seek," cognate with the Arabic verbs جَسَّ, to "examine by touch," and جاسَّ, to "seek with diligence," and would translate it by "seeker after." The slab inscription ends with the character *su* of *gusus*, and this is partly broken, but I have added the part requisite to make up the sense from Layard's copy. Then comes the monogram for a god, followed by the sign of the plural, and this by the monogram for *rab*, "great," also followed by the sign of the plural, to designate "the great gods."

The inscription I would therefore translate thus, placing the words added to make up the sense, between parentheses:—

"(This is) the palace of Assur-nazir-pal, the worshipper of Assur; (it is) the dwelling of the humble worshipper of Ninip, the exalter of Anū and Dagan, the seeker after the great gods." Assur-nazir-pal, king of Assyria, who flourished in the ninth century before Christ, was the son of Tugulti-Ninip II., and reigned, according to the computation of the late Mr. George Smith, for the twenty-five years from 885 to 860, B. C.

* The former Syllabary from which I have quoted has, at No. 685, *ni i* in place of the *ni i* of the first, and *Iau* in the place of the *i* of the third column here.

LXV.—ON THE FORMS AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ANCIENT STONE IMPLEMENTS IN INDIA. By V. BALL, Esq., M.A., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey of India. With Plates XIV. and XV. and a Map (Plate XVI.).

[Read, 30th of November, 1878.]

1. Madras.
2. Hyderabad (Nizam's territory), and the Berars.
3. Central Provinces and Bandelkhand.
4. Rajputana and Central India.
5. Bombay.
6. Sind and Beluchistan.
7. Bengal and Orissa.
8. Assam and adjoining Countries.
9. Burmah.
10. Andaman Islands.
11. Sumatra.
12. Java.
13. Methods employed in the manufacture of the implements.
14. Uses to which the stone implements were put.
15. General and concluding remarks on the geographical distribution.
16. List of Localities.

INTRODUCTION.

In the year 1864, shortly after my arrival in India, I commenced making a collection of naturally fractured quartzite pebbles, for the purpose of ascertaining how closely these objects, without the aid of human agency, might approximate in form to the character of those rudely chipped implements for which an artificial origin had in different countries been claimed. If not at that time an actual unbeliever in, I was at least somewhat doubtful as to, the evidence adduced in certain cases being completely conclusive of the objects having been the work of man. From time to time, however, in the vicinity of the coal-fields of Western Bengal, I picked up chipped stones which seemed to show such strong evidences of design (*vide* Pl. 14, Figs. 1-3), that my views on the subject became considerably modified. I trust that I shall be pardoned this personal explanation, but it seems to be advisable that it should be clearly indicated that the views and generalisations which I put forward in this Paper are the result of many years' systematic observation and record.

Two of the specimens now exhibited present a sufficiently close resemblance to the well-known forms to make it probable that they might be regarded by a casual observer as not essentially differing from them. A minute examination of the planes of fracture, however, soon shows

that there is an absence of evidence of any laboriously worked-out design, and that, in point of fact, these objects are probably of purely natural origin, and that their resemblance to the artificial forms is merely accidental. It is far different with the objects figured in Plate 14, and notably so with Figure No. 3. In this one especially, and in the others in a less degree, a central plane, with a cutting edge all round, has been produced by a succession of fractures according to systematic design, and hence they may, I think, with perfect confidence, be asserted to be of artificial origin.

In the second group or class of stone implements, of which I exhibit some specimens and illustrations, viz., that which includes the cores and flakes of flint, chert, and agate, the same principle of evidence of design may likewise be applied, and where the cores, as in examples which have been figured from Sind and Jabalpur,* display a symmetrical arrangement of the fractures, no doubt can exist of their artificial origin, though we may indeed be somewhat at a loss to explain the methods employed in their production. Where the flakes have been trimmed into the shape of knives and arrow-heads the artificial origin is likewise apparent, but some of the ruder flakes may have been the result of natural fracture. Such an one from Singhbhum is also exhibited.

In the following pages I propose to take up in succession the several geographical regions into which India may most conveniently be divided, and to describe briefly the characteristics of the implements whose discovery has been recorded from them respectively. I shall then treat of the methods by which they were manufactured, and the purposes for which they were probably employed, and I shall conclude with some general remarks on the geographical distribution of the different forms of implements, and the probable history of the races who manufactured them.

I leave it to others more conversant with the forms and distribution of implements, in countries other than those included in India, to point analogies, and to test my conclusions, by applying them to a more extended sphere.

MADRAS.

My colleague, Mr. Foote, has made the subject of the stone implements of the Madras Presidency so particularly his own, and has published such full accounts of his researches and conclusions, that I almost hesitate to attempt here to give a *resumé* of them, lest it should happen that I should omit any points of importance.

But since it is necessary for the main argument of this Paper that it should contain a sketch of the discoveries of implements which have been made in each of the great geographical divisions of the Indian Empire, I am compelled to offer the following brief account of the

* *Vide* references in Table.

Madras implements, leaving it to those who may desire to go deeper into the question to refer directly to Mr. Foote's memoir.*

Together with Mr. King, Mr. Foote has, in the districts of Madras Proper and North Arcot collected many hundreds of chipped quartzite implements where they were found, either washed or eroded out on the surface of laterite gravels and conglomerates, or embedded *in situ* at depths of from three to eight, or even ten feet beneath the same.

Mr. Foote's reasons for concluding that the Madras implements are of the same age as the laterite are three-fold. *Firstly*, when occurring on the surface they are invariably associated with the detritus from laterite beds, and they do not occur in the younger alluvial formations which separate areas of laterite. *Secondly*—the implements all bear a colour and stain of the matrix of laterite in which they were embedded, precisely similar to that found on the miscellaneous quartzite shingle also occurring in and on the laterite, and which, from its abundance, cannot have been transported in comparatively recent times to its present position by human agency, as has been suggested for the implements. *Thirdly*—there is the already mentioned fact that the implements are sometimes found firmly embedded in the laterite, though this fact is not quite so conclusive as might be at first supposed, since it is just possible that the particular bed including the implements might consist of re-assorted detrital laterite, and not of the original formation. That the bed does belong to the original formation is, however, in Mr. Foote's opinion, most probable.

The term laterite, which I have used above, may possibly convey no very distinct meaning to the English reader; it is one applied to a form of rock which is only doubtfully represented in any country other than India. Be this as it may, the name is at present used exclusively in reference to an Indian post-tertiary formation, which, though varying in composition and structural characters, is constant in this one respect—that it is an indurated clay containing a greater or less percentage of ferruginous constituents with occasional nests of lithomarge. It is either cellular, pisolitic, or conglomeritic in structure, and is possibly separable into several groups of different ages.

There are good reasons for believing that it at one time covered over nearly the whole of India as with a film, several hundred feet thick, which accommodated itself to the previously existing inequalities of the surface. It is now found in isolated caps on the tops of some of the loftiest plateaus of the central parts of India, and forms a marginal zone along both the eastern and western coasts. That it is a subaqueous deposit seems necessary from its characters; but whether formed under fresh water or the sea it is impossible to say, since it has not yielded any fossil *fauna* or *flora*. The marginal zone, which con-

* For references to Mr. Foote's Papers see the Table accompanying this Paper, p. 403.

tains the implements above mentioned, was probably deposited in the latter part of the period, during which—supposing the deposit to be of sub-marine origin—Peninsular India must have been gradually elevated from 500 to 600 feet, since Mr. Foote has ascertained that the laterite along the western edge of the zone is that amount above present sea level.

Both Messrs. King and Foote have pointed out that in some cases the implements have been found more abundantly in the vicinity of masses of metamorphic rocks, or on the flanks of hills, which probably stood out as islets in the lateritic sea, than elsewhere. Mr. Foote has also suggested, as a bare speculation, the possibility of some of the implements having been dropped into the waters from the rafts or boats of the ancient inhabitants, while some may have been left by them when they ranged over the flats of laterite which were exposed at low tide. He, at the same time, very properly declines to suggest ice as the transporting agent, and concludes that “the total absence of organic remains from the lateritic formations renders it very difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to the circumstances existing during their deposition over such wide-spread areas.”

The above-quoted facts, together with other details given by Mr. Foote, are sufficient, I believe, to prove that vast physical changes have taken place in India since it was first inhabited. That it was a gradually rising island during a portion of these far distant times seems also probable. Intimately connected with this subject are the results which have in late years been arrived at from the study of Comparative Ethnology, and the geographical distribution of plants and animals, from which conclusions as to a former arrangement of land surfaces in the Eastern hemisphere have been drawn. But I do not at present propose to do more than thus briefly allude to this aspect of the question.

Mr. Foote also records the occurrence of stone implements in the Kadapah and Karnul districts, often at considerable elevations, and quite removed from the marginal zone of laterite; but states that “there is no evidence as yet to prove or disprove the contemporaneity of the high and low level implement-bearing deposits.”

I believe I am correct in saying that the implements from these different elevations do not exhibit any characters serving to distinguish them from one another respectively—all conform to the general type of chipped quartzites, many varieties of which have been figured by Mr. Foote. It only remains for me to notice the cases where implements belonging to the other two classes have been found in Madras. Mr. Foote describes some discoidal objects, for which he has suggested the title sling-stones, and also some flakes and arrow-heads, which seem to be quite different in character from those from North-Western India, having been formed probably from chips from the chipped quartzites, and not from cores, in the orthodox manner. In Rajmahendry alone, within the limits of the Madras Presidency, do the true cores and flakes appear to have been met with.

To the best of my belief, but one example of a polished celt has been met with in the Madras Presidency,* and even that was only a fragment of a stone hatchet, which was picked up on the crest of a hill six miles north of Mercara in Coorg. So that it is almost absolutely true that there is no evidence of the former existence of manufacturers of polished celts in Southern India.

Mr. Foote has recorded the occurrence of some perforated stones which are similar to those I shall presently describe from some other regions.

HYDERABAD (NIZAM'S TERRITORY) AND THE BERAHS.

In these regions Messrs. Blanford and Fedden, of the Geological Survey, have collected a considerable number of specimens of implements which correspond to the Madras types, both in form and material; but they have also obtained some made of flinty inter-trappean rocks, whose condition, resembling hornstone, has been produced by the baking action of the basalt sheets. I believe some of the specimens which have been obtained are approximate in character to the polished celts; but I have not the means of reference by me.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BANDELKHAND.

The chipped quartzites from the Central Provinces are very similar in character to those from Madras. The most considerable collections have been made in the Saugor district; but odd specimens have been picked up at various points throughout, and as far to the east as Sambulpur, at a locality not far from where specimens were found in the adjoining territories of Orissa. All the above were picked up on the surface, unconnected with any deposit of determinable age; but at Bhutra, in the Narbada valley, a most important discovery was made by Mr. Hackett, of the Geological Survey, who found several implements, which were distinctly *in situ*, in osseous deposits of pleistocene age. The bones so associated with these traces of man were of Hexaprotodon, and other extinct mammalia: there were also fossils of several species of still existing *Ursus*.† *Am. civ.*

Examples of the flakes and cores occur in great abundance in the region about Jabalpur, and for considerable distances along the edge of the great Dekan trap sheet. Their occurrence has been described in a number of communications, published in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the references to which are given in the Table below.

The instances of polished celts being found in the Central Provinces seem to be few; but I am aware that there are some regarding which, unfortunately, no facts have been published, and I do not possess the details by me.

* Vide Note added in the Press, p. 413.

† Records Geol. Survey of India, 1873, pp. 50, 57.

In Bandelkhand, as I have indicated in the Table, a large number were obtained many years ago. Some of these, I am from my recollection of them inclined to believe, were not implements at all; but were prepared as symbols of the *Lingum*, and indeed they appear to have been chiefly obtained near altars.

The perforated stones—of which I exhibit one example, picked up by myself from the surface at Mopani, in the Central Provinces—are also somewhat rare; but a few have also been obtained near Jabalpur. I shall allude to their probable uses, and their resemblance to forms met with in other parts of the world, on a future page.

RAJPUTANA AND CENTRAL INDIA.

A considerable number of chipped quartzites have been obtained in this area; but as details have not been published, I am unable to give the particulars. At Kerowlie a flint core was also obtained.

BOMBAY.

At Peyton, on the Godaveri, Mr. A. B. Wynne, of the Geological Survey, obtained a well-fashioned flint knife, which, since it occurred in gravels containing bones of extinct pleistocene mammalia, is one of the most important discoveries yet made in India.

SIND AND BELUCHISTAN.

Flint cores from Sind were described and figured in the *Geological Magazine* for 1866, by Mr. John Evans. They were originally said to have been found three feet below the surface of the (nummulitic limestone) rock in the bed of the Indus. This statement was subsequently corrected; but, in 1875, Mr. W. T. Blanford, who was then at Sakkar, was given some cores, which were said likewise to have been found two or three feet beneath the limestone. His examination of the rock *in situ*, however, appears to have convinced him that the specimens must have first fallen, or been washed into, the holes and crevices which abound in every direction. On the hills about Rohri and Sakkar both flakes and cores abound; but the latter are not so symmetrically formed as are those from the bed of the Indus.

Only last year Mr. W. T. Blanford received from Major Mockler, from Sutkagen-Dor, forty miles north-west of Gwadar, on the Makran coast (Beluchistan), a number of articles of pottery, &c.; together with which there were "some very well-shaped knives, precisely such as we might expect to have been split off from the cores from Sakkar."* This is the most western locality whence flakes of this type have, as yet, been recorded. No implements of other

* *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1877, p. 157, plate ii., fig. 15.

types, save some so-called hammers, have been found in Sind or Beluchistan.

BENGAL AND ORISSA.

With but very few and unimportant exceptions, the whole of the recorded implements which have, as yet, been discovered in the Bengal Presidency—by which I mean the region under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal—are now before the Academy. They were all either picked up on the surface by myself, or obtained by me direct from the persons into whose hands they passed after their discovery. Though the collection is so small, it is, in a remarkable degree, representative of types at one time considered to be characteristic of the forms of implements belonging to various widely separated regions in India and adjoining countries.

The chipped quartzite and vein quartz implements, figured in Plate 14, are from Manbhum, in Chutia Nagpur, the Raniganj coal-field, in the district of Bardwan, and from Talchir, Denkanal, and Ungul, in Orissa. On comparison with a series of Madras implements, the resemblance to some of the forms is very striking, and the conclusion that a connexion existed between the peoples who manufactured these implements, respectively, seems a legitimate one to draw. Not only is there a resemblance in form, but also in material, and in some instances at least, in the case of the Bengal specimens, they were picked up at localities far remote from the nearest possible source of origin, thus necessitating some human means of transport. At the same time, with these rudely-formed implements there is a less clearly defined degree of character than is to be found in some of the more carefully fashioned implements to be presently described.

In one district of Bengal only have traces of the flakes and cores been met with, which are found so abundantly in some of the more western regions of India. This district is Singhbhum, where Captain Beching and myself discovered them. Not only did these in themselves, from their forms and nature, indicate a human origin; but I was in some cases able to trace the probable source of the materials of which they had been formed; and in these cases, as with the chipped quartzites, human transport was absolutely necessary to account for their position. See Figs. 14 and 15, in Plate 15.

I have already described how those implements which are the work of human agency may be distinguished, by the evidence of laboriously executed design, from naturally fractured fragments of stone. I am quite prepared to find, however, that some persons unaccustomed to this kind of inquiry, may very possibly decline to accept my argument as conclusive; but even such can scarcely refuse to admit that the polished celts—Figs. 8 to 12 in Plate 13—are of human origin.

The first of these (Fig. 8) was found by me at Buradih, near the borders of the Singhbhum and Lohardugga districts. It is made of an argillaceous and was possibly, though having the form

of an axe, used in the hand for dressing skins. It appears to have seen some service; but probably never at any time had so highly finished a surface as the implements numbered 9 and 10. These are made of a dense volcanic rock, susceptible of receiving a high polish. It is not unlikely that they likewise were used for dressing skins. In general appearance they closely resemble certain well-known forms of European celts. They were discovered in some forest land, which has recently been cleared for tea cultivation on the slopes of Parinath, a well-known lofty hill in Western Bengal, which has for many years attracted notice as a place of pilgrimage by the people of the Jain religion throughout India, and more recently as a site for an attempted Sanitarium, which has proved a failure. I am indebted to Mr. I. J. Whitty, C.E., for these specimens.

In the district of Singhbhum I obtained from Mr. Ritchie, Superintendent of Police, two specimens of the specialised Burmese type of shouldered adze, Plate 15, Figs. 11 and 12. In my original account of them I pointed out this resemblance, and further stated that they were likewise regarded by the people of the country as being thunderbolts, as is also the case in Burmah. Shortly after the publication of my Paper, General Sir Arthur Phayre, then in the Mauritius, communicated the interesting fact that the valley of the Irawadi, where many of the Burmese implements have been found, is inhabited by a race of people called *Muns*, whose language and customs show an affinity for those of the *Mundas*, who inhabit Singhbhum and adjoining districts. Thus, the probability of a pre-historic connexion having existed becomes very great. It is in part the success of this identification that has led me on to the wider generalisation of the present Paper.

ASSAM AND ADJOINING COUNTRIES.

In Assam and the neighbouring hills polished celts, approximating in character to the unshouldered Burmese forms,* have been discovered in small numbers at wide intervals. The materials used in their manufacture vary from jade to gneiss and soft argillaceous slate. They appear to have been used principally as hoes for weeding and planting on the hill sides. Among the Assamese they are believed, as in Burmah, to be thunderbolts. The Nagas, however, according to Mr. Peale, say that they belong to a former and extinct race of people, and seem to regard them as uncanny objects, which it is advisable for them to leave alone.

BURMAH.

Like Mr. Foote in Madras, so Mr. W. Theobald, also of the Geological Survey, is the great authority on the stone implements of

* It seems, however, to be usual with them to have the edges ground down on both sides, while in the Burmese implements the cutting surface is generally a chisel-like edge.

Burmah, and has published a number of Papers, the most comprehensive and latest of which will be found as an Appendix to his Account of the Geology of Pegu.* Dr. J. Anderson, the Rev. Dr. Mason, and Captain Fryer have also written on this subject.

I shall not attempt here to enter into details regarding the varieties of form which have been met with in Burmah. It will be sufficient to state that one class of the so-called specialised Burmese forms have a shouldered adze-like shape, while the other, though unshouldered, differ from the ordinary Indian and European celts, in having a chisel instead of a double-sloped cutting edge.

Specimens are particularly abundant in the valley of the Irawadi, above Prome; but the districts of Aracan, Tenasserim and Toungeo have also yielded a large number of examples. One only has been found so far to the south as Moulmein. In Western Yunan, the unshouldered varieties, generally made of jade, were met with by Dr. Anderson. I quote the following curious account of the estimation in which these articles are held by the Burmese, from Mr. Theobald's above-mentioned Paper:—

“The Burmese call these implements *mo-jio*, thunder-chain or thunder-bolt, and believe that they descend with the lightning flash, and, after penetrating the earth, work their way back by degrees to the surface, where they are found scattered about the fields, among the lower hills, usually after rain, or on removing crops. The true *mo-jio* is supposed to possess many occult virtues, and it is not common to find one which does not show signs of having been chipped or scraped for medicinal purposes.

“One of the chief virtues of the *mo-jio* is to render the person of the wearer invulnerable; and many an unlucky *mo-jio* has succumbed to the popular test, which is to wrap it in a cloth and fire a bullet at it at short range. If the man misses the cloth the authenticity and power of the charm is at once established; if the stone is fractured it is held not to be a real *mo-jio*. Other less severe tests are also applied. Fowls, it is supposed, will not venture near rice on which a real *mo-jio* is lying. Fire will not consume a house which contains one (though I never heard of this ordeal being attempted). A plantain tree cut down with one will not sprout up again; and last, but not least in esteem, is the known fact that the owner of a real *mo-jio* can cut a rainbow in half with it.”†

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

Elsewhere in this Paper I have alluded to the fact that, in the Andaman Islands we have a race of people who, at the present day, manufacture flakes from flint pebbles. Near the settlements glass has

* *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, vol. x. pp. 255-259.

† *Ibid.*, p. 171.

been adopted as a more suitable material by the partially-tamed tribes.

SUMATRA.

A specimen of a polished celt from Sumatra, and now in the Christy Museum, London, is considered by Mr. Theobald to be of very similar character to one from Burmah. I have not had an opportunity as yet of ascertaining what has been written on the subject of Sumatra implements.*

JAVA.

It appears that a considerable series of chipped implements and polished celts have been obtained in Java. These have, I believe, been reported on by a Commission appointed for the purpose, by the French Academy of Sciences, which, in all probability, contains much interesting information.

METHODS EMPLOYED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF THE IMPLEMENTS.

What I have said on a previous page, in reference to the evidence of design afforded by the chipped quartzite implements, sufficiently indicates how they were in all probability trimmed into shape; but with the agate and chert flakes it is by no means so easy to account for the process employed. The beautiful symmetry of the cores, especially those from Sind, indicate an amount of careful and skilled manipulation which the quartzite chippers rarely if ever possessed. In the Andamans I heard that heat was an agent employed in facilitating fracture, but I could get no full account of the whole process. I doubt if the Andamanese, too, ever produced cores like those from Sind.

Pressure has been rather vaguely suggested as the means by which these flakes were made; but no one, so far as I know, has by any application of it produced satisfactory results.

The polished celts, particularly those of hard materials, in all probability represent a great amount of work. Some of them, particularly those of the shouldered type, may have been sawn into shape. It is well known that fibres and thin laths used in conjunction with sand have been used successfully to cut through iron fetters. A similar process, with suitable varieties of sand, may have been employed by the ancient manufacturers of celts.

USES TO WHICH THE STONE IMPLEMENTS WERE PUT.

Although it has been a common practice with many writers to speak of these chipped stone implements as axes, hatchets, &c., I do not think that any one can really be prepared to maintain that they could ever have been employed as such in the manner in which modern axes or hatchets are used.

More unsuitable tools for actually cutting wood can hardly be con-

* *Vide* Note on page 412.

ceived of, though as wedges for splitting wood, many, both of the chipped and polished kinds would be fairly efficient instruments. Some may possibly have been used for scooping out canoes and wooden vessels, the operation being facilitated by a preliminary charring by fire. It is known that some have been used in Assam and adjoining countries on the North-east frontier as hoes in rude agriculture, and that for this purpose iron has, in certain remote tracts, only of late become available.

Although certain forms of the chipped quartzites may have been carried in cleft sticks as battle-axes or weapons of offence or defence against wild animals, I believe that the bulk of them were used for grubbing wild roots out of the ground. Some years ago I paid a good deal of attention to the subject of the jungle products, which afford a means of support to many of the aboriginal races. Besides fruits, leaves, and stems, I ascertained that the roots, particularly of several species of *Dioscorea*, &c., furnished a substantial food for several months of every year. At the present day people belonging to such tribes may often be seen laboriously digging up these roots, either with a simply pointed stick, or a stick provided with an iron spike. I have a very vivid recollection of the appearance presented by a woman whom I saw thus engaged during the present year. Her prognathous countenance was of the lowest type I have ever seen; to what race or tribe she belonged I did not ascertain, but as I saw her with hunger in her eyes and an infant strapped on her back, while she crouched over the precious root which she was digging out, I could not but regard her as being in all probability a lineal descendant of the manufacturers and users of stone implements such as some of those which I exhibit here to-night.

There is one class of stone implements unsuited to any of the above-mentioned purposes, but which, being provided with sharp edges, it seems very probable were used as skin scrapers. In connexion with this I may mention, that on one occasion in the Satpura Hills, in the Central Provinces, having shot a bear, I gave the carcase, with some knives, to the people who had brought it to camp, in order that they might take off the skin. These people belonged to a tribe who always carry a very small well-sharpened iron axe of a form I have not seen elsewhere. After working for a short time with the knives, they discarded them for the axes, which they removed from their wooden handles, and then placing their thumbs in the holes, grasped them firmly with their fingers and continued the flaying with astonishing rapidity. In a similar way I believe that the scrapers of stone may have been used for the preparation of skins which, when rudely dressed, afforded the only clothing of these early inhabitants. The various forms of traps and snares which are now commonly met with in the jungles may be survivals of the ancient methods which were employed to capture the wild animals.

Opinions differ much as to the probable uses of the ring stones, of which examples of various sizes have been obtained in Madras, Jabal-

pur, and Mopani, in the Central Provinces, and Karakpur in Bengal, and in Burmah. They have been supposed to be weights for spindles, net sinkers, and in the case of the specimens from Karakpur, portions of querns or hand mills. These last, indeed, appear to be of no great antiquity, and the suggestion is probably correct. I am able to exhibit a specimen of perforated schist of very modern origin, of which I was able to ascertain the history. I picked it up one day at Almora, in the Himalayas, and seeing it was modern, I thought it possible I might get a clue to the uses of the ancient forms, to which it had some resemblance. On inquiry I found it was simply a toy quern which had been manufactured by or for the children of the village, and one small boy laughed outright when he saw me carrying it off.

The example (Plate 15, Fig. 13) is, however, ancient beyond a doubt. I have already suggested in my original account of it that I am inclined to believe, from the facility with which it can be grasped, that it may have been used as a sort of "knuckle-duster" in encounters between men and wild animals. As a spindle whorl or net-sinker, it appears to me that it is unnecessarily heavy, and for either of these purposes a softer, more easily worked, stone than basalt would answer equally well.

The chief point of interest about it is its very close resemblance to forms which have not uncommonly been met with in Europe and likewise in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and other parts of North America.* To those who believe in an Asiatic origin for the North American Indians this fact may be of interest. These implements are commonly called hammer stones; but I do not think it probable that they were employed in the manufacture of flakes, as has been suggested by some authorities.

The flakes of chert, agate, &c., which were struck from the cores I exhibit were undoubtedly used as lancets, knives, arrow-heads, &c. I have, in a Paper read in this place on a previous occasion, described how, in the Andaman Islands at the present day, in the vicinity of the settlements, flakes of bottle glass are used as lancets and razors, they being found to be more efficient than the flakes of chert, &c., which were formerly used there. It is most probable that in some parts of the islands chert or hornstone flakes are still manufactured, and used for these purposes.

I cannot leave this part of the subject without making a suggestion as to a possible use of some of the forms whose efficiency as implements may appear to be doubtful. In Burmah, Assam, &c., these objects are regarded either as being of supernatural origin, or as thunderbolts, as I have stated above. In Bandelkhand and the Central Provinces they have sometimes been found placed in the vicinity of Shivoid altars, or the well-known *lingum*. It seems, therefore, possible that some forms may have been specially prepared as votive offerings, and possessed a symbolical significance in a now for-

* Vide *American Naturalist*, for March, 1873.

gotten cult. Possibly, however, the custom among certain of the aboriginal tribes to make offerings of pottery-images, &c., to the evil spirits which they believe infest their forests and hills, and whom it is considered to be much more important to propitiate than it is to invoke the good spirits, may be a relic of that ancient time.

Miniature stone models of agricultural implements might very possibly have been offered on the altars of those deities or spirits who were supposed to preside over agriculture, and upon whose favour prosperity was believed to depend. We need not seek far in other religions for analogous offerings of types for actual things. There is an iron adze-shaped tool in use in Burmah at the present day very similar to the shouldered celts found in that province, which fact throws a doubt on the great antiquity claimed for the latter, since it is simply idle to suppose that these stone adzes can have been used for shaping wood.

GENERAL AND CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

Reviewing the facts given under the several geographical headings above, and the further details in the Table appended, it becomes apparent that it is possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to subdivide India with the adjoining countries on the east and west into three great regions, each characterized by containing a certain class of stone implements. On the accompanying map (Plate 16) I have attempted to distinguish the limits of these regions respectively. It will be observed that there are patches detached from each, to which the geological term *outlier* may conveniently be applied.

Throughout this Paper I have not made use of the terms *neolithic* and *paleolithic*, convenient as they doubtless are, since they are calculated to convey what, in the case of India at least, I consider to be an erroneous idea of progression. The different forms of implements seem to be rather indices of race than of time. This opinion may appear to be unorthodox, and the picture of the rude manufacturer of the chipped quartzite being the progenitor of the artist who, in the progress of time, evolves the art of making highly polished celts out of the hardest materials, though no doubt an attractive one does not seem to fit in with the facts at our disposal. Of course in certain localities such an advance in art may have taken place; but the wide extent of country we are dealing with, and the magnitude of the data, render it possible to ignore such local cases, supposing them to exist, without vitiating the main results and conclusions.

It would be improper to omit all reference to the influence which the geological structure of the three great regions respectively may have had in determining the form and characters of the implements. It is clear that where chert, agate, or some similar forms of quartz do not occur naturally, we are not likely to find flakes and cores in abundance. And, therefore, a certain limit has been placed by ex-

ternal causes on the manufacturing capabilities of the people. At the same time each of the regions is so vast and the mineralogical resources are so varied, that the specialised characters of the implements appear to be all the more remarkable, since the materials for greater diversity are not wanting. In Burmah, however, according to Mr. Theobald, the implements are often of schist or basalt, which are quite unlike anything to be found in the areas where the implements occur.

Referring again to the maps, we find that implements belonging to Class A (the chipped quartzites) occur throughout a vast area of India which extends in a north and south direction from Saugor to Madras, and east and west from Raniganj in Bengal to Neemuch in Rajputana.

This area overlaps the others to some extent, or it may be otherwise stated has outliers within their limits, as in Chutia Nagpur, and the Central Provinces, and Rajputana.

In far distant Java, implements of somewhat similar character appear to have been met with. This is a fact of considerable interest, pointing to a pre-historic connexion.

The distribution of the flakes and cores which constitute Class B is limited to the area which extends north and south from Kerowlic, in Rajputana to Peyton, on the Godaveri in Bombay, and east and west from Singhbhum in Western Bengal to Sukkur on the Indus, in Sind, and still further even to Gwadar in Beluchistan.

The principal known outliers from this area are at Rajmahendry on the lower Godaveri, and in the Andaman Islands.

The polished celts, &c., whose varieties make up the sub-divisions of Class C, occupy an area which extends from Upper Assam in the north-east to Singhbhum in Bengal, and from the Irawadi Valley in Burmah to Jabalpur in the Central Provinces. The doubtful case of a polished celt from Coorg is the only example, so far as I know, of one being found outside these boundaries.*

Such being the rough limits of the three areas of distribution, it is obvious that in Western Bengal and the Central Provinces, *i.e.* in the most central parts of the peninsula, there is considerable mutual overlap. It now only remains to make an attempt to offer some rational explanation of this fact. Two theories have suggested themselves to me. According to the first, we may regard these central tracts as including a radiating point, from which successive waves of emigration may, at different stages in the civilisation and progression of the people, have spread, as the rising peninsula enlarged the area accessible. We cannot say with any degree of certainty whether the flake-makers or the quartz-chippers were the more ancient. The former, however, on this supposition, spread in directions to the west and north-west, while the latter found their way southwards to Madras, and even to Java in the south-east, where they met with the manufacturers of polished celts. These last, according to the same theory,

* See Note added in the Press, p. 413.

spread eastwards from the central point of departure, till, through Burmah and the Malayan countries, they reached the confines of China. This theory is one that may commend itself to the notice of progressionists; but, for my own part, I am rather inclined to adopt the following as the more probable explanation. According to this second theory, our central area must be regarded as including a point of convergence rather than of divergence of immigration rather than of emigration. As we recede from the central area, in the several directions above indicated, we find that the further off we get, the respective forms become more abundant, and show higher degrees of skill, being nearer the original seats of the races who manufactured. Thus, none of the cores and flakes of the central provinces can compare with those of Sind for beauty of workmanship. The chipped quartzites of Madras, if not better formed, are certainly in greater variety and abundance than those of the Central Provinces, while, as regards the polished celts, the superiority of the workmanship in the Burmese and adjoining countries cannot well be disputed.

Having again recourse to the idea of the rising peninsula or island, which is, however, a by no means essential feature for this theory, we may suppose that as the central parts of the country became accessible, wanderers from the three surrounding quarters, bringing with them a knowledge of their respective arts, came in contact with one another, and became the parents of some of the widely distinct races who inhabit India at the present day. With the introduction of a knowledge of the art of making iron by the rude process which is still employed, the manufacture of stone implements gradually died out, though, as has been pointed out, it still lingers on the north-east frontier, and in the Andaman Islands. At what time iron began to replace the stone we cannot say, but it is most probable, in spite of the fact of copper weapons having been discovered in certain places, that in India there has been no intervening bronze period.

In conclusion, I would say that the suggestions I have put forward are, to the best of my belief, wholly new, though they first occurred to me many years ago. The progress of discovery has encouraged me to believe that they contain a strong element of probability. It is in the hope that the subject may attract the notice of ethnologists, philologists, and antiquarians, with all of whose special departments it is intimately connected, that I have at length ventured to formulate these views.



MADRAS.

Character.	Material.	Locality.	Position.	Discoverer and Reference.	Specimens, where deposited.	Remarks.
A* Chipped.	Semi-vitreous Quartzite.	Madras. North Arcot.	Sometimes in <i>situ</i> in unal- tered laterite conglomerates of uncertain age. Some- times in de- tritus from the same. On surface.	R. B. Foote, Esq., and W. King, Esq. P. A. S. B., † 1864, p. 67; 1865, p. 206; Madras Jour. of Lit. & Science, Oct., 1866, pp. 1-46; Quar. Jour. Geol. Soc., Nov., 1868; Mem. Geol. Survey of India, vol. x. p. 43, &c.	Chiefly in Geol. Museum.	The first discovery of implements <i>in situ</i> . For full par- ticulars, see Mr. Foote's Papers.
B Flakes.	—	Kadapah. Karnul.	—	W. T. Blanford, Esq. P. A. S. B. 1867, p. 137. H. A. Mangles, Esq. P. A. S. B., Feb. 1868, p. 59.	—	Only a fragment found. It may pos- sibly have been carried from a long distance.
Cores. C ¹ , † Polished celt.	Flint. Quartzite.	Rajmahendri. Six miles north of Mercarn, Coorg.	—	—	—	—
C ¹ . Ring-stones.	—	Madras.	—	R. B. Foote, Esq.	—	—

* The following classification has been adopted:—

A = Chipped implements (so-called palæolithic).

B = Flakes and cores.

C¹ = Polished celts.

† P. A. S. B. = Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

C² = Polished celts of specialised Burmese type.

C³ = Perforated stones, ring stones.

‡ *Vide* note added in the press.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BUNDELKHAND—continued.

Position.	Discoverer and Reference.	Specimens, where deposited.	Remarks.
In temples round <i>Mahadeos</i> .	V. J. Carey, Esq. P. A. S. B., 1866, p. 135.	Private collection.	
"	Ditto, Pl. I.		
On surface.	V. Ball, Esq. P. A. S. B., 1874, p. 96, Pl. V.	Geol. Museum, Calcutta.	A second, similar in character, was found subsequently at this locality.

RAJPUTANA AND CENTRAL INDIA.

a.	On surface.	C. A. Hackett, Esq.	Geol. Museum, Calcutta.
"	"	—	"
Wiley, b.	"	—	"

BOMBAY.

B. Flake.	Agate.	Peyton, on Godavari.	In Pleistocene gravels.	A. B. Wynne, Esq. Mag., 1866, p. 233; also see Geol. Mag., Feb. 1866, p. 96; P. A. S. B. 1866, p. 207; and Rec. Geol. Survey of India, vol. i. p. 66, Pl. I.	Geol. Museum, Calcutta.	Found in clays and gravels which contain remains of extinct mammals.
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SIND AND BELUCHISTAN.

B. Cores.	Flint.	Shikarpur and Sukhar, on Indus.	In beds of rivers.	Lieut. D. O. Twemlow, R. B. E., &c., Major-Gen. Twemlow, and Mr. John Evans. Geol. Mag., Oct., 1866, p. 433, and 1867, p. 43. Also W. T. Blanford, Esq. P. A. S. B. 1876.	British Museum.	
Cores.	"	Rori.	On surface.	Sir B. Frere, and W. T. Blanford, Esq. P. A. S. B. 1867, p. 138, and 1876, p. 134.	—	Said to occur in great abundance.
Flakes.	"	Sutagen—Dor, Mekran, Beluchistan.	Beneath surface, with pottery, glass, &c.	Major Meckler, and W. T. Blanford, Esq. P. A. S. B. 1877, p. 167, Pl. II. fig. 16.	Indian Museum, Calcutta.	Together with the knives were some hammers. (?)

BENGAL AND ORISSA.

Loc.	Position.	Discoverer and Reference.	Specimens, where deposited.	Remarks.
Maidfield.	On surface.	V. Ball, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1865, p. 127.	Geological Museum, Calcutta.	
" "	" "	T. W. H. Hughes, Esq.		
S.W. inath- blum.	" "	V. Ball, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1867, p. 143.		
Coal-	" "	Do., 1874, p. 96.		
Orissa.	" "	Do., 1876, p.		
" "	" "	Captain Beeching and V. Ball, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1868, p. 177; and 1870, p. 268.	To be deposited in the Geological Museum, Calcutta.	
" "	" "	V. Ball, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1870, p. 268.		
near in cutia-	" "	I. J. Whitty, Esq., and V. Ball, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1878, p. 125.		
Hill.	" "			

BENGAL AND ORISSA—continued.

C ¹ . Polished celt.	?	Singhbhum.	—	J. Ritchie, Esq., and V. Ball, Esq. P. A. S. B., 1876, p. 118, Pl. II., figs. 1-3; and 1876, p. 122.	To be deposited in the Geological Museum, Calcutta.	Two specimens are of the type previously considered to belong <i>exclusively</i> to Burnah. Not believed to be of great antiquity.
C ² . Shouldered celts.	Quartzite and Trap?	Singhbhum.	On surface.		"	
C ³ . Ring stones.	Schist.	Khamrupur.	Bed of river Mun.	E. Lockwood, Esq., P. A. S. B. 1875, p. 102.	Indian Museum, Calcutta.	
ASSAM.						
Polished celt.	Argillaceous slate. Jade, &c.	Dibrogarh. Naga hills, lat. 27° 30', long. 91°.	Beneath the surface. On and beneath the surface.	H. B. Medlicott, Esq. . . Lieut. Steele, R.A., and Sir J. Lubbock, Bart., Athenaeum, June 22nd, 1867; P.A.S.B., 1870, p. 267, Pl. III. and IV.	Geological Museum, Calcutta. In private collection.	Said to be brought down from the hills by the Namsang Nagas.
"	Argillaceous slate,	Shillong.	On surface.	Captain W. Badgley and Major Godwin Austen, P.A.S.B., 1876, p. 158.	Calcutta Museum.	A few years ago the Kukis used to employ these stones, set in sticks, as hoes. Now they use iron for the same purpose.

Assam—continued.

	Position.	Discoverer and Reference.	Specimens, where deposited.	Remarks.
lory.	Two feet below surface.	S. E. Peal, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1872, p. 136.	Calcutta Museum.	The Nagas, unlike the Burmese, are said to throw them away when met with, as being articles belonging to a previous race.
	—	— Healy, Esq., ..	Geological Museum, Calcutta.	

BURMAH.*

elow More in ry of p.	On surface, chiefly on hill-sides.	W. Theobald, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1865, p. 126; 1869, p. 181, Pl. III. and IV.; 1870, p. 220; Mem. Geol. Survey of India, Vol. x., p. 355.	—	The Burmese call these <i>Mo-jio</i> , or thunderbolts, and prize them as medicine. Single specimens are sometimes sold for as much as £5.
	—	P.A.S.B., 1869, p. 181.	—	

* and variety of specimens would require for their proper description a much fuller Table than be made to Mr. Theobald's papers.

BURMAN—continued.

Polished celt.	—	Aracan,	—	— St. John, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1871, p. 83.	—	—
"	—	Tenasserim and Aracan.	Beds of streams and hill clear- ings.	Captain Fryer, P.A.S.B., 1872, p. 47.	—	Upwards of 100 specimens, show- ing great variety of form; some un- polished.
"	—	Tongoo.	—	Rev. Dr. Mason, Indian Antiquary, 1872, p. 326.	—	With the stone some copper celts are also described.
ANDAMAN ISLANDS.						
B. Flakes and cores.	Chert.	Near Port Blair.	In an old camp- ing place.	Major Haughton and W. Theobald, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1862, p. 326; and 1863, p. 306. Also see V. Ball, Esq., P.R.I.A.	Private collection and Indian Mu- seum, Calcutta.	Found in no great abundance.
SUMATRA.						
C ¹ . Polished celt.	—	—	—	W. Theobald, Esq., P.A.S.B., 1869, p. 183.	Christy Museum.	

JAVA.*

Position.	Discoverer and Reference.	Specimens, where deposited.	Remarks.
(?)	Mr. Kunder von Camarecq and Lt.-Col. H. Yule, B. E., J. A. S. E., 1862, p. 30.	Private collection.	Found in different parts of the island. M. Van de Poel presented to the French Government a collection of implements from Java, which were reported on by a Commission appointed by the Academy of Sciences.

British Museum contains a number of polished celts from Java ; appears to be some doubt whether the specimen said to be from Java is not have come from thence too.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

SINCE the foregoing pages were printed, I have had an opportunity, through the kindness of Mr. Franks, of examining the collection of Asiatic stone implements in the British Museum. I find it includes a series of polished celts from the Shevaroy hills in the Madras Presidency. No account of these has been published, so far as I know. If the locality is authentic, we have another instance of an outlier. Such exceptions to the main features of distribution will possibly be from time to time discovered, but they must become very numerous before they can be considered to outweigh the facts upon which the general conclusions in this Paper have been founded.

The writer earnestly hopes that, in future, discoverers of stone implements in India will recognise the importance of publishing a permanent record of all the facts connected with their discoveries.

It may be useful to add here Dr. Caldwell's views on the subject of the successive waves of immigration which have served to constitute the four separate strata into which the Indian population is at present sub-divided.*

First and earliest. The forest tribes, such as Kolas, Santals, Bhils, &c., who may have entered India from the north-east.

Second. The Dravidians, who entered India from the north-west, and either advanced voluntarily towards their ultimate seats in the south of the peninsula, or were driven by the pressure of subsequent hordes following them in the same direction.

Third. We have the race of Scythian or non-Aryan immigrants from the north-west, whose language afterwards united with the Sanskrit to form the Prakrit dialect of Northern India.

Fourth. The Aryan invaders.

The resemblance between the above, and the conclusions which I have arrived at independently, more particularly as regards the source of the Kolarian manufacturers of the polished celts, is sufficiently obvious.

With regard to the Dravidians, who came from the north-west, it may be that they were the people who manufactured the flakes, and afterwards—when they had pushed off the Dekan Basalt further south—took to making the chipped quartzite axes from a material which then became more accessible to them.

As I have before said, however, I leave it to ethnologists and philologists to work out this question in connexion with the data I have collected.

* I quote from Colonel Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal," p. 244. Colonel Dalton, in a foot note, demurs to the correctness of the inclusion of the Bhils with the Kols, considering them to be rather Dravidian. See also on this subject P. A. S. B., 1873, pp. 130-133.

LIST OF PLATES.

Plate XIV. 1. Chipped quartzite, Jeriah Coal-field, Western Bengal.

„ 2. „ „ S.S.W. of Beherinath Hill, Western Bengal.

„ 3. „ „ Raniganj coal-field, Western Bengal.

„ 4. „ vein-quartz, Talchir, Orissa.

„ 5. „ quartzite, Denkenal, Orissa.

„ 6. „ „ Ungul, Orissa.

„ 7. „ „ Sambalpur, Central Provinces.

Plate XV. 8. Polished argillaceous slate, Buradih, Chutia-Nagpur, Western Bengal.

„ 9. „ trap, Parismath Hill, Western Bengal, with section.

„ 10. „ argillaceous slate, Parismath Hill, Western Bengal.

„ 11. „ quartzite } Singhbhum. These are of the shoulder
„ 12. „ trap, } Burmese type.

„ 13. Ring stone, basalt, Mopani coal mines, Central Provinces, with section.

14. Core of horn-stone, Singhbhum.



LXVI.—EXPLORATION AND RESTORATION OF THE RUIN OF THE GRIANAN OF AILEACH. By DR. WALTER BERNARD, Fellow of the College of Physicians in Ireland, &c., With Plates XVII. and XVIII.

[Read August 12th, 1878.]

SEVENTEEN years ago, when this traditional and historic place was first visited by me, I found it in a very ruinous condition, and from that time I commenced to take an interest in its associations. Year after year witnessed the further advance of its ruin, and I clearly saw that if something were not soon done to arrest the progress of destruction, it would be in a few years a thing of the past.

Its appearance in 1873 was that of an immense circular heap of stones, with its gray fallen masonry scattered over the interior—no vestige of a wall, entrance passage, or central building.

More than forty years ago the Ordnance Survey for the parish of Templemore, and county of Londonderry, gives, page 217, the following account of the condition it was then found in:—"The *cashel*, though in a more perfect state than the external ramparts, is still a mere ruin, and at a distance has the appearance of a dilapidated sepulchral *cairn*; but on closer inspection it will be found to be a circular wall, inclosing an area of 77 feet 6 inches in diameter, and in its present state about 6 feet in height, and varying in breadth from 15 feet to 11 feet 6 inches, or averaging about 13 feet. This wall is not quite perpendicular on its external face, but has a curved slope or inclination inwards, like Staig fort in Kerry, and most other of the forts of the kind in Ireland. Of its original height it is not now easy to form a very accurate conjecture, but, from the quantity of fallen stones, which form a glacis on either side, about 13 feet in breadth, it must be concluded to have been at least twice, and possibly four times its present altitude."

At page 221, the state and antiquity of the building in the centre of the *cashel* is given as follows:—"The remains of a small oblong building measuring 16 feet 6 inches by 14 feet 3 inches. The walls, which are 2 feet thick, and at present not more than 2 feet high, were constructed with mortar. The antiquity of this building is extremely doubtful, and its angular form indicates a much more recent age than the circular works by which it is inclosed, and the probability is that it was erected for a chapel during the severe administration of the penal laws, to which purpose it was certainly appropriated until about forty years since, when a chapel was erected at Burt."

An account of the rapid destruction of the Grianan is given by Mr. Godwin, F. S. A., in the April number of the *Architect* for 1872. He states, that at the time of his visit in March, 1858, the masonry was in a very dilapidated condition, owing in a great part to the labours

of some gentleman, who many years ago evinced more curiosity than care in searching after subterranean passages, &c. : since which time this interesting work of antiquity has deplorably suffered by the summer invasion of visitors from the neighbouring city—indeed, to such an extent that the drawings of the fort, taken at the time of the Ordnance Survey, have literally become matters of history, for the inclined jambs, the interior terrace with its steps, the small central building, and many other features of note which then existed are now no more.

These statements, from reliable witnesses, are sufficient to convince anyone that what had lain concealed and disregarded for centuries would, by the unthinking, careless, and curious, be soon reduced to nothing. Probably this work of spoliation might still have advanced with a more rapid pace, inasmuch as newspaper writers of late years have been drawing the attention of the general public to the locality.

It is unnecessary to go over its ancient history and written traditions, as a very full and lucid account of such is summarised in the Ordnance Survey above referred to. It remains for me to give what account I can of my own work of exploration and restoration. My first great difficulty was how to commence the undertaking single-handed, without possessing any personal influence or exercising extraneous pressure. Moreover, none took a substantial interest in the enterprise, and such an undertaking, counting the costs through the medium of contractors, would have been impracticable.

Having expressed the object I had in view to the farmers residing round the hill, they did not at first quite believe in the practicability of what I wanted done. However I managed to get some to follow my example and work. So we commenced in the Spring of 1874; and, although at the beginning the number could be counted on the fingers of one hand, yet seeing that there was an earnestness of purpose in the undertaking, some more soon followed, and recruits were weekly added. All that season, owing to the interest I took in the progress of the work, the number still increased, so that, not unfrequently, I had as many as forty-four. Seldom were there less than fifteen. As a rule we worked only one day in the week, very rarely on two, except towards the end.

In consequence of being surrounded with quarries and loose stones, many of those who assisted had acquired a taste for dry mason work; and so well skilled are they in this, that contractors prefer to have dry masonry executed by countrymen rather than by the regular mason. During our progress a spirit of emulation existed as to whose piece would excel, for neatness and durability.

It was found that the vestige of the inner facing was not battered as the outer. Indeed little attention appeared to have been given by the ancient builders to the laying of the stones in this part of the work. Many are very irregular, and give the impression that it could not last long. However it has been now exposed for three years. The "weathering influences" have not had the slightest effect upon it;

not one stone has been loosened, and, in my opinion, if not disturbed, it will last for ages.

The outer casing is battered a little more than two inches to the foot. The men in rebuilding this had nothing to guide them but the eye, and took the greatest possible pains to imitate the structure and inclination of the original, by carefully laying headers here and there in each row, with a view to insure the stability of the building.

I declined to give my consent to any alteration of the old masonry, which had got out of position, until an attempt was made to see if it would bear superincumbent weight. To our great disappointment it would not, and we had no other alternative than to have it re-arranged in three places at the south-west (the side of the prevalent winds), where it had been almost reduced to the foundation.

At first we made the entire structure uniform in height, but looking at it from a distance it was found unsightly. This apparent want of proportion was occasioned by the irregularity of the ground on which it is built; so, to compensate for this inclination, we raised the wall a few feet higher on the southern than on the northern portion. The circle, including the coping-stones, averages 17 feet 3 inches in height. To bind our work into a complete unity we had to gather around the hill about 700 or 800 loose stones—certainly not more, if so many—and to split from the adjoining rocks, cropping up through the heather, 181 coping-stones. These are supposed to serve instead of those removed by King Murdoch O'Brien in 1101, to build the parapet wall of his castle in Limerick, as a retaliation for some insult the Northerns offered to the Dalcassians 200 years before. John Bovaird and William Barr, both alive, while working at the building of Mannerstown bridge, saw a few brought down for coping it. These were the only ones ever known to have been removed; indeed it would be a work of supererogation, as well as much injury to horses, carts, and harness, and at best these are not, and I believe never were, well adapted for the severe work experienced in ascending and descending a rough stony uncultivated hill. The men themselves ridicule the idea of stones having been removed for building purposes, as they have more than once remarked, that they have already too many stones on and about their farms. Another proof—quarries are on every hill-side in the neighbourhood. Moreover, I examined the homesteads around, and could not bring myself to think that there existed in any part of them material brought from the stone circle, for none presented the worn appearances of those on the hill, stripped as they were of their angularities by age and frequent tossing.

Before proceeding further, I wish to note here the accurate measurements supplied by the Ordnance:—"Circular apex of hill $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres contained within the outermost inclosure; within the second, 4; within the third, about 1; and within the *cashel*, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre."

When excavating the centre we came on a few of the foundation stones of the small building that was in the centre of the *cashel*; they were partly laid on the rock and floor, and not sunk below the surface.

The very few that remained of these stones had dry, coarse, crumbling mortar between and around them, which was a proof that it belonged to more recent times than the *cairn* itself. There was no standing wall left, and even its outline at base was destroyed.

While removing the *debris* from the interior, behind the niche in the door-way, and on the floor of the northern gallery, and close to its entrance, was found a large stone, measuring in its widest part across 16 inches. In the centre is a round hole, 3 inches deep and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter. The stone itself is of the hard, granular variety of trap or greenstone. No marks of dressing are discernible on its edges or surfaces, and the rhomboid shape is that not uncommon to stones of this class. I do not hold myself responsible for anything I might suggest as to the supposed use of this, or any other of the stone objects discovered. Being found in that part of the gallery, near to its entrance, as well as a very rotten piece of wood taken out of the hole and thrown away, it might give one the idea that it was a spud-stone. It could not have been a portion of a quern; possibly it may have served for a rude sundial. But I am no authority, and on these stones I wish to elicit rather than impart information. All material having been removed from the floor of the interior, about the north-eastern steps, we came upon a quantity of ashes and turf-mould, under which, on the 8th day of March, 1877, was found a slab of sandstone, checkered into thirty-six squares, which I forwarded to the Academy the following evening. The lines on its flat surface have been drawn with accuracy, the four sides, each nearly 6 inches, delineating almost a complete square. The cross lines, forming the small squares, though not quite all the same size, differ but little in proportion. While clearing at this northern side we found nothing of any importance till we came to the south-east part. Here, taking a line from the left-hand jamb of the interior of the door to the base of the double flight of steps in the south-west, we came upon the following within this space:—The upper strata contained only the old socket of a plough, an iron ring, and some defaced coins, all turned up on the 31st of May. We next came on a large heap of turf-mould and ashes: close to the entrance of southern gallery, near to which, and buried in the lowest part of this, was found a smooth, flattened, sugar-loaf-shaped stone, with well-cut base, 10 inches long, 15 round base, 14 round centre, and 10 round the top.

A bead also was dug up, and at a little distance in front of the south-eastern steps some bones were found lying on the floor covered with flags. They were so much decayed that they, as well as the teeth, when touched, nearly all crumbled into dust. These were the only bones found out of the midden, which we will come to speak of presently, and are the ones marked as belonging to the goat, or sheep, and bird. Near to this *tor* were found wrought and unwrought sling-stones and stone objects, which I regard as warriors' clubs. A dark, flat, heart-shaped stone, with almost obliterated notches in its edge, and several stone discs, were also got here. Close to the founda-

tion of the exterior face, at the south-east, and after the removal of many tons of material, a sandstone, with fluted columns, was also discovered.

On the evening of the 2nd of August, 1874, we discovered a midden in the western side, and a drain leading from it, as shown on plan. The midden, 5 feet 5 inches in diameter and 1 foot deep, had stones lining its circumference, which show marks of having been wrought. The bones found in this pit were kindly examined for me by Professor Boyd Dawkins, of the Owens College, Manchester, to whom I feel much indebted for his time and trouble. He has marked No. 1 as belonging to the Celtic short-horned *Bos longifrons*, to which he also refers the three upper molars. In his letter, 5th December, 1878, he says—"They belonged to the Celtic short-horned *Bos longifrons*, one bone of which was broken for the sake of its contents, and had afterwards been gnawed by dogs; the other bones belong to the goat, sheep, and bird. I take them to be the relics of a funeral feast."^{*}

The midden and drain are now open for inspection. The contents of both were carefully examined, and nothing more was found in them, except some flat, partially circular stones, one having a round hole in its centre. It is worthy of note that this midden and drain are not mentioned either in the ancient or modern history of the place. The orifice of inlet of the drain is larger, and more of a square than that of the outlet, the former being surmounted by a strong lintel, and being 18 inches by 16 wide. The latter is much smaller; is only 12 inches by 8; it is not so well constructed as the inlet, but its lintel is also pretty massive. The run of the drain from the midden is in a direction east and west.


The floor of the interior is now entirely free from stones and *debris*, and nothing remains to be seen over its surface but the bare rock running in a north-westerly direction, the upper ridge being in the centre, grass growing on each side of it.

On the north side of the door, as marked A on plan, a single flight of steps, the original ones of which are marked with tar, leads, as now constructed under my directions, to a 10 feet high or second platform covering the entrance. This flight returns in a northerly direction to the top or third platform. Those marked B, in the south-east, are a double flight—begin at ground, lead to the 10 feet high or second platform, returning at either side to top or third platform (grand platform). In the south-west (C) a double flight, the right-hand side flight leading to 5 feet high or first platform; the left-hand side flight to 10 feet or second platform, returning to the top or third. Those marked D in the north-east, being a double flight, lead to a 5 feet high or first platform; the right-hand to 10 feet or second platform,

* All the finds were presented to the Academy by Dr. Bernard.

and returning to top or third platform. E, in north-west, is a double flight, beginning in the first platform, and leading to 10 feet or second platform. The original steps are irregular in dimensions, and though they increase in size as they ascend, their measurements are variable.

It is in the highest degree probable that the single flight of steps on the north side of the entrance did not stop till it overreached the doorway to the second platform. While carefully removing the stones from this point we could discover no signs of an intermediate platform. If there had been one, it would, through the crevices of the uncemented masonry, however well built, have admitted cold, wind and rain to the gallery. Keeping this in view, and working from analogy, we decided to carry our second platform over the door-head. This conclusion was further strengthened by the fact that the interior wall flanking the southern gallery exhibited here and there remains of the old masonry running in a direct course from the foundation beyond a 5 feet platform. Some of these in the original position, to the right and left of the double flight of steps in the south-east (B), can be seen, being indicated by tar, and they led us on till we came to the beginning of the original platform at double flight of steps (C) south-west. Having with much patience and anxiety carefully removed the stones, we were able to map it out as extending on the westerly side for about 120 feet in length. It averages 5 feet high, in some parts 3 feet wide, but it varies in width. In the diminished thickness of the interior of the wall, leading from this platform, and looking out exactly towards the mouth of Lough Swilly, we came on five steps; they were very fairly in position—three on one side, and two on the other. In this spot, as well as more to the west, the glacis on the inside and outside protected well the diminished wall. It was, however, much broken down, only a trace of it here and there, and but for the very careful manner in which those men removed the stones, we could not possibly have found out the steps, the beginning and ending of the original platform. No doubt, as those steps led us to infer, there were other platforms, and as the system of appearances in the flights of



Subjoined are the measurements:—

Average height, 17 feet 3 inches. Breadth, from 15 feet at base to 11 feet 6 inches, averaging 13 feet. Average batter, 2 feet 9 inches. 77 feet 6 inches from east to west in the area, and the same from north to south. Entire circumference at base of the exterior 353 feet. Gateway averages 3 feet 10 inches at bottom; 3 feet 1 inch at top. Average height, 6 feet 7 inches. In gateway on each side of the entrance two niches 9 feet 6 inches from outside of wall, and each 2 feet wide, being the full height of the door entrance. Very little remains of these niches were left, especially the southern one. Here, as elsewhere, the original is shown by tar marks, the last stone of the old work being painted.

On each side of the entrance there are two galleries, not extending in length, as I quote from the Ordnance Survey, "one-half of its entire circuit," for the northern gallery is only 29 feet eastward and 10 feet northward from its own entrance, the height of which at orifice is 3 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 10 inches wide. The southern gallery is 68 feet 6 inches long, with a seat 55 feet from its entrance, being 13 feet 6 inches from its eastward end. The height of its entrance is 2 feet 9 inches; width 1 foot 6 inches. These galleries are about 5 feet high, 2 feet 2 inches wide at bottom, and 1 foot 11 inches at top. We found the northern in a much more perfect state than the southern, and when we cleared it all out, some flags of its original roofing were still to be seen *in situ*, and at its termination northward, nearly up to its roof, is a very good specimen of the ancient masonry. This gallery differs from the one opposite by being 29 feet shorter, in the dimensions of its doorway, in having no seat, and in running right and left, the southern running only in the one direction, *i. e.*, towards the doorway. When exposed to view, the side walls of the southern gallery were seen to be deplorably dilapidated, in many parts broken down, and the flagging entirely removed from the roof, with the exception of two or three. The lintels of both northern and southern entrances were in their original positions. Fortunately the seat and recess in the southern were not much injured. It will be found on examination that the side walls of the northern are in much better preservation than those in the southern; but the latter are well pinned up, and though unsightly, nothing need be apprehended as regards stability. You will ask why it is that the southern side suffered so much more than the other. This being the side of the prevalent storms, and of the inclination of the hill, in my opinion, accounts for the mischief not only to the gallery itself, but also to that side of the entire structure in the south-west.

The inner rampart is 97 feet from the doorway. Opposite to it we found the ancient roadway, curving a little to the right. Between this and the doorway we removed a thick covering of turf from its surface. Few were the indications to show where it lay, for the wall mentioned in the Ordnance Memoir, as marking its course, is on¹ now a record in history. Two mounds, about 2½ feet high and 4½

wide, run from the *cairn* to the inner rampart in a northerly and westerly direction. The northerly one is 107 feet from the entrance; the westerly being 101 feet 6 inches further round.

There is but a mere trace of the circular mound marked on the Ordnance drawing between the second and third walls. This we attempted to preserve. The ten stones surrounding it are somewhat out of place, but being well imbedded, we did not disturb them. Between the third and fourth is the spring well, with its ancient stones yet unremoved, flanking its sides and lining the bottom, but the large flag which covered it sixty or seventy years ago has disappeared.

We did not find "the crowning stone." Possibly that named St. Columb's, in Mr. Macky's garden in Belmont, is the inaugural stone belonging to the Grianan of Aileach. The Ordnance gives a very excellent account of this stone, and the reasons why it is probable that Grianan is the rightful owner.

The similarities between this *cairn* and Staigue are significant. Both situated in localities where stones are abundant, to which probably they owe their preservation, both nearly the same height, and battered on the exterior; Staigue averaging 18 feet, and is battered 2 feet 7 inches; in both little attention being paid to the laying of the stones in the interior of the wall. There are caves in the neighbourhood of the one and the other. However, Grianan is a more complete circle, and is not, as Staigue, battered in the interior. The measurements differ also (Staigue is shown on the plan by the red lines). The diameter of Staigue is somewhat greater, the walls not so thick, and the galleries and doorway not so high, the former being much shorter. In passing, it is well to mention that I had nothing to guide me as to the height of the door, except that the galleries being higher than those of Staigue, I made the doorway somewhat to correspond. A moat or fosse encircles Staigue, but there are no signs of such at Grianan. The rock runs evenly through and appears at the opposite sides. In the one the open door looks at the rising sun, in the other at the sun at mid-day. Perhaps another, akin to those, may yet be shown looking at its setting.

Between four and five years, with occasional interruptions, we continued during the spring, autumn, and summer months, to prosecute the work, and the workers allowed me to command them, although I had not in the slightest degree any title to do so, beyond the confidence with which my own devotion to the work had inspired them. If a portion were badly built, it had of course to be taken down and put up properly. Over and over again I tried their patience and forbearance in this way, and, for all this, a surly word or look I never received. The respect, civility, kindness, and consideration with which I was treated reached far beyond anything I could have imagined. No accidents occurred; the worst was the loss of the nail of the little finger of my left hand in May, 1874.

During the building, some of the chief difficulties we had to meet

with were the carrying of coals, bogwood, and food to the top of the hill. The boiling and cooking for so many, week by week, required no little patience and endurance, but my wife and daughter rendered good service in this department. However, all this was more than compensated for by the men on every occasion being well and truly satisfied with the supplies.

I cannot close without recording my best thanks to Messrs. M'Clelland & Company, M'Ilwee, M'Crea, and M'Farland, M'Learn and others, in the city of Londonderry, for the readiness with which they lent scaffolding and other appliances during the progress of the work. Also to Mr. Godwin and Mr. Wm. M'Ilwee for their plans and measurements—the former indicating steps and platforms; the latter showing very accurate measurements, some of which were more correct than those of the Ordnance.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

Having carefully examined the structure some days since, I find that the very severe frosts, thaws and snow storms which have prevailed for the last three months, have not in any part injured it or loosened the stones, and it now stands intact as we left it, maintaining its stability. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that, having stood the test of such a severe winter's ordeal, it will last for ages, provided it be taken charge of under the Act likely soon to come into force for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments.—*Jan. 30th, 1879.*

LXVII.—COMPARISON OF THE EARLIEST INSCRIBED MONUMENTS OF
BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By the REV. D. H. HAIGH.

[Read November 13, 1876.]

THE earliest edition of the "*Historia Britonum*" (represented by the Paris MS.) has the following passage:—

"Istor et Istorinis filius cum suis tenuit Dalrieta.

"Buile autem tenuit cum suis Euboniam insulam et alia circiter loca.

"Filiis autem Liethan obtinuerunt regionem Demetorum, et alias provincias, Guoher et Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cuneda et a filiis eius ab omnibus regionibus Britannicis."

This edition dates from A. P. C. 647, *i. e.* A. D. 675, and the reading is certainly better than those of the later editions. The original work, however, dates from A. D. 471, and is the work of Gildas, a man intimately acquainted with British and Irish affairs.

The Irish editions add the name of the father of *Liathan, Epcal*; and they have these variations of the name of Cuneda:—*Cohenos*, (quasi *Conenos*), *Cuannos*, *Cuannas*. The notes added to this history by Nennius, about A. D. 796, fix the time of Cuneda's arrival in Wales, and tell us whence he came.

"Mailecunus magnus rex apud Britones regnabat, id est in regione Guenedotæ, quia atavus illius id est Cunedag, cum filiis suis, quorum numerus octo erat, venerat prius de regione sinistrali, id est de regione quæ vocatur Manau Guotodin, cxlvi annis antequam Mailecun regnavit, et Scottos cum ingentissima clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus, et nusquam reversi sunt iterum ad habitandum."

In the system of chronology which I endeavoured to establish in my "*Conquest of Britain*," and which has since received important con-

than in Scotica, and their habitations and royal forts were built there. Thence is named Dinn Tradui, *i. e.* 'Triple-fossed fort' of Crimthann the Great, son of Fidach, king of Ireland and Alba to the Ictian sea; and thence is Glastonbury of the Gael, *i. e.* a church on the *bru* of the Ictian sea. It is there was Glass, son of Cass, swineherd of the king of Hiruath, with his swine feeding; and it was he that S. Patrick resuscitated at the end of six score years after he was slain by the soldiers of Mac Con. And it is in that place is Dinn map Lethain, in the lands of the Cornish Britons, *i. e.* 'the Fort of mac Liathain.' Thus every tribe divided on that side, for its property to the east was equal to that on the west."

These particulars are stated as introductory to a story of how the son of a king of Ireland, about A. D. 260, cheated a Briton out of his lap-dog, and introduced the breed into his native land—possibly true, and not improbable. The chief, indeed the only, value of this story consists in this; that it was believed in Ireland that there were Irish settlements in Somersetshire, Devon, and Cornwall, in the third and fourth centuries of our era, and constant intercourse between these colonies and the mother country; for this is of the third, and the other allusions above cited are to personages and events of the fourth.

The old English name of Glastonbury, *Glæst-inga-byrig*, supports the idea of an early connexion with a person named Glæst or Glass, (*st* in old Irish passing into *ss*), whose descendants gave name to it. According to this story, he should have lived early in the fourth century.

Hiruatha (or Hirotæ, "Lib. Arm." 14 *a*) represents the modern hundred of Hartland, Devon, as Heorot (of the lay of Beowulf) represents Hart in Durham.

Dinn Tradui appears to be Dundry in Somersetshire. Its construction is here assigned to Crimthann, king of Ireland, A. D. 366 to 379.

It would be futile to look for the fort of Liathan's son, unless we knew his name.

The Scottish occupation, then, of the districts north of the British Channel came to an end in the latter part of the fourth century; but with regard to those to the south, it may have continued long afterwards, for it is not pretended that the conquests of Cuneda's children extended beyond the Channel.

In illustration of these statements it is interesting to compare the oldest inscribed monuments of Devon, Cornwall, and Wales, with those of Ireland. The former present clear indications of settlements of certain families south, as well as north, of the Channel; and many of the names they bear are either the same as those that appear on the Irish monuments, or are formed out of the elements from which Irish names are formed. Some Irish dialectic peculiarities, and the characteristic Irish writing, too, are found on monuments on both sides of the Channel; and it seems undeniable that there was a considerable

Scotic element in the population of both districts, in the age to which they belong.

The inscriptions of these districts are of two distinct types: 1. The Roman; 2. The Celtic. The former written horizontally, the latter vertically; the former usually presenting traces of Christian influence.

1. The ancient inscriptions of Roman character, in Wales and Cornwall, written horizontally, are the following:—

HIC (IN PA) CE MVLIRE ^(?) REQVIEVIT —

CYNANDE HIC (IN) TVMVLO IACIT VIXIT ANNOS XXXIII. Hayle, Cornwall.

SERVATVR FID.EI PATRIEQ SEMPER AMATOR

HIC PAVLINVS IACIT CVLTOR PIENTISSIMVS .ÆQVI.

Pant y Polion, Caermarthenshire.

p CARAVSIVS HIC IACET SVB HOC CONGERIES LAPIDVM. Penmachno.

SENACVS PR̄SB HIC IACIT CVM MVLTITVDINEM FRATRV. Cefn Amwlch.

VERACIVS P̄BR HIC IACIT. *Ibid.* These three in Caernarvonshire.

HIC BEATVS (EPISCOPVS) SATURNINVS SE(PVLTVS IA)CIT ET SVA SA(NCTA)
CONIVX PA(VLINA). Llansadwrn, Anglesey.

HIC IN TVMVLO IACIT ROSTECE FILIA PATERNINI AN nos VI t̄xit XIII IN PACI.
Llanervil, Montgomeryshire.

I would compare these with the following in Scotland:—

Λ ET ω p HIC IACENT SCI ET PRAECIPVI SACERDOTES ID EST VIVENTIVS ET
MAIORIVS. Kirkmadrine, Wigtonshire.

—SET FLORENTIVS.

Ibid.

These resemble the Caernarvonshire stones, and form a class by themselves.

IN OC TVMVLO IACIT VETTA F VICTI.

Kirkliston, Lothian.

2. Some of these monuments bear single names in the nominative:—

ANNICVS,	.	.	.	.	.	Lanivet,	Cornwall.
GOREVS,	.	.	.	.	.	Yealmpton,	Devon.
AODIVNE,	.	.	.	.	.	Ystradgynlais,	Brecknock.
PASCENT,	.	.	.	.	.	Towyn,	Merioneth.
POTENINA MALHER (mulier),	Tregaron,	Cardigan.

One has two names:—

PVMPEIVS CARANTORIVS,	Kenfig,	Glamorgan.
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The following—

DEXTVIDOC CONHINOC,	Lustleigh,	Devon,
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may be another instance; but perhaps final *r* has been overlooked in this, as in many other instances, corrected by Mr. Rhys.

In one instance a name in the nominative is followed by another in the genitive; *filius* probably to be supplied:—

TIR—VS CATILL,	Vaenor,	Brecknock.
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The following are written with syntactical, if not with orthographical, correctness (the suppression of final *-s* being not unusual in colloquial Latin, and scarcely calling for remark):—

BANDVS IACIT,	Silian,	Cardigan.
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A cross has been superscribed, cutting through the middle of this inscription.

VELVOR(IA) FILIA BROHO (MAGLI HIC IACIT),	.	.	.	.	Llandyssul,	Cardigan.
TRENACATVS HIC IACIT FILIVS MAGLAGNI,	.	.	.	.	Llanfechan,	"
TVNCETACE VXSOR DAARI HIC IACIT,	.	.	.	.	Tremarchog,	Pembroke.
(HIC) IACET CVRCAGNVS —VRIVI FILIVS,	.	.	.	.	Llandeilo vawr,	Caermarthen.
HIC IACET VLCAGNVS FIVS SENOMAGLI,	.	.	.	.	Llanfihangel,	"

TEGERNACVS FILIVS MARTI HIC IACIT,	.	.	.	.	Capel Brithdir,	Glamorgan.
HIC IACET SALVIANVS BVRSOCAVI FILIVS CVPETIAN (I NEPOS),	.	.	.	.	Llannwehlllyn,	Merioneth.

—ORIA IC IACIT,	.	.	.	.	Penmachno,	Caernarvon.
ABORTV SEIMETIACO HIC IACET,	.	.	.	.	Llanhaiarn,	"
HIC IACET MVLIER BONA NOBILI,	.	.	.	.	Caerwys,	Flintshire.

In others apparent grammatical inaccuracies will disappear if ellipses be supposed. Thus, in those which present a name, singly or followed by a title, in the genitive, *titulus* or something equivalent must be supplied.

SAGRANVI,	.	.	.	.	Fardell,	Devon.
CVNEGNI,	.	.	.	.	Trawsmawr,	Caermarthen.
VENDE —,	.	.	.	.	Llannor,	Caernarvon.
PEREGRINI FEC(I),	.	.	.	.	Tretower,	Glamorgan.
AIMILINI TOVISACI,	.	.	.	.	Bedd Emlyn,	Denbigh.
CÆLEXTI MONEDORIGI,	.	.	.	.	Llanaber,	Merioneth.

It is possible that FILII was also understood between the words in the two last instances, as it must be in the following, which present distinct names, both genitives (like the modern Yorkshire and Lancashire "Bill's o' Jack's," &c.).

CLOTVALI MORHATTI,	.	.	.	.	Phillack,	Cornwall.
CAVOSENI ARGII (OF ARGLI),	.	.	.	.	Llanfawr,	Merioneth.

FILII, however, is usually expressed.

BIALOBRANI CVNOVALI FILI,	.	.	.	.	Lanyon,	Cornwall.
VLCAGNI,	FILI	SEVERI,	.	.	Wadebridge,	"
CONETOCI,	"	TEGERNOMALI,	.	.	S. Cubert,	"
BONEMIMORI,	"	TRIBVNI,	.	.	S. Columb min.	"
VITALI, ¹	"	TOBRICI,	.	.	S. Clement, Truro,	"
NEPRANI,	"	CONBEVI,	.	.	Tavistock,	Devon.
SARINI,	"	MACCODECHETI,	.	.	Buckland mon.	"
DOBVNNI FABRI,	"	ENABARRI,	.	.	"	"
FANONI,	MAQUI	RINI,	.	.	Fardell,	"
CAMVLORIGI,	FILI	FANNYCI,	.	.	Stackpole Elidyr,	Pembroke.
SAGRANI,	"	CVNOTAMI,	.	.	St. Dogmael's,	"
CATVRVGI,	"	LOVERNACI,	.	.	Merthyr,	Caernarthen.
QVENVENDANI,	"	BARCVNI,	.	.	Hen Llan Am-) goed,)	"
SEVERINI,	"	SEVERI,	.	.	Llan Newydd,	"
MACARITINI,	"	BERICI,	.	.	Panwen Byrdhin,	Glamorgan.
PAVLINI,	"	MA(RINI),	.	.	Merthyr Mawr,	"
RVGNIAVTO,	"	VENDONI,	.	.	Devynock,	Brecknock.
VINNEMAGLI,	"	SENMAGLI,	.	.	Gwytherin,	Denbigh.

In one instance the son is named last:—

FILI LOVERNII ANATEMORI.	Llanfaglan,	Caernarvon.
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Where two names follow FILII, I take the last to be the name of the grandfather:

MAVOH —, FILI	LYNAR(C)HI COCCI,	Llanboidy,	Caernarthen.
CLYTORICI	RAFLINI MARINI LATIO	Llandressilio	Pembroke

QVENATAVCI IC DINVI FILIVS, . . . Barlowena, Cornwall.

“The titulus of Quenataucus this. He was the son of Dinuus.”

NONNITA ERCILIAI RIGATI TRIS FILI ERCILINGI, Tregoney, Cornwall.

“The titulus of Nonnita, Ercilia, Rigatus. They were the three children of Ercilincus.”

DECA BARBALONI FILIVS BROCAGNI, . . . Llandyssul, Cardigan.
BROHOMAGLI IAM IC IACIT ET VXOR EIVS CAVNE, Doltrebedw, Denbigh.

“The titulus of Brohomaglus. Now he lies here and his wife Caune.”

This example shows that the governed name in other instances stands by itself, and that a distinct sentence follows.

DEVSTAGNI IC IACIT CVNMORI FILIVS, . . . Polkerys, Cornwall.
BROCAGAN, HC IACIT NADOTTI FILIVS, . . . Trigg minor, „
LATINI IC IACIT FILIVS MAGARII, . . . Worthyvale, „
BODVOCI IC IACIT FILIVS CATOTIGIRNI PRONEPVS
ETERNALI VEDOMALI, Margam, Glamorgan.

“The titulus of Bodvocus. Here lies the son of Catotigirnus, great grandson of Eternalis Vedomalus.”

DERVACI, FILIVS IVSTI IC IACIT, . . . Ystradvelty, Brecknock.
CVNOCENNI, „ CVNOCENI HIC IACIT, . . . Trallong, „
BARRIVENDI, „ VENDVBARI „ . . . Llandawke, Caermarthen.
CANTIORI HIC IACET VENEDOTIS CIVE FVIT CONSOBRINO MAGLI MAGISTRATI,
Penmachno, Caernarvon.

“The titulus of Cantiorius. Here he lies. He was a Venedotian citizen, cousin of the magistrate Maglus.”

The following instances in which a name in the nominative follows the (titulus) N, I regard as parallel to the Gallic *TITULUM POSUIT*, and I supply *POSUIT* :—

CNEGVM I FILI GENAIVS, Mawgen, Cornwall.

“The titulus of his son Cnegumus. Genaius placed.”

VALCI FILIVS GENAIVS (?), Bowden, Devon.

“The titulus of Valcus, his son Genaius placed.”

ETTERNI FLA VIUS VICTOR, Clydai, Pembroke.
VITALIANI EMERETO, Nevern, „
EVALI FILI DENCVI CVNOVENDE MATER' EIVS, . . . Spittal, „
BIADI AFI BOGI BEVE, Llanwinio, Caermarthen.

“The titulus of Biadus, grandson of Bogius. Beve placed.”

HIC IACIT CANTVSVS PATER PAVLINVS, . . .	Port Talbot,	Glamorgan.
CATACVS HIC IACIT FILIVS TEGERNACVS,	{ Llanfihangel,	{ Brecknock.
	{ Cwmdw,	

As MARTIVS would be a possible Latinization of CATACVS, the probability that TEGERNACVS, who is commemorated at Capel Brithdir, is the same as he of Llanfihangel Cwmdw, confirms this idea. LATIO, of the Llandyssilio inscription, I regard as the setter up of the monument there.

It seems indubitable that HIC JACET is employed in some instances as the equivalent of TITVLVS, just as we use substantively foreign formulæ, such as sine qua non, on dit, &c. Thus :—

HIC IACIT MACCVDECCETI,	Penrhos,	Anglesey.
RYANI HIC IACIT,	Michel,	Cornwall.
VENDVMAGLI HIC IACIT,	Llaniltern,	Glamorgan.
ENORIGI HIC IACIT,	Llan Babo,	Anglesey.
EVOLEGGI FILI LITOGENI HIC IACIT,	Llandyssilio,	Pembroke.
TRENEGVSSI „ MAGLITRENI, „	Cilgerran,	„
ICVENALI „ ETERNI, „	Llannor,	Caernarvon.
MELI MEDICI „ MARTINI, „	Llangean,	„
TYRPILI IC IACET PVVERI TRILVNI DVNOCATI,	Crickhowel,	Brecknock.

“The hic jacet of Turpilius, son of Trilunus (son) of Dunocatus.”

CORBALENGI IACIT ORDOVS,	Penbryn,	Cardigan.
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“The jacet of Corbalengus. Ordous placed.”

CVLIDORI IACIT ETORWITE MVLIER SECVNDI,	Llangefni,	Anglesey.
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“The jacet of Culidorus. Etorwite wife of Secundus placed.”

The uncertainty of the last letters in the following prevents our classifying it; but I fancy the last word will prove to be the representative of the modern bedd “grave.”

CULIDORI IACIT

Llandwili Iacit Cardigan

old as the second and third centuries, whilst others must be of the fourth and fifth.

The Ogham inscriptions in South Britain are distributed as follows:—Cornwall, 1; Devon, 2; Cardigan, 2 or 3; Pembroke, 8; Caermarthen, 2; Glamorgan, 2; Brecknock, 2; Denbigh, 1.

Pembrokeshire, then, is the richest in monuments of this class. In that county they are in the majority, there being therein but six monuments of the same age inscribed with Latin letters only. In Pembrokeshire, two, and in Glamorganshire, one, have Ogham inscriptions only.

The great peculiarity of Ogham writing is, that it is to be read from the bottom upwards; and so, in every instance of the occurrence of an Ogham and a Latin memorial on the same stone, the two inscriptions follow opposite directions. These inscriptions contain:—

I. Single names in the genitive:—

1. Buckland monachorum. Devon. On the monument of "Dobunnus the smith, son of Enabarrus," the name of the father enabarr(i).
2. Nevern, Pembroke. $\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\pi\iota$.
3. Loughor, Glamorgan. On the edge of a Roman altar. According to Mr. Brash—

/ — // •••• //

According to Mr. Rhys:—

II •••• / •• // // •••• //

or,

III •••• / •• / •• // •••• //

Out of those conflicting testimonies we may perhaps obtain the name, $\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\pi\iota$ be $\pi\iota$ c ι , which we have noticed at Panwen Byrdhin, about twelve miles to the westward.

4. Clydai, Pembroke. $\pi\iota\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\pi\iota$ •••• $\pi\iota\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\pi\iota$ •••• $\pi\iota\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\pi\iota$ ••••

5. S. Florence, Pembroke, $\pi\alpha\phi\epsilon\pi\alpha\delta\iota$. This is on the face of a stone, which was long exposed to the tramp of feet in the village, until the Rector, Mr. Burke, rescued it, and had it erected in the place of the lost churchyard cross. The initial π is almost entirely effaced; but there can be no hesitation in restoring the name, which occurs on the Pant y Polion stone. The line of the scores takes a bend to the right, and then resumes the upward direction. This was apparently intended to avoid a spawl, which therefore must be ancient. Other scores appear to the left, but I imagine they must have been made by a spade, at some time when the stone was covered with turf.

6. Caldey isle, Pembroke. The remains of an inscription which I venture to supply boboloι on the face. This is accompanied by μαγυλιτε βαρκενι on the edges. I shall have occasion to speak of this more at length in the sequel.

7. Llanfechan, Cardigan. τριενακκατιο is the reading given. Perhaps intended for τριενακκατι; or το may be an epithet, "little."

8. Bedd Emlyn, Cardigan. ιυβιλιου τοριφρατι.

II. Two names, one governing the other:—

1. The remains of the name μαζαριυ. Worthyvale, Cornwall.

2. Crickhowel, Brecknock. τυριπυλι (τρι)λλυμι. There is just room on the edge for the thirteen scores of τρι.

3. Llandyssul, Cardigan. ρεκκαι βαρυβαλονι. The inscriptions on this precious monument have been intentionally defaced. Mr. Randall Roberts read ρεκκαι βαρυβαλβουι. It is easy to suppose ~~////~~ misread ~~TTTT~~. Then βουι, which is impossible, ~~TTTT~~ contains the same number of scores as ~~TTTT~~, which will reconcile the reading with the Latin.

III. Filiation expressed:—

1. Fardell, Devon. ιαφαδquci μαφι quci.

2. S. Dogmaels, Pembroke. ιαζηαmmi μαφι cunαταmi.

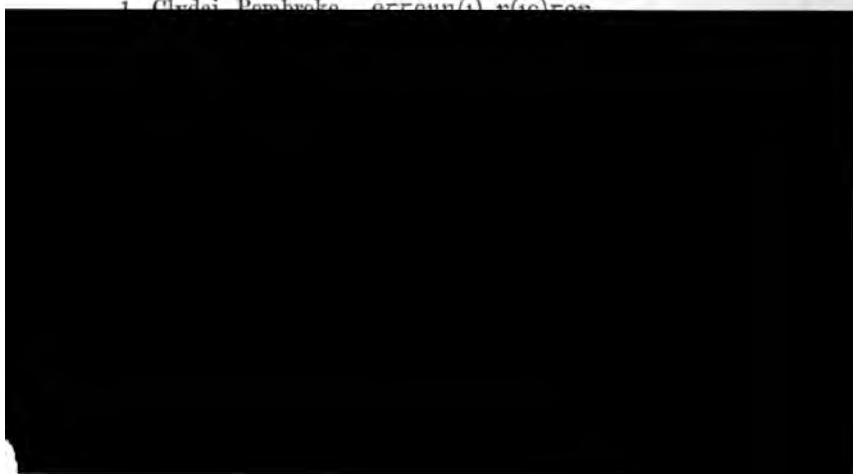
3. Cilgerran, „ τριεναζυρι μαφι μαφι τριεμι.

4. Bridell, „ νετταριαζυρι μαφι mucoi ppecci.

5. Llandawke, Caermarthen. μαφι m(ucoi) humeleuonαρ.

IV. The name of the raiser of the monument, with ellipsis of an equivalent of POSUIT:—

1. Gladei, Pembroke. ατταυρι(α) α(α)ααα



inverted, and the part which bears the cross is the part which was originally buried.

Trallong.—On the broadest part of the stone there is a cross in a circle, and the Oghams begin about 1·6 from this end, and extend nearly to the other. The shaft of the cross runs between the two lines of the Latin legend.

Llanwinio.—About 1·6 is without inscription, and on this is faintly traced a cross in a circle. Part of it is broken off at the other end, and consequently some scores of the Ogham legend lost.

Clydai.—A cross in a circle. The attempt to form a shaft for it with a base has interfered both with the Ogham scores and the Latin letters.

Bridell.—The stone now stands in its original position. On the lower part a quatrefoil cross is inscribed in a circle, as if the stone had once been, or was intended to be, inverted; for assuredly a cross would not have been cut on what was meant to remain the base of the monument.

Silian.—The shaft of the cross cuts through the letters of the legend.

These instances are sufficient to warrant the belief that the cross is likewise an addition in others, where the evidence is not so clear.

On Caldey isle, the monument bears an inscription apparently of about the seventh century:—

et p̃ngno crucis in illam p̃ng̃r̃ p̃ogo omnib̃
ammulantib̃ ibi exor̃ent p̃p̃o anima catuoc̃m.

Translated into grammatical Latin, this should probably be, “*Et signa crucis in illa finxi. Rogo omnes ambulantes, &c.*” The *et* suggests that the monument originally consisted of two stones, one at either end of the grave, as at Llannor, Caernarvon, and that the inscription was begun on that which is lost, and continued on this. At any rate, it is clear that the crosses on the faces and sides of this stone were the work of the writer of this inscription. Now the foot of the cross on the left side has cut through the first score of /// , and the head has cut through two scores of III , and the cutting of the cross has weakened the edge so as to occasion a large spawl to break off, carrying with it the scores of the vowel between TT and III .

Further, the large cross on the front seems to have partly effaced another inscription. Below the transom, to the right, there are two scores, with room for the vowel *o* between and after. The breadth of the cross would allow of *l*, *v*, or *z*; then, above the transom, there is half of the diphthong *oi*. Supplying *l*, we get *boboloi*, the name of a woman in the genitive. Then, where the corner of the stone is broken off, there is a single score, either *h* or half *m*. There was, therefore, an inscription of two lines on the face, a name and filiation,

in the genitive; and that on the edges may be the name and parentage of the raiser of the monument.

As to the comparative age of the Ogham and Latin inscriptions, when both occur on one monument:—

In some instances they are certainly coteremporary:—

Nevern.—The Ogham and the Latin give the same name, PITALLIAM . The Latin has in addition the name of the raiser of the monument, **EMERETO**.

Clydai, 1.—Both inscriptions have the name of the person commemorated, ETTERNI , and that of the raiser, PITTOY , the Latin supplying the prænomen of the latter.

Clydai, 2.—Both inscriptions seem to give the name of the person commemorated; the Latin supplies his paternity.

Llanfechan, Llandyssul.—The same may be said.

At S. Dogmael's the Ogham and Latin are equivalent, MAQ being translated **FILI**.

At Crickhowel, the edge of the stone has just room enough to complete the legend CUPPIL (CP)LLUM ; and the Latin **TURPILLI PVVERI TRILVNI** shows that CPULLUM is the name of the father, and supplies **DVNOCATI**, name of the grandfather.

At Cilgerran, the two legends give the same name, but the Latin has the name of the father, **FILI MAGLITRENI**; the Ogham that of the grandfather, MAQI MAQI CPENI .

So also, the legends at Kenfig, Trullong, and Llanwinio, seem to be strictly coteremporary.

At Buckland Monachorum, if ENABAPPU be the complete legend, the Ogham must be a generation earlier than the Latin.

The Fardell stone shows that inscriptions were added to the original one, presenting as it does an Ogham $\text{PAPACQUCI MAQI QICI}$, and two Latin, **FANONI MAQI RINI** and **SAGRANUI**, perfectly distinct; and the Bedd Emlyn stone commemorates two distinct persons, PUBILINU and **AIMILINI**, whether they held successively the dignity of **TOFISAC**, or were two sons of one who held the dignity. For the

IIIc) is much shorter than the first, to keep clear of the m; for if it had been of the same length it would have run into it.

At Crickhowel, too, although the two inscriptions commemorate the same person, the Ogham was written first; for the legs of the n are spread out wide to keep clear of the two scores of the l. Indeed the amplification of the Latin legend, as compared with the Ogham, is an indication of afterthought, and the same remark will apply to the inscriptions which supply paternity, omitted in the Ogham. My conclusion, therefore, would be, that these monuments belong to a people who ordinarily used Ogham writing; that Latin inscriptions were sometimes added for the sake of the people amongst whom they dwelt; and that these people were more numerous than the Ogham-writing people, because their monuments are more numerous than those inscribed with Oghams. It would be quite natural that the Ogham-writing people, after long residence in these districts, should adopt the writing of the country and lay aside their own: thus, *maqepaſi* alone is written on the monument at S. Florence, but the monument of his son from Pant y Polion has a Latin legend only; and *enabapui* alone appears on the Buckland stone, but the epitaph of his son is in Latin. On the other hand, the occasional use of the Ogham by the Latin-writing people may easily be supposed.

The Gaulish inscription at Todi, giving *DRUTIGNOS = DRUTI FILIUS*, has taught us that -gnos is patronymic. So also teaches the Irish Ogham legend at Monataggart, *oaladſni maqí oali*. *ignos* and *agnos* have become -en and -an in later speech; and indeed the early monuments exhibit the first traces of this change in names, such as *brocani*, *saghani*, and *severini fili severi* at Llan Newydd. But even the fuller form is contracted from *ganos* or *genos*, of which we have interesting examples in *brocagan*, and in the genitive *litogeni*. The St. Dogmaels monument presents the form -amni by the side of -ani, as it were a link in the connexion, already supposed, between the Greek *ἀγνός* and Latin *agnus*, (unless we admit the likelihood that an Ogham score has been omitted, and that *ſadſpamni* stands for *ſadſpalaſni*).² One other form of patronymic these legends supply, -ing or -eng, in *ercilingi*, *evolengi*, identical with the common Teutonic form.

The discovery of the S. Dogmaels monument, giving *maqí = fili*,³ fully confirmed Dr. Graves' theory, already universally accepted, as to the sense of *maqí*, genitive of *maqar*. The plural nominative of this word seems to occur in the Ardmore legend—

comutaf eſamonaf luſuoeccaf maqí oaladí biſgoeſſobí;
and the genitive plural in one of those at Ballintaggart,

cpia maqa maíladſni,

² See note (b) added in press.

³ See note (c) added in press.

for certainly $\tau\pi\upsilon\alpha$ can be nothing else than the masculine genitive plural. With these two, it is interesting to compare the $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma \mu\upsilon \epsilon\alpha\kappa\iota\lambda\iota\gamma\iota$ at Tregoney, although there we have the nominative plural, with (as I suppose) ellipsis of FUEBUNT .

One Irish monument at Knockrour, in the legend,

$\mu\upsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\iota\gamma\alpha \mu\alpha\kappa\kappa\alpha \alpha\tau,$

furnishes the exact feminine of $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\gamma$. But there is another word which expresses "daughter," $\mu\omicron\kappa\omicron$ or $\mu\upsilon\kappa\omicron$, genitive $\mu\omicron\kappa\omicron\iota$, $\mu\upsilon\kappa\omicron\iota$, identical with much, "filia" of the old Cornish glossary.

The relation of grandson is expressed by $\mu\alpha\kappa\iota \mu\alpha\kappa\iota$. This phrase is to be distinguished from another, where $\mu\alpha\kappa$ is compounded with a name, and so loses its power of inflexion. $\mu\alpha\kappa\iota \mu\upsilon\kappa\omicron\iota$ is the phrase, where descent from a named grandfather, though a mother, rather than a father, is intended to be expressed. For this relation of grandson the word $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota$ or $\alpha\pi\iota$ occurs in two Irish inscriptions, and in the inscription at Llanwinio. We might expect the correspondent of PRONEPOS in these inscriptions, since we have the word at Margam and at Vale Crucis, and I believe that we have it on several Irish monuments, $\alpha\tau\mu\alpha\kappa\iota$. $\alpha\tau$ simply means "father"; it is the Gothic atta ; the Sanscrit has lost it, but has preserved attā for "mother"; so it would be as suitable, prefixed to avus for the third degree in the ascending line, as it is for the sixth. The prefixes of avus , originally applied, with perfect correctness, to the ascending degrees, came to be used abusively to the descending; thus proavus , "before grandfather," is sensible; pronepos for "great grandson" is nonsensical; $\text{hen}\alpha\tau$ or $\text{hen}\alpha\tau\eta\iota$, "old father," for "grandfather," is sensible; but $\text{hen}\gamma\alpha\upsilon$, hen "old," prefixed to $\kappa\alpha\upsilon$, "great grandson," to express the fifth degree of descent, is absurd. Yet the same system which allowed of these prefixes, which befit the ascending series, being applied to the descending, would admit of $\alpha\tau$ prefixed to $\mu\alpha\kappa\iota$ to express "great

Doubtless the wife of the writer of this epitaph.

HIC IACET MULIER BONA NOBILI.

“The good wife of Nobilis.”

HIC (IN PA)CE MUL(IE)R REQVIEVIT — N — CUNANDE HIC IN TVMVLO IACIT.

“Here rested in peace the wife of ——. Cunande here lies in the tomb.”

CVLIDORI IACIT ETORWITE MULIER SECVNDI.

BROHOMAGLI IAM IACET ET VXOR EIUS CAYNE.

TVNCETACE VXSOR DAARI HIC IACIT.

Once a mother :—

EVALI FILI DENCVI CVNOVENDE MATER EIVS.

In other instances the name of a woman occurs without specification of kindred :—

AODIVNE.

— ORIA IC IACIT.

In the Tregoney inscription, NONNITA and ERCILIAI appear to be feminine names. The latter is in the genitive, agreeing with RIGATI, and the former doubtless ought to be.

Thus we have the following :—

Ercilia, Nonnita, Potenina, — oria, Velvo(ria),
Aodiune, Caune, Cunande, Cunovende, Etorwite, Rostece.

Now what do the Ogham legends give us ?

The lost inscription at Llandyssul was :—

DECA BARBALONI FILIVS BROCAONI.

“D. (daughter) of B. (He was) son of B.”

The Ogham legend was in the genitive, DECCAI BAPPAONI.
“(The titulus) of D. (daughter) of B.”

At Caldey, MAGULICE BAPCENI. M. (daughter) of B.

At Llanwinio, BIADI AFI BOGI BEVE. “(The titulus) of B., grandson of B. B. (placed it).” To this correspond, on the the left hand, APPI BOCI BIASI “(The titulus) of B.’s grandson B.”; on the right, BEPP(e), the name of the mother or grandmother.

Comparing these with the Irish inscriptions, we have the simple name cunocena, the feminine of cunacenni, on one of the stones in the Rath of Dunloe.

MUOOPIPA MAQQA AT, above noticed.

At Ballyquin, CATABAI MOCO PPUCOIB. “C. daughter of F.,” where the inflexion of the father’s name is suppressed.

At Kilgravane, $\text{na maqi luguveca mucu matoni}$. Here luguveca is certainly the feminine of luguveccar in the nominative. I translate "(The titulus) of my son. L. daughter of M. (placed it)."

At Kilgravane, cualgn mucu cunee .

At Claragh, $\text{caragagn mucu maqnette}$.

At Monataggart, $\text{peque moqui glunlegget}$, (this last, on account of the forms of the words, and the peculiar character of the writing, to be considered of much later date than the others), we have the formula "The titulus) of A.'s daughter B.," as in the Llanfaglan inscription, $\text{FILI LOVERNI ANATEMORI}$. "Of L.'s son A."

At Ballymoreagh, $\text{geniloci maqi maqi aind muc —}$, "Of Q., grandson of Aina, daughter of —."

At Whitefield, $\text{nocati maqi maqnet(ce) maqi mucu uodami}$. "Of N. son of M., son of U.'s daughter."

At Ballintaggart, $\text{nettalami maqcaose maqi mucu uodur}$. "Of N. (son) of M. son of D.'s daughter."

I understand $\text{maqnette} = \text{mucú uodami}$.

$\text{maqcaose} = \text{mucu uodur}$.

To be compared with this are otmaqi maqiuete at Deelish, and otmaqi he in the Cork Institute, from Tullig.

So also at Ballintaggart again, $\text{maqi paria maqi mucu uodur}$, where the actual name of the deceased is suppressed, Paria (whose name is in the genitive), is daughter of D.

On the Llandawke monument the complete legend was (as I believe), $\text{maqi mucu humeleonur}$, equally suppressing the name of the deceased.

At Bridell we have clearly $\text{nettalaghu maqi mucu ffece}$. "(The titulus) of N. son of F.'s daughter."

At Dunmore, the monument, which reads $\text{epic maqi maqi epicur}$ on the left, has ana uodur on the right. This seems to correspond

uiccionem pro anima hipocrit, and that at Valle Crucis, quicumque peccatauerit manescit (uiccionem ipta)m uet beneuiccionem super animam eliret. But all these seem to be comparatively late, i. e., to belong to the age when the older inflectional forms were falling into disuse. Thus

anm moileasgoimiri aomaqi bleacamean, Cahirciveen.
anem furuioiann maqi culigenn, Tinahally.

drop the inflexions of the names, whilst they retain it in maqi, and the following drop it in maqi also:—

anm teasgann maq ueglann, Tinahally.
anm ciunan maq luginn, Derrcenderagh.
anm cololoman ailibitei, Kilcoleman.

“ Memorial of Coloman stranger,”

also wants the inflexion.

And now, in order to institute a full comparison between the names on these and the Irish monuments, I append a list of the former, as complete as my resources will admit, with the counties in which they occur, taking Cornwall and Devon together, then the five southern counties of Wales in which Ogham inscribed monuments prevail, then the four north-western counties, and writing the Latin names in capitals, the Ogham in minuscules.

	Co.	Dev.	Pem.	C-m.	Gla.	Bre.	C-d.	Mer.	C-n.	Den.	Ang.
AIMILINI,											
ALHORTH,											
ANATEMORI,											
ANNICVS,										
AODIVNE,					
ARGLII,			
RANDVS,											
RARRALONI, bapfaloni,							.				
bapcen(i),								
RARCVNI,							
RARRIVENDI,							
ERIC,						
KEVE, beff,							
ELADI, biao,							
BODVOCI,						
BOSI, boci,							
BONEMIMORI,										
BROCAGAN — ONI,				
BROHOMAOLI, BROHO —,	
BVBROCAVI,			

[illegible]

Nettasagru, Quenatauci,* Quenvendani, Regin, Rialobrani, Rini, Safaquuci, Sagrani (Sagranui),* Senacus, Senilus, Senomagli, Talori, Tegernacus, Trenacatus, Trenegussi, Treni, Turpilli, Vendoni, Vendubari, Vinnemagli, Ulcagnus.* Of these, those marked (*) are found south of the Bristol Channel; and ULCAGNI FILI SEVERI from the south, compared with SEVERINI FILI SEVERI, and ULCAGNUS FIVS SENOMAGLI from the north, with SAGRANUI—SAGRANI, MACCODECCETI—MACCODECCETI, BROCAGAN—BROCAGNI, indicate the presence of the same families on both sides of it. Some of these names have their correspondents in Welsh personal nomenclature, it is true; but the forms in which they are here presented to us are assuredly more like those on the Irish monuments, than those on monuments distinctly Welsh; and there is at least one element of which the Irish character cannot be doubted, Sen (Welsh, Hen). The names, generally, belong to the primitive heathen Celtic type; but there are two, ΜΤΟΡΥΥΙΤΕ (apparently identical with εταμγυροε, "adoration"), and humeleuonαr, (undoubtedly a compound of humele-γ = later Irish umal, Cornish huvel, Welsh uffal, and uonα-γ, "low and poor"), which savour of the Christian names of the first centuries. Some of the other names are certainly Latin; but of these some may be translations of Celtic names. Thus NOBILI may represent FECI, which twice occurs, and SECUNDI DAARI.

VENEDOTIS CIVE, "citizen of Gwynedd," prepares us to expect other provincial or local designations, and such, I believe is SEIMETIACO, "native of Seimeti," though I do not recognise the place. There was a local name, something like it, in Ulster, Seimne. ORDOUS has been referred to this class, and identified with Ordovic-is or -a, (the plural was Ordovic-es or -æ); but I dare not accept this identification. I think it safer to regard it as a personal name, and understand posuit rather than fuit. It seems to be a Celtic correspondent of the Latin arduus, later Irish opvo and apvo, "tall" or "brave."

In two instances, TALORI ADVENTI (sc. adventitii) and PEREGRINI FECI, we have indications that the persons who are commemorated were "strangers," just as at Mount Musie, annacanni maqι αιλλιταr, and Kilcoleman, ann cololoman αιλλιτεr.

Three monuments commemorate the civil rank of the deceased or of his father, or some relative—TOFISACI, TRIBUNI, MAGISTRATI; but these are not amongst those I claim as probably Irish. I do not know whether anything equivalent has appeared on the Irish monuments, unless bpomnonαr, apparently equivalent to the Welsh brenhin, be of this class.

Three monuments—two in Wales and one in Scotland—present the ecclesiastical titles presbyter and sacerdos. These are of the Roman type; but they have their analogies at Cahirnagal, τογιτταcc maqι γαδγρεττοr, and Brandon, qumitir ponann maqι como-γann (both which I judge to be comparatively late, on account of the

falling away of the inflexions, and the bustrophedon character of the last).

If the monument at Llansadwrn had, as is almost certain, the title *episcopus*, this also would be nearly paralleled by the Ardmore monument:—

comutar eḡamonar luguveccar maqi volati biḡoerḡobi.

I leave to those who have fuller acquaintance than I have with the Irish inscriptions, whether such designations as *fabri*, *medici*, have also their parallels. The former seems to be represented by the Gaulish inscription at Gueret, *SACER PEROCO IEURU DUORICO*, "*Faber Peroco fecit porticus*"; and by another monument, Gaulish, though raised in England, *NOMINE SACRI BRVSCI FILI CIVIS SENONI*. Perhaps it is also contained in the Bridell inscription *netta r̥asnu*.⁴

Rude as these monuments are, they belong undoubtedly to the noble and princely class, to those whose names would appear in the history of their times if that history were before us.⁵ So, if we find upon some of them names which appear in the fragments which remain of that history, there is at least a probability that we may have before us monuments of historic personages; and probability with regard to a particular monument may be confirmed by comparison with other monuments.

Fortunately we have one monument which presents names, of the identity of which there can be no reasonable doubt. It is that at Clydai, Pembrokeshire, erected by Flavius Victor to the memory of Etern. Now Flavius Victor was the son of the Emperor Maximus, proclaimed emperor by his father A. D. 383, and slain in Gaul A. D. 388. According to the British traditions, Maximus was a son of Leolinus, who was a son of Coel Goedhebawg, and Edeyrn married a daughter of Coel named Gwawl. By this marriage, Edeyrn would be the great-uncle of Fl. Victor. But this monument must be earlier than the five years' duration of his reign, all which years were spent in Gaul; and for many years previous his father, and probably himself, were absent from Britain.

Zosimus says that Maximus was engaged in Britain under Theodosius in the war which was begun A. D. 364 and ended in A. D. 369; and whilst the Roman writers, narrating the events of that war, ascribe everything to Theodosius, the British writers very naturally make Maximus the hero, as the descendant of their ancient princes. Fordun, the Brut, and Bocce, each has a distinct story to tell of these events; each must have been indebted to an independent source of information, for each has many differences in detail, yet all agree as to the leading facts; and these which strikingly illustrate the narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus we may accept.

⁴ See note (d) added in press.

⁵ See note (c) added in press.

Ammianus, then, speaks of the unceasing ravages of the British provinces, on the part of the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots, A. D. 364, and of the Dicaledones and Vecturiones, Scots and Attacots, continuing these ravages, A. D. 368. During the interval Severus was sent to Britain, but replaced immediately by Jovinus. The intelligence he sent home was so alarming, that it was felt that none but a general of the very highest character could be entrusted with the direction of affairs in Britain, and Theodosius was sent. Landing at Richborough, A. D. 368, he marched towards London, then in imminent danger, defeated several parties of marauding barbarians on the way, and entered the city triumphantly. So strong, however, was the confederacy of the barbarians, that he was convinced it must be overcome rather by craft than by force. He therefore applied himself first to the plan of detaching from it those who had deserted from the Roman cause; and great numbers were induced by his promises of immunity to return to their allegiance. Thus he gradually strengthened himself during the winter. In the following spring he marched northwards, overcame the barbarians, restored the cities and fortresses, recovered for the empire the district between the Tyne and Forth, and named the province so recovered *Valentia*, in honour of his master. Claudius and Pacatius even assert that he was victorious by sea as well as by land, and pursued the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, as far as the Orkneys.

In order the better to understand the British narratives, and establish their credibility, it will be necessary to recur to a somewhat earlier period of the history.

The Emperor Constantine had been assisted by three British princes, Trahern, Leolinus, and Mauricius, in his struggle with Maxentius. After his departure, one Octavius, with a few companions, conspired against and slew the Roman governors, was then elected king by the Britons, and expelled the Imperial forces. Trahern was sent against him; defeated at first, he sailed to Scotland, thence renewed his enterprize, and put Octavius to flight. This is quite consistent with what we know from Roman sources. It is certain that British auxiliaries formed part of Constantine's forces in his struggle for empire; and after he found himself firmly seated on the throne, Eusebius tells us that he passed over into Britain, and conquered it. So there must have been a rebellion in the interval, and the British story merely supplies the names of the British chiefs who assisted Constantine, of the rebel, and of the general who was sent to oppose him.

Octavius fled to Norway, and thence sent messengers to Britain, instigating his partisans against Trahern, until one of them found an opportunity of killing him. Then he ventured to return, routed the Imperial forces, recovered the kingdom, and, by uniting the Picts and Scots in firm alliance with the Britons, was enabled to maintain his independence until the reign of Gratian and Valentinian. This brings us to A. D. 364, the year of Valentinian's accession, as the

basis for the events which follow, the time when Picts and Saxons and Scots are represented by Ammianus as having all but wrested from Rome the sovereignty of Britain. The British story names the Picts and Scots as assisting to maintain a British prince in independence, and, without naming the Saxons, undesignedly completes the confederacy as represented by Ammianus, by telling us that Octavius had found refuge in, and returned from, Norway, when he established his power. He had therefore friends there, and would assuredly be accompanied by them on his return.

During the time assigned to the reign of Octavius, the Roman historians have very little to tell us of Roman transactions in Britain. About A. D. 340, Constans spent a winter in Britain, and awed the natives by his presence. There is no record of any active measures taken by him. A. D. 353, Paulus was sent to punish those who had favoured the cause of Magnentius. There is no record of the measures he took. A. D. 360, Julian sent Lupicinus to oppose the Picts and Scots, who were doing precisely what Ammianus says they were doing in 364, but it does not appear that he achieved anything of importance.

In his old age, the British story proceeds, Octavius, having no son, wished to settle the succession to the throne. Caradoc, one of his chief princes, advised him to name Maximus as his successor, and sent his son Mauricius to Rome to invite him to come. Mauricius found Maximus disaffected towards Gratian and Valentinian, on account of their refusal to give him a third part of the empire. This is not improbable, for the empire was divided in this very year, and the east given to Valens. Maximus gladly accepted the invitation, and came to Britain, with the consent of the emperor (says Boece), with an army which he had collected on his way. There was, however, a party in Britain who favoured the claims of Conan, Octavius' nephew; and Octavius, led to believe that Maximus' coming with so large a force was hostile, commanded Conan to oppose him with all the forces of Britain. Several conflicts ensued; Maximus was victorious; Conan retired to Caledonia, raised a fresh army of Picts, Scots, and others collected from all quarters, passed the Humber, and was again defeated. Octavius now acknowledged Maximus his successor, and gave him the hand of his daughter in marriage.

A year probably must be allowed between these events and the renewal of the war. Conan fled to Scandinavia, recruited his forces there, invaded South Britain, and continued the war for three years, (A. D. 365 to 368). Probably Maximus found himself unequal to the struggle, and his demands for assistance from Rome procured the appointment of Theodosius, the working of whose plans to break the confederacy we now begin to discern in this story.

The Scots, it is said, had suffered much in this war, and desired peace, but without prejudice to their allies. The Britons who favoured Conan's pretensions, afraid of being abandoned, made peace also, and Conan agreed to make common cause with Maximus. Here

we observe the result of Theodosius' promises of immunity; Conan and his party were the deserters who returned to their allegiance.

For a year Maximus maintained peace outwardly with the Scots, but secretly stirred up the Picts to make war upon them; and made a treaty with the Picts, intending to subdue each nation in its turn. The Picts, supported by all the Britons save Conan and his party, attacked the Scots fiercely, and a destructive war ensued. In the following year (369) Maximus took the field in person, and defeated the Scots in a bloody battle, in which their king Eugenius fell. Ethodh his brother fled to Ireland with his son Erth; others to Norway. Maximus buried the bodies of the slain, and performed the funeral obsequies for Eugenius. The reduction of the Picts, who had been much weakened in the conflict with the Scots, was now an easy task, and all their fortresses fell into the hands of Maximus. He is said, however, to have maintained friendly relations with them; and five years later, Vortigern, who married his daughter Severa, is described as holding under the Romans the sovereignty of the Picts.

Now it is worthy of remark that the "*Historia Britonum*" speaks of two reigns of Maximus in Britain, naming first Maximus and then Maximianus:—

"Sextus, Maximus in Britannia. A tempore illius consules esse ceperunt et Cæsares postea nunquam appellati sunt. In tempore autem illius Sanctus Martinus virtutibus et miraculis claruit.

Septimus, Maximianus imperator regnavit in Britannia. Ipse perrexit cum omnibus militibus Brittonum a Britannia et occidit regem Romanorum Gratianum et imperium obtinuit totius Europæ."

Yet afterwards he mentions the latter under his other name:—

"Dum Gratianus imperator regnavit in toto mundo, in Britannia per seditionem militum Maximus imperator factus est, quem mox in Galliam transfretasse perhibent, et Gratianum regem Parisi Mero-blandis magistri militum prodicione superavit, qui fugiens Lugduni captus atque occisus est, Maximus vero Victorem filium suum consortem regni fecit. Post multum vero spatium temporis a Valentino et Theodosio consulibus spoliatus Maximus regiis indumentis sistitur, et in capite lapide dampnatur, cuius filius Victor eodem anno ab Argobaste comite interfectus est in Gallia."

The meaning probably is that Maximus was twice saluted "imperator" in Britain, in 369 and in 383.

To his first residence in this island I would refer the erection of this monument to his uncle Edeyrn by his son Flavius Victor, afterwards emperor.

The war, of which the effect was the restoration to the Roman empire of the province between the Tyne and the Forth, was certainly concluded in that province, and there are many traces, immediately to the south of the Forth, of such a war in the third century. The

period is marked by an inscription which, though not bearing any tokens of Christianity, is of the Roman rather than of the Celtic type, and therefore I refer it to the period after Constantine, *HIC IACIT IN TVMULO VETTA FILIUS VICTR.* This is inscribed on a stone pillar, which is called the *Catstone*, i. e., "battle-stone," at Kirkliston in Lothian. Immediately to the east of it many stone cists have been found, formed of undressed flags set edgeways, containing skeletons. About sixty yards to the west stood a large tumulus, which was opened in 1824, and found to contain several skeletons. Four miles to the east there were formerly two very large conical cairns called also *Catstones*, in which were cists containing skeletons and weapons of iron and bronze. To the north-west of these, a few yards distant, is another stone pillar bearing the same name, and about it many skeletons have been found irregularly interred without cists. The rude earthworks of an ancient camp still exist, and more extensive entrenchments once existed in the same neighbourhood. Thus abundant traces of a bloody conflict have been preserved even to our own times, and how many may have been effaced by cultivation during fifteen centuries past!

It is clear that the Teutonic race were actively engaged throughout this struggle with the forces of the empire. It was by their aid that Octavius was enabled to assert his independence, early in the reign of Constantine. Where Fordun mentions "other" allies, without specifying their nationality, Ammianus supplies "Saxons," s. a. 364; and later he seems to call them *Vecturiones*, s. a. 368; since to Picts and Saxons of the earlier notice *Dicaledones* and *Vecturiones* of the latter correspond, and *Dicaledones* are surely Picts. It was to Scandinavia (according to the Welsh Brut) that Conan's second flight was directed. The panegyrist says that the Saxons were vanquished by Theodosius, and Fordun and Boece that Norway was the refuge of some of the fugitives from the contest. When then we find this monument commemorating a person whose name clearly indicates his Teutonic nationality, and naming as his father one whose people may well have been known as *Vecturiones*, we have surely good reason for regarding it as the monument of a chieftain of this people who fell in the conflict; and that his epitaph should have been written *more Romano* not *more Britannico*, is perfectly consistent with the statement that Maximus, a Roman by birth and education, devoted himself after the battle to the honourable interment of the slain. Now these two names occur in the genealogy of the Kings of Kent, Woden, his son Wecta (or Wither, as Æthelward calls him), his son Witta, his son Wictgils, his sons Hors and Henegest. In my "Essay on the Conquest of Britain by the Saxons," and in my "Genealogy of the Kings of Kent," I have shown that Woden commenced his migration to Scandinavia about A. D. 325, at which time he was the father of several sons of mature age, and that Hors and Henegest came to Britain A. D. 428, Henegest being then the father of a marriageable daughter. Nearly intermediate between these dates is that of the battle of which we are speaking, A. D. 369. Witta, the grandson of Woden, and grandfather

of Hengest, would then be a warrior of full age. The coincidence with the genealogy is so striking, so evident, that it occurred independently to Dr. Simpson, and to myself; and we must either suppose that these are really the grandfather and great grandfather of the conquerors of Britain, or that there were living at the same time, in the Scandinavian lands, two Teutonic chiefs, a father and son, of the same names as theirs. We know, however, of but one pair so named; and if we admit the identification of them with those named on this monument, the following series of facts will appear to but a natural sequence.

1. The Piets (Dicaledones), confederate with the Saxons (*Vecturiones*), detached by Maximus from their alliance with the Scots, and the last utterly routed, A. D. 369.

2. Vortigern, holding under the Romans the sovereignty of the Piets, and the husband of Severa, daughter of Maximus, received a colony of Saxons, A. D. 374.

3. Vortigern, in his old age, embarrassed by the disaffection of the Britons, the hostility of the Roman party, and the pretensions of Ambrosius, received the aid of the grandchildren of the chieftain, who was the ally of his own people, sixty years before.

Equally interesting, if not more so, are the inscriptions on a monument at Ballyhank, Co. Cork. On one side we have clearly the legend, continued over the top, $\Delta\eta\ \mu\alpha\phi\alpha\epsilon$ (or $\Delta\eta$) $\rho\omicron\pi\pi\tau\iota\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta$, and on the other, in much smaller scores, $\mu\iota\omicron\beta\alpha$.

I cannot help comparing the minute characters of this last with the minute $\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\varsigma$ on the monument of Vitalis son of Torricus, and suppose the one like the other to be the signature of the raiser of the monument.

I suppose the $\Delta\eta\mu$ to have the same sense as on other monuments, *i. e.*, *nomen = titulus*, and that the second word was $\mu\alpha\phi\alpha\epsilon$ or $\mu\alpha\phi\alpha\iota$, an *m* final and another initial represented by one, as on many Runic monuments. This seems to be a variant of the usual $\mu\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\iota$. $\rho\omicron\pi\pi\tau\iota\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta$ is clear, and the whole legend is in my view, "Memorial of daughter of Fortigern."

Now this monument distinctly mentions a person who had the same name as the unfortunate British king, but lived earlier, or the king himself. I do not entertain the idea of a later namesake; for the memory of the historic king was so odious, that assuredly it would not be given to another; and though I admit the supposition of an earlier prince of the name, I believe that the person here named can be no other than he who introduced the Saxons.

"The daughter of Fortigern." Fortigern had one daughter, whose name the author of the "*Historia Britonum*" suppresses, the mother (by his incest with her) of S. Faustus, associated with him in his fate,

⁶ See note (f) added in press.

whatever that was. For it is involved in mystery; there are no less than four different stories of the circumstances of his disappearance from this world's stage.

1. That, denounced by S. Germanus, he fled to *Caer Gortigern*, with his wives and all his friends; that S. Germanus followed him, and obtained by his prayers the destruction of the fortress by fire from heaven. ("Hist. Brit.").

2. That Aurelius Ambrosius besieged him in his fortress, and destroyed it and all who were in it by fire. ("Brut").

3. That, simultaneously with the descent of fire from heaven, the earth opened and swallowed up all the inmates of the fortress. ("Hist. Brit.").

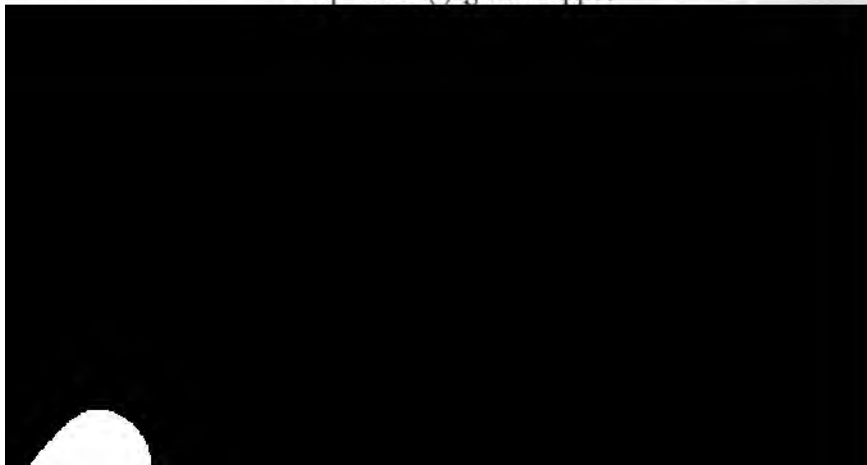
4. That he sought safety by flight, and died in obscurity of a broken heart. ("Hist. Brit.").

Thus the first three agree that his fortress was destroyed by fire: the third was evidently a conjecture to account for the fact, "that no bones, nor remains, of him or of those who were with him in the fortress, were ever found;" and the following has appeared to me the most probable account of these affairs:—

That, besieged by Aurelius, whom S. Germanus accompanied, he effected his escape, after having set fire to his fortress, and ended his days in some foreign land.

That he should have fled to Ireland and died there is by no means improbable; for more than one of the bards records, to his disparagement, his friendship for, and confederacy with, the Scots of Ireland, Anglesey, and North Britain. And when his son Pascent, after his death, was defeated in his first struggle with Aurelius, he fled to Ireland, and returned to renew it with the aid of an Irish king, who is called Gillomorius, and his forces. I am not aware that this name occurs in the Irish annals; but it is a genuine Celtic name, and appears in one of the Ogham inscriptions at Burnham:—

maqi tenac(i) gillamuriis.



If the monument at Towyn, Merionethshire, belongs to either, it will probably be to the son of Vortigern, on account of the form of the characters.

The name of another son of Vortigern, Catigern, killed at the battle of Episford, A. D. 435, occurs in the remarkable inscription at Margam, Glamorganshire, which presents the following genealogy:—

Vedomal, Eternal, ———, Catotigirn, Boduoc,

to be compared with—

Guitaul, Guortheneu, Guorthegern, Catigirn.

Why is the grandfather of Boduoc not named, why does the genealogy pass from his father Catotigirn to his great grandfather Eternal? I think on account of the disgrace which any mention of the name of Vortigern would entail. The name Eternal does not agree with Guortheneu; but here the genealogist seems to have made a slip, and substituted Guortheneu, a frequent epithet of Vortigern, and meaning "perverse of mouth," for the name of his father. Vedomal answers very well to Guitaul.*

The monument at Cwm Gloyn, from Nevern, combines two names of historic interest, that of the deceased, Vitaliani, and that of the raiser, Emereto(s). For *ἀμβροτος* and *ἀμβρόσιος* are strictly equivalent, the latter merely a poetic form of the former; and as the latter became in Welsh Embreis Emrys Emris, so might Emeretos represent the former. I should not have thought of this equivalence, but for the following passage in Nennius' Chronological notes at the end of the "Hist. Brit." :—

"A regno Guorthigerni usque ad discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii anni sunt xii quod est Guoloppum id est Cat Guoloph. Guorthigernus, autem tenuit imperium in Britannia Theodosio et Valentiniano consulibus."

The date is distinctly marked A. D. 437, but we have no further information as to the circumstances of this affair. Guitolini is a loose rendering of Vitaliani, but has a parallel in the same history, in the variations, Guitolin Guitolion.

As far as internal evidence allows me to judge, I should regard the Clydai monument as one of the latest of the Ogham inscribed monuments of Wales; but if my identification of this last be correct, this will be about seventy years later still. Then we have a series of monuments, inscribed with Oghams alone, or with Oghams first and then with Latin characters, which undoubtedly belong to the Irish, rather than to the Welsh family of the Celtic race, and these seem to be generally anterior to the middle of the fourth century. This is in per-

* See note (h) added in press.

fect accordance with the evidence of Gildas written in Britain, and the Irish tradition preserved in the "Sanas Chormaic"; and this, I think, enables us to understand the fact, that Talorius the son of Maqueragus is called "a stranger"; his epitaph, however, being written in Latin, whilst his father's is written in Ogham. Nay, it is very possible that we have actually the name of Liethan in Litogeni, in Pembrokeshire, at Llandyssilio, since -an may well represent -agni or -ageni; and traces of that of his father Ercal actually occur in the patronymic Ercilinci, and the feminine name Ercilia. The later Irish favoured the vowel sequence $\epsilon-\alpha$, so $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda$ $\beta\epsilon\pi\alpha\varsigma$ represent earlier $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda$ $\beta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$; and as we have seen $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\sigma\epsilon\kappa\eta\eta\iota$ and $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota$ by the side of $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\sigma\epsilon\kappa\eta\eta\iota$ and $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota$, so LITOGENI may represent LITAGEM , LITAGMI , LITAN .

NOTES ADDED IN THE PRESS.

(a) IGNIOC , on the monument at S. Clements, Truro, is in characters so much smaller than VITALI , &c., that it can only be regarded as the signature of the writer.

(b) There is no need to suppose an error in IAGIAMNI . On the contrary, in this form, compared with NIEMNI at Kilbonane, IOCAMNI — at Hook Point, Wexford, and IAGAMNI at Roovesmore, we must recognize one of the finest links of connexion between the monuments "east and west of the Ictian sea."

(c) If MACKWY occurs in the "Mabinogion," it is quite exceptional, and must be regarded as borrowed. The old MAGAR MAGI ,

The Harleian MS. 3859 thus represents it, giving *ḡuontheu* (for *ḡuontheueu*) correctly as an epithet; and the Irish version omits the epithet altogether. *ETERNALI VEDOMALI* also appear to be a name and surname.

(A) Since this paper was written (1876), Pembrokeshire has produced another bilingual monument, at Trefgarn, near Haverfordwest. It had been visited by the late Mr. Brash, and will appear shortly in his posthumous work on Ogham literature, but was first made known to the world by Mr. R. Allen ("Archæologia Cambrensis," 1876). Its inscriptions are

NOCTIVIS FILI

DEMETI

noctene

"The titulus of her son N. a Demetian. N. placed it."

Noctene, probably herself of the Gaelic race, but wedded to a Demetian Briton, took care to express on his monument the race to which her son belonged, as heir to his father's blood.

(B) The Ogham inscriptions recently discovered on the islands and mainland of Scotland, all later than the conquest by Fergus Mac Erc, A. D. 502, are destitute of inflectional forms even internal. Thus, in the inscription from Aboyne,

māq q o talīl uor ī h,

we have neither talorci nor talornc. It seems clear, then, that māqgo can be nothing else than "daughter." In the second line of the same inscription,

neā hht fār o bbac ceā n n e ff,

neāhht = neāco, "family" or "tribe"; fā, "towards," "under"; nō, characteristic of the præterite; bac = baō, "was"; therefore, fānobbac = subfruit; ceānnerr, still the name of a place in the



(C) The recently discovered monument on S. Ninian's Isle, Shetland, has

leṛmeqnan aḡoffeṛt.

Sir S. Ferguson has recognized the diminutive of leṛmeq, "stepson," in leṛmeqnan; and aḡoffeṛt is the superlative, (of which the only other trace, in the Irish language, is tanaḡṛte, tanaḡṛte, "second"), of a root akin to the Greek ἀγαπ. The meaning, therefore, is "little stepson dearest."

This is a valuable addition to the list of Ogham words expressive of family relationship, and it helps us to complete the inscription on the Kenfig stone. The Latin there has two words, both in the nominative, FVNPEIVS the deceased, and CARANTORIVS, probably the placer of the monument. The Ogham has pompeṛ in the genitive, on the left; and on the right (caṛant)opḡl, corresponding to CARANTORIVS, and (le)ṛmeqnan setting forth his relationship to the deceased.

leṛmeqq, without the diminutive suffix, occurs on the famous Bressay monument:

bennṛ leṛmeqq ṽopṛoḡann.

"B. stepson of D."

ṽopṛoḡann being patronymic of ṽopṛoḡ, "druid," it is intelligible how Benir's daughter Hildegunna learned those arts which procured for her the character of a sorceress.

The other inscription on this monument,

cṛṛṛboṛ: cc: naḡhṛcṛṽoḡaṽoṛ: ṽaṽcṛṛ: bn: —

gives us the Scandinavian ṽaṽcṛṛ in place of its Celtic equivalent.

The Burrian, Lunnasting, and Bressay inscriptions exhibit a growing taste for fanciful forms of writing, such as no Irish monuments present, but of which the Book of Ballymote supplies a multitude of examples. The reading of that at Burrian is easy.

iuleṛṛbṛonn unḡṛṛaṽt peṛṛ ceṛṛocṛṛ.

iuleṛṛbṛonn for iuleṛṛbṛon (like cololoman for coloman), a man's name, composed of iolṛ, "an eagle," and bṛan, "black"; unḡṛṛaṽt, probably composed of unḡ, "healing," "anointing," and ṛeṽt, "man"; peṛṛ = beṽb beṽ, "tomb"; ceṛṛocṛṛ, possibly a fanciful spelling of cṛux, or the signature of the placer of the monument.

"Iulerbron, physician, (his) grave-cross."

This illustrates the Llangian inscription, and one at Llantwit, Glamorganshire, beginning in nomine ṽi ṛummi incipit cṛux

ῥαλυατοῖϣ, where ϣυα is evidently equivalent (as it probably is in other instances also) to τῑυῑϣ.

The Lunnasting inscription has the advantage of being divided into words:

ῥ - ττ — chuhea ττ ῥ : Δheah : hττm n n n : hecῥ : ῥe ῥῥ :
n e hhto n n ;

but I dare not supply all the suppressed vowels, especially as it is clear that we have to do with a dialect other than Irish. As the others have given us τ for υ, I think we cannot mistake hατταmηαnn for the familiar Adamnan; and nehhtonn, probably the subscription of the placer, is familiar to us under the forms Neactan, Necton, Naitan, Naiton. ῥeῥῥ is "grave" again.

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Fig. 1.

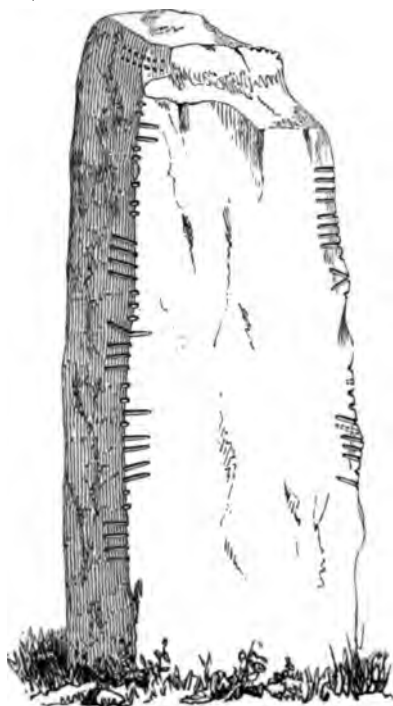
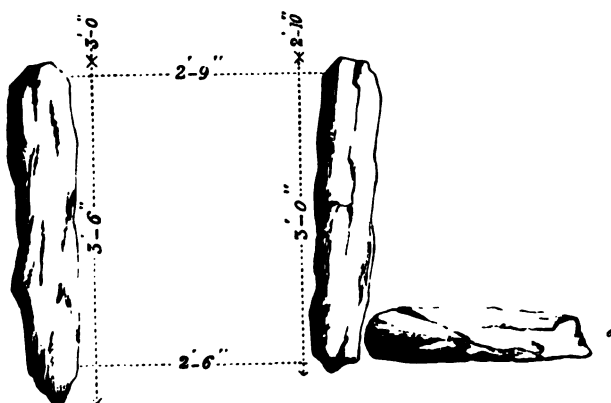


Fig. 2.



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Fig. 1.

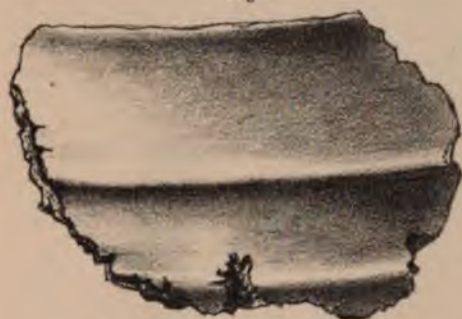


Fig. 2.



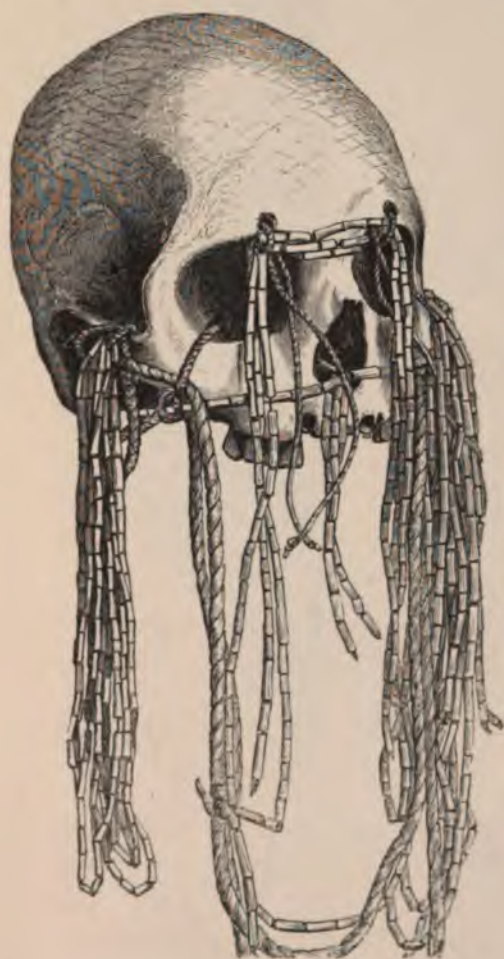
Fig. 3.



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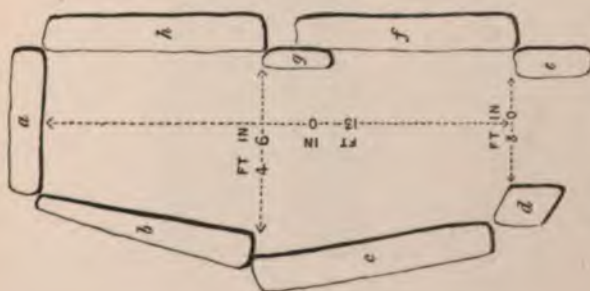
MR. BRASH ON AN OGHAM-INScribed STONE AT KILBONANE.



MR. W. BALL.—VISIT TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

PLAN.

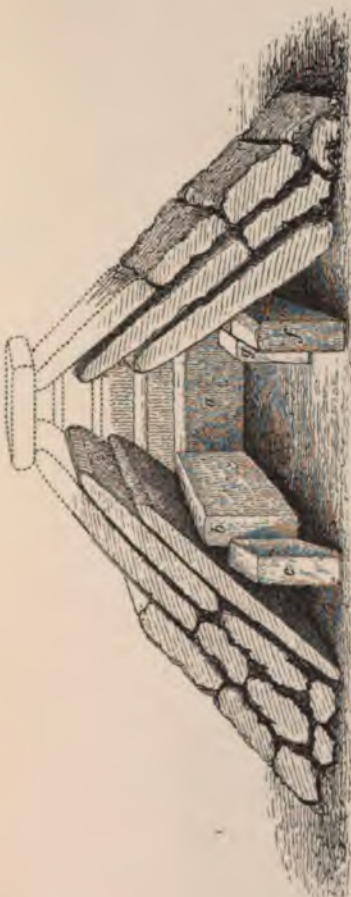
Fig. 1.



Scale—12 ft. to 2.5 inches.

RESTORED ELEVATION.

Fig. 2.



REFERENCE.

a	4 ft. long	34 inches high	10 inches wide.
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c-6	"	"	"
d-1	"	"	"
e-2	"	"	"
f-6	"	"	"
g-2	"	"	"
h-6	"	"	"

CLOCHAUN, S.S.E. OF LOUISBURG, CO. MAYO.

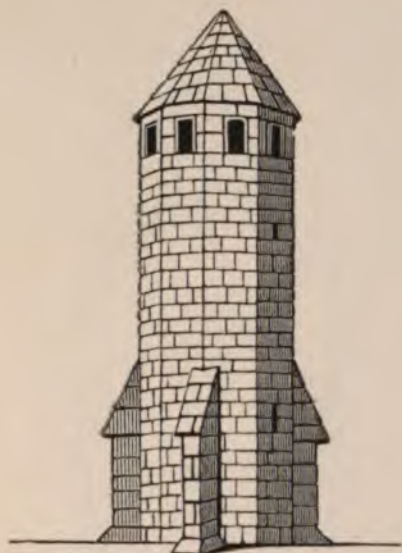


Fig. 1.



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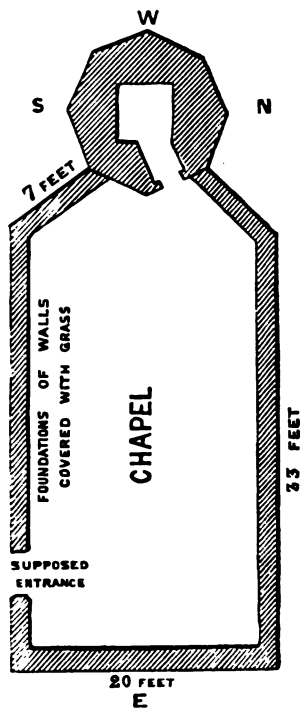


Fig. 1.



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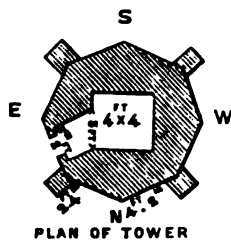


Fig. 2.



ANCIENT BRONZE SHIELD, found in the Co. Limerick; now in the Museum, R. I. A.



INSCRIBED STONE AT INCHAGUILE, CO. GALWAY

Printed by the Autotype process, by FORSTER AND CO., Dublin,
from a Photograph taken from a Paper Cast made by E. BUCHHEIT, Esq.

DR. FERGUSON—ON PAPER CASTS PRESENTED.



Fig. 1.—32 in. × 14 in.



Fig. 2.—27 in. × 16 in.



Fig. 3.—32 in. × 15 in.



Fig. 4.—49 in. × 22 in.

AT MOVILLA, CO. DOWS.







THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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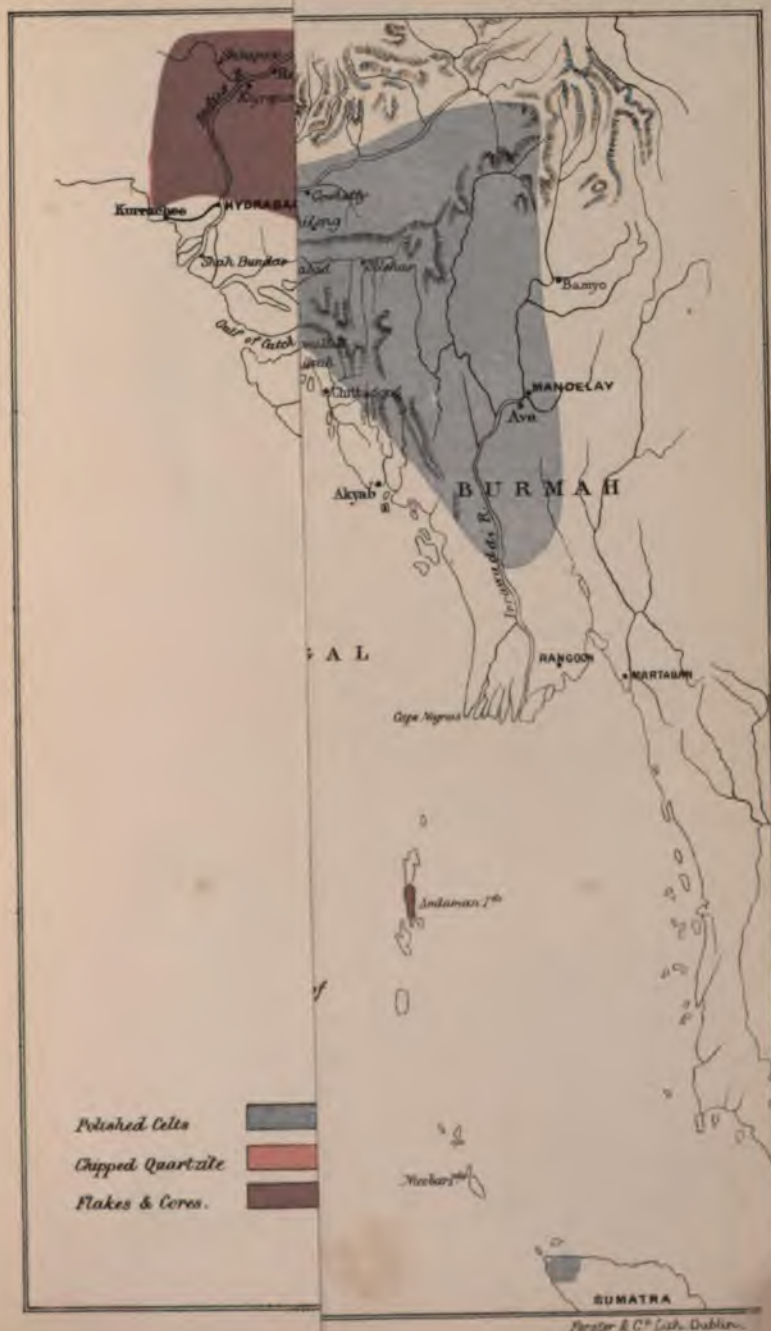


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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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